

ESTRANGE'S  
BRIEF HISTORY  
OF THE  
TIMES.  
PART. I. II. III.



57.G.53.

MENTEM ALIT ET EXCOLIT



K. K. HOFBIBLIOTHEK  
ÖSTERR. NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK

57.G.53

Strange,



A  
Brief History  
OF THE  
TIMES, &c.  
IN A  
PREFACE  
TO THE  
Third Volume  
OF  
Observators.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for *Charles Brome*, at the Gun at the  
West-end of St. Paul's. 1687.

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# To P O S T E R I T Y.

**A**PREFACE, MERIBINKS, UPON A PREFACE, looks as Fantastical, as if a Man should Clap one Shoeing-Horn Upon the back of Another : (and they are Both, Drawers on too.) And then, 'tis such a kind of a Comment UPON a Comment; as will, it self perhaps, stand in need of a Further Explication. Beside, that I shall have Twenty Peevish Humours breaking in upon me by the By. (1) [What has he to do to Revive a Plot, that the King has Pardon'd?] (2) [What's the Freake of This Dedication to Posterity?] (3) [And Then, Here's a Preface made of a Book, and a Book of a Preface, and Each, at the same time, to serve in a Double Capacity.] To shorten the Matter, the Man has, at least, enough to do, that has the Whole World to please ; and therefore, I have Provided, (this many a day) to keep That Care from coming near My Pillow : by Consulting my Conscience for my Peace, and by Placing my Comfort, in the Contempt of a Fair Reputation, Basely Gotten ; by Lodging the Innocence, and the Justice of my Causè, in the hands of Ages to come ; out of the Reach, of the most Pompous, Ignorant, Prevailing Envy, and the most Reverend of Calumnies.

Touching the Plot ; 'tis One Thing to Renew the Rancour of it ; To Murmur at his Majesties Mercy, or to make Reprizals upon the Persons of Those Whom the King has Forgiven ; But it is Another Thing, to Preservye the History ; and to Transmit it Faithfully to After-Times, for the Enformation of Posterity, which was the Right, and which was the Wrong. For the Honour of the King Himself ; the Queen Dowager, the Publique Ministers, and Briefly, of the Loyal Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty ; and of the Roman Catholiques, (to the Last Man of 'em) lies all, in some measure, at Stake upon This Issue. What will the Next Generation, be able to Oppose, to Those Numberless Shoals of Libellous

Prints, that, with One Voice, lay the Fault at the Door of the Government ; and Disguise the most Ungrateful, and Venemous, of Rebels, under the Countenance only of some Zealous, Dutiful Heats, and Hates, in the **I A S T** Defence of Liberty, and Religion ? If the Sovereignty was in the People, the Conspirators did Well, and the Treason lay on the side of the Government. It is very True, that the King, has Pardon'd the Plotters, but his Majesty has not Pardon'd the Plot ; and it was never the Intent of his Royal Mercy, to make his Enemies, Innocent, for Opposing him, and his Friends, Guilty for Serving him. Or that his Clemency to the One, should have the Force of a Killing Rigour upon the Other : And This is no more than a Generous Conciliation of his Goodness to his Justice.

But Why to Postterity ? is the Second Objection, I answer, because Passion, Prejudice, Affectation, Profound Eye-brows, Noise, Name, and the Loaves, Govern This Present World ; Without so much as One Grain of Sobriety, Respect, or Good Nature. Men have got the Trick of Trouping One after Another, in Flocks, like Sheep ; They follow the Bell, and if the Formost Leaps the Bridge, the Rest Drown for Company.

But I am now to give a Reason for my Preface ; and, (which is more) a Reason, for Two Prefaces in One. Why Printed Double ? Why a Preface in One Capacity, and a Book in Another, &c. I have spoken to This at Large, in What follows : But I have yet another word or two, to say upon This Subject.

Upon the Closing of my Observators, I was, in Course, to Furnish a Preface, and a Table to the Two Latter Parts, as I had done to the Former. But upon the Digesting of my Thoughts, and my Matters, With my Papers about me, I found my self at a Mighty Loss, in a Main Part of my Design ; Unless I could Make Good the Defect, by a Supplement to the Preamble of my Third Volume, (which I was then upon) and so Pass them into the World, Both under One.

My

My Observations did not Strike so much upon the Plot it self, in the Spring and the Rise of it, as upon the Matter of Fact in the Methods, and Workings of the Design; for My Business was only to Dash False Rumours; To Rescue Truth from Imposture; To Prevent Misunderstandings; And, in the Main, to Exound upon the Perverse Doctrines, and Practices of That Season: But, all this while, though the Conspiracy was as Visible as the Light of the Sun, in the Effects of the City Ryots, Ignoramus and Tumults; in their Ordinary Prints, Clubbs, Conversations, &c. Their Councils, however, were still in the Dark; and the Cabinet Lock'd up, to keep the Multitude from Prying into the Forbidden Secrets of the Cabal. It was, as yet, too Early-Days, to Dispute the Infallibility of a Nemeine Contradicente, The Merits of a False Oath for the Safety of the King, and the Protestant Religion; The Idol-Worship of falling down before the Calves of Bethel: It was too Early Days, I say, as yet, to Confront Causes, and give a Kings Evidence the Lye, out of his Own Mouth. A Prophane Abhorrer, might with more safety have ventur'd his Carcase with Daniel in the Lyons Den, then to set so much as his Foot over the Threshold, into the Sanctum Sanctorum of a Seeret Committee, so that my Papers of Observation, were, upon the Whole, only a History of the Transactions of That Juncture, wherein they were Published. Now the Character of the Witnesses; the Contradictions of their Evidence; the Seditious Principles that were then in Course: The Desperate Liberties of several Gown-Men of Both Professions; The Mistakes of many True-Hearted, but Short-Sighted Honest Men, The Scornin, and Banter of Libertines; The Intemperate Transports of Burning-Hot Zelots: These Topiques, and Others of the like Quality I ventur'd upon, as Matters that fell Properly within My Province; and Envy it self cannot Deny them (as they are there Represented, and Deliver'd) to be Truly, Faithfully, and Impartially Reported.

Only

Only I must Confess, there are Some Certain Strokes, and Allusions, that must wait Another Age, for the Explaining of the Moral.

But, (*I thought I with my self*) Though Posterity will Undoubtedly be Curious Inquisitors into the True History of Past Times: Especially into the Particulars of a Revolution that has made such a Noise in the World, as This has done, the Story will come Lame Down, to them at Last; if, over and above the Brawls, the Scruples, the Wickedness of the Practice, and the Characters of the Instruments, the Curtain be not Drawn, and the Actors Themselves laid Open in the very Tyring Room. Upon This Contemplation, I Incorporated a Supplemental piece of History, into the Preface, to carry the Reader to Rights, from the Powder in the Mine, to the Council, that Debated the Enterprize, and Govern'd the Resolution, Not doubting, but with the Help of This Addition, to make the Work as Plain, and as Perfect, as the Quality of such an Undertaking would Admit. Now to have done This in Another Manner, or in Another Place, would perchance not have Succeeded so well: For the History would have stood in as much need of the Observators, as the Observators did of the History; and, who-ever Consults the One, will Naturally Turn to the Other. It has been often Hard put to me, to Write an Historical Series of This Villanous Plot, because what with Assiduity of Application, and Extraordinary Means of Enforming my self, I have had more Advantages toward it, perchance, then any Other Man: But I would as soon Undertake to raise a Perfect Man again, out of the Dust of Catiline, as to Extract a True History out of the Rubbish of Otes's Shams, Perjuries, and Enformations: Such a History, I mean, as a Sober Man would not be Asham'd to Own. So that there's no Thought, or Possibility of Drawing Order out of That Confusion.

Now after a Reason given for the Grafting of This same Brief History upon That Preface, The Telling of That Reason, is Another sufficient Reason for the Writing

ting of This : And I am next to give an Account Why I Printed it twice over, and Turn'd a Long Preface into a Short Book. I found the True Knowledge of This Story, Highly Necessary for the Publique ; and the Extract of it, so Congruous to the Subject, Drift, and Quality of the Observators, that the One could not well be without the Other, so that I caus'd it to be Printed [Double,] and in Differing Forms, that I might, at the same Time, both Gratify the Curiosity of the Reader, and Answer the Ends of the Observator. I would have the World thoroughly Possess'd of This Matter ; And therefore I have left it at the Readers Choice, either to take the Preface, or the Book, or if he pleases to let them Both Alone.

Neither do I take This pains at last, out of an Incontinent Itch of Scribbling, to feed the Longings of the Curious, or to Enflame Passions ; but for the Manifestation of Truth, and for a Caution to the People, that they lay not too Great Stress upon Popular Appearances, or the Splendid Hypocrisie of Gilded Pretences : That they do not place the Force and Virtue of Things, in empty Sounds, and Names.

The Dignity of a Parliament, is Venerable, and August, and the Englishman that has not a Reverence for the Honour, and Wisdom of That Excellent Frame of Constitution, is (in a Political Construction) the Worst of Bastards. And yet, When Treason shall come once to be Cloak'd, and Dress'd-up under the Masque, Face, and Countenance of That Authority, 'tis not the Name that will Consecrate the Conspiracy ; No, nor All the Gay, Plausible Pretences in Nature neither, that will Justifie an Imposture. [We the Commons] in Forty Two, was neither Better, nor Worse, than [We the Rebels,] in the 25th of Edward the Third ; And [We the Knights, &c.] in the Association, were in the very same Classis, (both in the sight of God and of Man) with their Forefathers in the Covenant ; And so far. [We the Knights, &c.] again, in the Preparatory to that League

of Mutual Defence, and Assistance, What were they; but the same Mothers Children with the Confederates Themselves that were finally to Subdue, Erpeil, and Destroy His Then Royal Highness, and All that should Adhere to Him? And, if there was any Credit to be given to State-Hypocrites, and Conscientious Atheists, What was the Design of All this Pudder, both under Charles the First, and his Two next Immediate Successors, but the Preservation of His Majesties Person; the Protestant Religion; Parliamentary Privileges, Commons of England; Wisdom of the Nation, Saviours, of I know not what, &c. When All This yet, in the Conclusion, was found to be only Subornation in the Shape of Sanctity; Republican Murders, Massacres, and Depopulations, Advanced, under the Blind of Popish, and Arbitrary Contrivances?

Now if All This be True, upon the Clearest Evidence in Nature; upon the Credit of Witnesses Unquestionable; Papers of Intelligence Confronted, Prov'd, and Own'd; Characters Uncypher'd; Common Instruments of Conspiracy and Association Detected; The Criminals Themselves, under the hands of Publique Justice, Confessing as much; Tumults, Declarations and Drawn Swords, in further Confirmation of it. If All This be True, I say, What could be more Seasonable, then to Recommend the Story to Posterity, with a Word or two of Good Counsel to go along with it? Which Good Counsel shall be, that People will not spend their Indignation altogether upon the Drudges, and the Drudgery; the Senseless Narratives, and the shameless Knights of the Post, that have appear'd in This Diabolical Practice; But Consider, that they have been Cheated, with Forms, and Protestations of Loyalty, and Conscience, and the Whole Villany Stamp'd with a Parliamentary Resolve, upon't. In One Word, and for a Conclusion top; The Pretence of a Popular Reformation, (let it appear never so Holy) is only a Prologue to a Rebellion.

To

# T O Posterity.

**T**hese Papers are the *True History*, and bear the *Lively Image* of the *Lewd Times* they were Written in, and, Consequently, not for the *Palate* of the *Present Age*: For a *Wicked Generation* will no more bear *Truth*, in a *Book*, than an *Ill-favour'd Woman* will bear it, in her *Picture*, or in her *Looking-Glass*: And though the *Fault* be Manifestly in the *Face*, or in the *People*; 'tis the *Poor Innocent Rainer*, that is to be *Curs'd* for't, and the *Glass Braken*; because her *Ladyship's Nose stands awry*, perhaps., or that the *Manners* of the *Age* will not Endure the *Light*. This is the very *State* of the *Case*, and the *Ground* of the *Quarrel*, betwixt the *World* and *These Dialogues*. The *Figures* are drawn from the *Life*; the *Matter of Fact*, is *Evident*, and *Certain*; the *Doctrine*, *Orthodox*; and, upon the *Whole*; the *Office* is *itself*, and the *Application* of it, have had many *Publique*, and *Honourable Testimonies*, for an *Honest*, and a *Necessary Duty*. But Men, I perceive, do not allways know their *Own Minds*; for after I had stood the *Uttermost Malice* of the *Common Enemies* of the *Church*, and *State*, for *almost Four Years together*, during the Course of *These Papers*; and without the least *Change of Mind*, *Resolution*, *Countenance*, or so much as of *Presence*; After I had, I say, born all manner of *Indignities* for the sake of *Books*; (*divers Practices* of *Perjury* and *Subornation* *against me*, *over and above*.) and all *This*, purely for A the

the Love of Cemmon Justice, and out of a Sense of what I owe to my Prince, and Country; I found my self in February last was Two Year, to my Great Admiration, Deliver'd over to New Tormentors; and I have been Treated at such a Rate, by Another sort of People, that the Venom, and the Scarrility, the Rage, and the Slander of my Profess'd Adversaries, was but a Flea-Biting, to the Wounds, and the Reproaches that I have suffer'd ever since, from several of my Pretending Friends.

For these Reasons, (and More) I have made Choice to Address my Self, and my Matters to Posterity, in This Appeal, from the Iniquity, and Injustice of a Faction of the Last Edition. Not as if the World were likely to Mend; or the People that come After us, to be One jot Wiser, Juster, Honest, or Better-Natur'd, than Thoſe that went Before them: But All Passions Sleep in the Grave; and as there's no Place for Envy, Calumny, Partiality, or Imposture, on the One hand, so there's as little room for Corrupt Interest, Mercenary Design, or Servile Adulation, on the Other, The Dead do not Bite, they say, and the Living, (unless they be Hagg-Wolves) will not Bite the Dead. People are well enough pleas'd to see [Abuses Strip, and Whips,] (as George Witters has it) provided that they be Lash'd upon Other-Folks Shoulders. Now this can never fall out, where the Parable, or the Embleme, is of One Season, and the Moral, of Another: For in the One Case, the Painter come to ~~He~~; and in the Other, I go to the Painter. 'Tis much as in a Nusance; No body is to lay a Dungbill just under My Nose; but if I'le Carry My Nose to Another mans Dung-bill, I may thank my self. Now 'tis quite another busines, where the Man, and the Satyr are both of a Time: For the Guilty are Naturally Suspicious; and He that's Conscious, will be apt to say to himself, [This Will, or That Tom, Points at ~~He~~.] A Character, in This Case, Shoots Hail-Sbot, and Strikes a great many more than ever the Marks-man, either Aim'd at, or Dreams of.

There

There is a great deal of Difference, I know, betwixt the Whipping of the *Vice*, and of the *Man*; and betwixt the Whipping of the *Vice* for the *Mans* sake, and the Whipping of the *Man*, for the sake of the *Vice*. But be it as it will; 'tis Nonsense to Imagine, that a *Man* draws a *Figure* in the *Air*, and *Means* *No body*; or that he had not *some One Man*, more in his Thought then *Another*, toward the *Instructing*, or the *Finishing* of the *Piece*. *Wickedness*, and *Knavery* can never be *Drawn* *To* the *Life*; but *From the Life*: And the most *Genuine Images* that we have of *Virtue*, and *Vice*; *Wisdom*, and *Folly*, are *Gather'd*, and *Wrought*, from the *Practices*, and *Habits* of *Humane Life*. This sort of *Essay*, is no more then *Nature*, taken in *Short-hand*; and He that *Treats* of *Good* and *Evil*, does but *Common-Place Mankind*; onely the *Difference* is, that the *Same Writings* that are *Censur'd* for the most *Virulent Libels*, (how *True* soever) in *One Age*; *Pals*, many times, for the most *Excellent*, and *Profitable* of *Morals*, in *Another*. *Plain-dealing Writers*, Meet with the *Fate* commonly, of *Publique-Spirited Projectors*, and *Ruine Themselves*, for the *Good* of their *Successors*: And therefore, a *Frank*, *Clear-minded Man*, that stands *Condemn'd* to the *Mortification* of Rubbing-out his days in a *False*, *Daubing*, *Narrow-hearted World*, cannot do better, then to withdraw his *Effects*, from among *Parasites*, and *Sharpers*; and to *Deposite* the *Care* of his *Memory*, and *Good Name*, in the hands of those that are yet *Unborn*.

These are *My very Circumstances*. My *Judges*, are *Parties*; and, as the *Case* stands, both *Witnesses*, and *Jury*, in a kind of *Combination* against me. Whither should I *Fly* now, from the *Tyranny* of *This Passion*, and *Prejudice*, for *Relief*, and *Protection*, but to *Those Times*, when the *Bias* of *This Controversy* shall be *taken off*; The *Intrigue*, and *Interest* of it, *Extinguish'd*, and All the *Present Litigants*, on *Both sides*, laid to *Sleep*? Especially, since the *Cause it self*, and the *Merits* of it,

the Love of Common Justice, and out of a Sense of what I owe to my Prince, and Country; I found my self in February last was Two Year, to my Great Admiration, Deliver'd over to New Tormentors; and I have been Treated at such a Rate, by Another sort of People, that the Venom, and the Scrrility, the Rage, and the Slander of my Profess'd Adversaries, was but a Flea-Biting, to the Wounds, and the Reproaches that I have suffer'd ever since, from several of my Pretending Friends.

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These are My very Circumstances. My Judges, are Parties ; and, as the Case stands, both Witnesses, and Jury, in a kind of Combination against me. Whither should I Fly now, from the Tyranny of This Passion, and Prejudice, for Relief, and Protection, but to Those Times, when the Bias of This Controversy shall be taken off ; The Intrigue, and Interest of it, Extinguish'd, and All the Present Litigants, on Both sides, laid to Sleep ? Especially, since the Cause is self, and the Merits of it,

will, most Infallibly, come Whole to the Next Age : For my Charge, and Every Article of it, being Founded upon Those very Papers that I do here Transmit to After-Times, for my Defence; the Fact lies Open to All men ; and Done, or Not Done, is the Question : Wherein, Every Soul that can Reade, may Satisfy himself.

I have not the Vanity all this while, to Contend, with so much Formality of Pomp, and Zeal, for the Single Credit of the Observator, or of his Trifling Papers : But so it is, that without Ostentation, the Honour of the Government, and of All the Kings Loyal Subjects ; The Light, the Authority, the Tradition, and the Faithfull Memorials of Truth it self, (as to This Point) are not a little Concern'd in the Issue of This Cause. For, with All Reference to the Works of many Abler Pens, that have Asserted the Same Interest, I may yet, with Modesty Affirm, that This is the Only Weekly Paper, that has Stood at Mark now, for almost Six Years together, without so much as One Distcontinuance. And to what End, but to Encounter Seditious, and Republican Positions ; Scandalous Shams, and Defamatory Imposturer, so soon as ever they took Air ; And to set the People Right, in the Truth, and Reason of Matters ? And this has been done with so much Care, and Effect, that the most Shameless of my Enemies, could never lay a Finger yet, upon any One Falsity of Fact, or Errour of Doctrine, in the Whole Train of These Observators ; and all the Bussle about them, has been only General Hear-say, and Clamour. Now upon the Credit of These Writings, depends, in a Great Measure, the Credit of the History of These Times ; to the Extreme Hazzard of Misleading After-Ages ; when they shall find, on the One hand, so many Deposing, Disinheriting, Excluding, and Impeaching Nemine Contradicente's ; So many Forsworn Narratives ; So many Thousand of Treasonous, and Handerous Libels ; All, Printed, Published, and Recommended, under a Masque of Authority : and on the Other hand, little more then This Mise-

Miserable Paper, to Oppose them? What will Future Times say of This Government, and of This Nation, when they shall Reade of a Prince in a Plot against his Sovereign, and his Brother? A Queen, and a Wife, in the same Plot against her Husband? Nay, of a King in a Plot Against Himself; and Subjects in a Conspiracy to Murder their Prince, upon an Instinct, and Principle of Religion? What will Posterity think, I say, when they shall find All These Diabolical Calumniæ Confirm'd, by so many Pestilent Votes, Narratives, News'es, and Pamphlets, with the Solemity too, of Parliamentary Testimonials, and Imprimaturs? What will they think, I say, when they shall find Dr. OTES, Capt. BEDLOE, Capt. DANGERFIELD, Stephen DUGDALE Esq; with a Hundred Worthies more of the same Batch, Canoniz'd for Saints, forsooth, and the SAVIOURS of the Nation? So many Mediations for Pardon, and Preferment, for e'm: So many Pulpits, and Tribunals, Trouping along for Company, with Their Hosanna's too? What shall Charity it self be able to say, to This Cloud of Authorities, and Certificates? to This Harmony of Lies, and Defamations, when they shall see so Black a Story pass Current, without either Contradiction, or Contrall? As if the Brains of a whole Nation had been Turn'd in their Heads like a Pancake; Conscience fall'n asleep; Truth Struck Dumb; Humane Reason Degenerated into Brutality, and not One man of a Thousand, that had the Heart to stand up for Religion, or Justice. The Next Generation would have taken This History, for Gospel, if some body or other had not put in, to shew the World, that These their Celebrated Actions, were Devils Incarnate; Their Pretended Plot, Supported by Subornation, and Perjury; Their Evidence-CAPTAINS, DOCTORS, & SQUIRES, only so many Pick-pockets, Cheats, and Knights of the Post, Rak'd together: The Refuge of Pillories and Jayls; the Scandal of Christianity, and the Shame of Mankind.

And now, Gentlemen of the ~~Next~~ Age, to whom These Presents shall come: Here's the Whole Matter laid before ye, in These Papers; the History of the Times; the Merits of the Cause; the Reason of the Points in Question, Debated Pro and Con; the Truth of Things, Separated from Falshood, and Imposture; the Frauds of a Republican Faction, Detected; Their Methods, and Designs laid Open, and the Malice of them Defeated; the People Caution'd, and Instructed, both in their Interest, and in their Duty; for fear of Mistaking their Enemies, for their Friends; and their Friends for their Enemies. This has been my Bus'ness: And whether or no I have Discharg'd all these Offices, Truly, Candidly, Faithfully, Soberly, and in One word, as a Good Christian, a Loyal Subject, an Honest Man, and a Hearty Lover of his Country, Dought to do; be You the Judges. 'Tis True, I have been Arraign'd, by Common Fame, of Levity, Disguise, Hypocrify, Double-Dealing Halting betwixt Two Opinions; Inconsistency with my self, and by the force of Credulity, Calumny, and Practice, Ground, as it were, betwixt Two Millstones.

From April. 1681, to the Death of the Late Blessed King, I was Worry'd by Common-Wealth-men, and Their Accomplices; but with the Wonderfull Kindness and Esteem, of All the Profess'd Friends of the King, the Monarchy, and the Church, to Ballance the Outrages of That Aversion. I was ever an Infidel, as to the Plot; and made, Consequently, a Popish Instrument, at least, to Downright Papists; A Ridiculer of the Kings Witnesses, and (in the Style of Those Days) of the ~~W~~isdom of the Nation. And This Entertainment, of Good, and Evil, was not without some Colour of Reason neither, on Both sides: For the Republicans made Good the very Worst of my Surmises, and Fore-bodings; They never fail'd of Doing, what I said they were About to do; and I am the Only Man, perhaps, that, in a Tract of Eight and Forty Years Experience, they never Deceiv'd: But I had now,

now, little more to do, then to look Behind me, to know what was to Come. For there was Nothing New, in the very Phrase, Air, and Course of Proceedings, more then the Sublimating of the Old way of Calumination, and Hypocrisy, into a Barefac'd, an Open, and a True-Protestant Perjury; and where the Witnesses Bluder'd, or happen'd to Interfere; whether with One Another, or with Themselves, they were either brought-off by the Charity of a Well-Affected Comment, or otherwise, there were Inferences drawn from the Principles of the Religion, to the Proof of the Fact; and a [PRIEST,] or a [PAPIST] was taken for synonymous, with a CONSPIRATOR, or a TRAITOR.

After I had finish'd my Two First Stages, with an Universal Hatred on the One side, and Approbation, on the Other: (For whatsoever Mischiev'd the One, must needs do the Other a Service:) It pleas'd God to call Charles the Second to Himself, and James the Second (whom God long preserve) to the Crown: Which was in February 1684, where I Begin This Third Volume; and from Whence, I am to Date the Hard, the Unequal, (or what if I had said?) the Unjust Usage, I have met withall, from That Day, to This: But the TIME, barely, without Other Circumstances, will signify little to the Enforming of Posterity, in the True State of This Matter; and therefore I shall in a very Few Words, lay Open the Secret Springs, and Motions, that led to This Unexpected Change.

The Popish Plot was made a Cover to a Republican Conspiracy; which, tho it began in a Farce, was to be Concluded in a Tragedy. The Way was, First, to make Popery a Bug-bear to the People; and Then, where they could not get Oaths, to make any man a Statutable Papist, and to Swoop him into Otes's Plot; they had a Device, to bring him into the Toyl, under the Latitude of [a Reputed Papist,] or [Popishly-Affected,] which Involv'd the Members of Both Churches, alike; and we

had hardly any Discriminating Mark left us, of a Good Christian, even from an Infidel, (or Worse) than the Test of ~~One's~~ his Narrative, and the Belief of it; to the very Black-Bills, and ~~Oppos'd~~ <sup>Oppos'd</sup> Bills. The Project was so Plausible, and went down so Glib, (though ne- ver such Tools as the Tools that Witness'd it!) that when the King's Life, and the Protestant Religion, were said to be at Stake; He was no longer a Son of the Church of England, that Oppos'd it; and to be a Friend to the Plot, was to be a Friend to Caesar. I am Assam'd to Reflect, or so much as to Think upon, the Inconsiderate Mistakes, the Gross Oversight, the Glazing Compliances, and the Ungovernable Madness of That Season: But upon the whole Story, the Application will be This: that True, or False; Credible, or Incredible; Possible, or Im-possible; It comes all to a Case, where the Multitude are taken Captive in their Imaginations, and have no longer any other Rule, Measure, Witt, or Liking; then what they draw from the Dictate of their Leaders. This was the Pretext, that brought Charles the First to the Scaffold, and that was, likewise, in a Fair way of bringing his Late Sacred Majesty to the Same End! Now Con-putting with my self, how much more Popular, and Dangerous, the Same Pretext would be, under a Prince, in Communion with the Church of Rome; then it was in the days of his Two Royal Predecessors; Upon the Crisis of That Great Revolution, I Chang'd the Body of my Papers a little, and did what I could, to Obliterate the Hazzards, and Distempers, that (I perceive, by This Time) I had but too much Reason to Fear. In the Two Former Parts of These Dialogues, I thought it Rea-sonable to Caution a sort of Unwary, Short-fighted, Well-Meaning Men, against the Snare, and Practices of the Common Enemy; and in this Third Volume, I Judg'd it no Less Reasonable, to give the Same People the Same Caution over again: but with This Additional Conside-ration, that they should have a care of Them selves too,

as

as well as their Abberaries: For Bigotry is every hot as Dangerous, as Luke-warmness; and to be Over-mighteous, (according to the Text) on the One side, is All-out as Bad; as to be Over-scrupulous, on the Other; and much the Fiercer Evil of the Two. Zeal must be Bounded by Knowledge: Nay, it must be Gated by it; for it is Ignorance that leads us to Truth; and we are never Right, but when they do, All Three Men upon the same Point. Short of it; Beyond, or on either side of it, are only such or such Degrees, more, or less, of Folly, and Error. A man may be too Zealous for a Good Thing, as well as Against it; when That Zeal has more in it of Heat, than of Light. They that pretend to Christianity, and call for Fire from Heaven, even in the Cause of Religion it self, do not know of what Spirit they are. In One word, All Extremes are Stark Naught, both in Divinity, and in Reason; and One Ill Circumstance, is Sufficient, to Destroy the Merit, and to Blast the Glory, of the most Honourable Undertaking, and Pretence. A man may Cut the Thread of his Own Religion, by Contending for't. How many Men have we seen to Set-up, and pass for Patriots, in Common Fame, and Reputation, that, in the Sight of God, and in the Courts both of Law, and Conscience, have been found no better then Arrant Traitors? This is no more then to say, that We are to Govern All our Actions, with a respect to Persons, Customs, Laws, Times, Places, Duty, Good Manners, Proportion, Measure, and Discretion. Tis Possible, that a man may Forfeit Due Privilege, or 'tice, by Inhabiting Another; and Lose what he has ready, by Grasping at more then belongs to him. To sh. Nothing of the Imprudence of the Weaker Provoking the Stronger; the Unwarrantableness of Subjects Stepping out of their Province, to Intermeddle in Matters of State: the Sin, as well as the Scandal, of Irreverent, and Contemptuous Innuendo's. The Impotency of an Impudent Ardent of Contentions; the Affection of Popular

pular Applause, in Setting-up for the Head of a Party, &c. These, and a Hundred other Difficulties came into my Head, upon This Occasion; and I was Heartily afraid, what might come on't, if the Wisdom of the Serpent should not Accompany the Innocence of the Dove: for there goes more then Greek, and Latin, to the making of a Thorough-Wise Man; and if States men and Divines, would but Respectively Attend to their Proper Functions, they would e'en find as much work as they could turn their Hands to, in their Own Trade. And then, the Better, the Worse; when the Burning Intention of Holiness makes People forget the Indispensable Allegiance of a Civil Duty. But to come now to the Point: I was thus thinking within my self.

If the bare Name, and Fancy of Popery, had the Power to Destroy One Imperial, Protestant Prince, and to Endanger Another; together with the very Foundations, both of Church, and State, in Three Kingdoms; and without any Other Aid to the Doing of it, then the Artificial Manage of the Imposture: What will not the Same Cheat over again, (under Our Circumstances) be able to bring about; if any Unmarrt Zelots among our selves, should chance to Joyn in the Same Fears, and Jealousies, and give Credit to the Conspiracy! We have the Word of a Prince, of Faith, and Honour, for our Security: A Prince of Grace, and Clemency: A Prince of Power, Justice, and Resolution; and it will be our Own Fault, if we fail of our Own Desires, and Wishes. Diffidence in the Case, is both an Ingratitude, and a Provocation; Or if we canot avoid Bearing Distrustfull, 's Extremely Vain yet, Foolish, and Extravagant, to Lik on't; for we do not only Betray our selves, but Create Suspicions in Others; and where Subjects are the Igressors, 'tis Time for Princes to look about them. No-much, that 'tis Base, to Suspect; Foolish to Discove our selves; and Bootless, to Struggle, where we are Sure to be Worsted. The Honour of Princes is to b kept Reli-

*Religiously Sacred, in Thought, Word, and Deed: And however the Law may Mince the Matter, a man may as well, (in Conscience) Defame his Prince, in words at length, as by a Glance.* If a man Preaches upon This Text, All Mouths are presently Open upon him, with a [What? Shan't we Defend our Religion?] I Answer, Yes, Undoubtedly. He that upon Good Grounds finds himself in Possession of the Truth, ought rather to Dye, than Relinquish it: Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, Sisters, Friends, Relations, Acquaintances, Life, and Estate, are All Nothing to't, where they fall in Competition. But then the Defence must be Apostolical, Primitive, and Christian, without Noise, Tumult or Force: There must be no Drawing of Swords in the Case; No, not so much as any Grumbling, Calumniating, or Repining, Towards it: No Cutting of Ears off; No Military Executions: For to Trouble Governments under That Pretext, is to Renounce the Doctrine of Christianity, and Example of our Blessed Saviour Himself. What's the Difference, betwixt Actual Violence, and Scandalous, Provoking Words, and Practices that Leade to't? any more, then as they are Several Links of the Same Chain? 'Tis the Heart, sets the Tongue at Work; The Tongue, the Hands: And 'tis the Devil Himself, that blows the Coal of Sedition, into a Blaze of Religion: How often have I Talk'd, and Turn'd These Thoughts, and Discourses over and over, upon Occasion of Considering the State of our Affairs! Why These Animosities, say I, among Christians, upon the Subject of Religion, in so Notorious a Contradiction to the Faith that we Profess? As if the Salvation of a Nominal Protestant, depended upon the Damnation of a Papist. Neither are We to Stand, or to Fall, upon Their Bottom, nor They upon Ours; but Every Man to his Own Master. Cannot I Maintain my Own Religion, without Waging War against Anothers? There's room enough, upon the Points wherein we Agree; and upon the Topic of Good Life, and Manners, for the Christian, and Chari-

*Charitable Exercise of Holy Duties.*: And as to the Points that are in Controversy, we may Deliver and Assert, our Own Perswasion, without Lashing one into Invectives against People of a Differing Tast. That Bitternesse of Spirit, does not become the Disciples of our Blessed Lord. Beside that the Multitude are Prone enough to Faction, of Themselves, without Incentives to't; and need no Encouragement, or Example, to Transport them into Distempers. Nay, it is a Matter of Dangerous Consequence, to have them mounted, or so much as Verged, to Rail at Things that they do not Understand: For it puts them in Possession of a most Pernicious Liberty; which will take the Same Freedom, in State, that it does in Religion; when they are once set a gog, by This itch of Meddling, upon Controversy, and Brav, without any Sense of the Truth, and Reason of Things. Let the Doctors Sport Themselves like the Leviathan, in the Depths, and Subtilties of the Schools; The Simplicity of the Gospel, takes no Delight in High Flights and Figures: Neither are the Common People, Proper Judges of Abstruse, and Mysterious Points. Their Province is Reasonable Resignation, and Dueyfull Obedience; without taking upon them the Office of the Chair. Their Bus'ness is the Plain Truth of Things; and not to trouble their Heads about the Cracking of Controversies that are too Hard for their Teeth. 'Tis a kind of a Protestant Implicit faith, to assert to they know not what; and I take an Unknown Meaning, to be Every jot as Bad, as an Unknown Tongue. There can be no Edification, without a Due Understanding of the Matter Propounded. And it is much about the Same Thing too, in Religion, as it is in Government: I find Little, or No Difference, upon the Parity of the Reason, betwixt Haranguing against Popery at Cripplegate, (for the purpose) and against Arbitrary Power at Guildhall. The Reforming Porters, and Car-men of One and Forty, understood Privileges of Parliament, Every jot as well as they did the Right of the

the Bishops Votes. In fine ; This is a way to Transport People, not to Inform them ; and to make a Party, without any Prospect, of Clearing, or Establishing a Truth.

With These Contemplations, and Precautions, about me, and, not without Divers Previous Discourses, and Deliberations, upon the Sober Apprehensions I had, of the Hazard of a Mistaken Zeal, on That Notable Change, and Conjunction of Affairs : I Proceeded to This Third, and Concluding Part of my Observations. I found, that the Church of England, could not, either in Honour, Reason, or Prudence, Doubt of his Majesties Goodness, Justice, and Protection, and Consequently of her own Safety; nor, in Truth, run any Risque at all, but by the Forfeiture of That Loyalty, to all manner of Purposes, which she has ever Practic'd, and Profess'd. I Consider'd (as I ought to do) the Mighty Work of Divine Providence, in the Disposition of the Crown; and the Fatality of any Gross Misdemeanor, in the Matter of Reverence, and Duty, on the Part of the Subject. I had in my Thoughts, a Thousand Difficulties, what the Heats of Some, the Ignorance of Others, the Feuds, and the Piques of Mutineers, as well as of Unthinking Zealots, might probably bring upon us, without Singular Care, and Moderation, toward the Preventing of Mischief. But the Thing I fear'd above all others, was the Imposture of Wolves dress'd up in Sheep's Clothing; and least the Common Enemies of our Peers, and Welfare, a Sort of People among our selves, that stick neither to Canon, nor Rubriques, should cast out a Bone betwixt his Majesty, and the Loyal Subjects of his Blessed Father, and Brother, and no Less of his ROYAL SELF, and Cry, [The Church of England did it :] As if so many Rogues in Red Coats, should Rob the King's Chappel, and Cry, [the Guards did it.] Upon this Agitation of Matters, I concluded within my self, that This was the Time, for the King's Reformed Subjects of the Establish'd Church of England, to make Good the Cha-

Character of their Integrity, and the Allegiance of their Profession: and without Complementing-away, Articles of Faith, to Joyn with the Roman Catholiques in a Harmony of Reverence to their Prince, as Fellow-Subjects to the same Master. For the Scandal is not to be Born; not to be Defended; and never to be Forgiven, to Charge Roman Catholicks with Undutifullness to their Sovereign, and yet, at the same Time, not to Unite, as Franckly with Roman Catholicks, in the Defence of a Prince of That Persuasion; as ever the Roman Catholiques did with Church-of-England-men, in Defence of his Majesties Protestant Father. In One word more; (for I would be very Explicit upon this Subject) I bent my Uttermost Endeavours toward the Allaying, and the Pacifying of all Unkindnesses, and Avernsions; which, My Interpreters have been pleas'd to call [*A Project for the Unitting of the Two Churches,*] and to Issue-out so many Anathema's, and Fulminations, against me for, that if their Prayers had been Heard, I had been Fifty Fathom Under Ground before this Time. Here lies the Core of the Ulcer; and who but the Noisy Advocates, (as they pretend) for the Protestant Cause, to Move This Wrath, and Indignation against me! They look Big, and Grave; They Garnish the Matter out, with Pomp, Form, and Solemnity: and when they have turn'd up their Stomachs, their Disciples Gather up the Qualm, as the Lesser Poets did Homers, and set-up for Ambours upon't. But in fine; the Story has not One Syllable of Truth in't, as is made evident, beyond All Contradiction, over and over, in These Papers; and, yet, betwixt Credulity, Passion, Lazyness, and want of Skill in Common Sense; Transubstantiation, and Idolatry, the Bug-bear of the Times, has not been more Sbittle-Cock'd, than This Argument; the Plot it self was not more Believ'd; nor the Story of it more Ridiculous: Nay, This very Practice is a Branch of it. And what's my Crime at last? (taking it at the very Worst of their Own Construction) but the Hunting, and Discovering, of a Pack of Forsworn Mis-

*Miscreants*, and laying Open the Confederacy, betwixt the Mercenary Brutes, and their more Execrable Masters? Which I have done, with the Conscience of a Christian, a Subject, a Church-of-England-man, and a Lover of Justice. I never lik'd the Hobby-Horsing Processions of Godfrey's Funeral, and the Burnings of the Pope. And it is but Natural for Those that were up to the Ears in the Ploë, when I was Tooth and Nail against it, to Hate ~~Me~~, for Presuming to be in the Right, when they were in the Wrong. But to come now at last to a Close, upon This Question; the short-English of the Device, was, to make as Arrant, a Juggling, Sacramenting Rascal of me, (Saving the Then King's Evidences) as ever Renounc'd God upon the Holy Altar. They did not only Propagate my Shame by Word of Mouth, Hand it from One to Another; (Well-nigh the Only Tradition that they would Allow of) and Spread it abroad, in their Missives, and Intelligences, where they were sure it could not be Contradicted; but they Clubb'd, I know not how many of 'em, to the Libelling of me in Print. Insomuch, that I was forc'd to Complain to their Right Reverend Diocesan, of the Hard Usage, in a Pamphlet call'd [The Observator Defended:] Where I set forth See Obs. 10. 32. 33. the Naked Truth of the Bus'ness; and 39. 42. 44. Vol. 3. after the Exposing of the Sham, I heard no more on't.

Now for Your Parts, Gentlemen, that were not so much as in Beeing when These Ceremonies Pass'd; what Opinion would You have Entertain'd of This Abominable Observator, without These Papers to Enform your Judgments, and to keep you Upright in the Ways of Honour, Charity, and Justice? What would you have Thought of a Creature that should have come down to you in Thousands of Pamphlets, Mercuries, Pacquets, Domestiques, &c. in the Shape of so many several sorts of Rogue? And all this, for the sake of an Interest, where the Master was Painted yet Blacker then the Servant.

Before

Before I go any further, I must desire you to take Notice of the Particular Dose of This Preface; and to Compute, upon the Present Face of Things, as well as up-on the Whole Antecedent Matter; Who were the True Friends to the Church of England; the Plaintiffs, or the Defendant; and whether I do not Rise, the very same Men, in April, 1687, that I Sat down, in April, 1681 & I am No Prophet, nor the Son of a Prophet; but I do not know any One Accident of State, that I have either Mis-judge'd, or Mis-represented, in all These Papers; And I do persuade my self, that I was never more in the Right, then in the Judgment I made, and the Mea-sures I took, upon This Last Revolution; for the Point is Clear, even to the degree of a Demonstration; and that the Two things that I mainly Study'd, and Endeavour'd to Prevent, and Avoid, are Done, on the One Hand, and fallen upon us, on the Other. That is to say; an Unruly Zeal has brought us to the Sight of our Error; and the man is Blind, that does not, by this Time, Reade his Mistake in his Punishment. Without any more ado, Hinc Illa Lachryme: But it is My Fortune still, to bear the Burden of Other Peoples Faults, while They, (if I may set the Truth, against the Vanity) Reap the Fruit, and the Credit of My Services. How have I been Loaden with Reproaches of being Popishly-Affected, for Advising the Surest, the Fairest, and the most Christian way of doing Right, Honour, and Justice, to the Church of England; while Those very People, set-up for the Pillars of the Protestant Religion, whose Hearse, and Intemperances have the most Endanger'd it! I Write, and Speak my Mind, with the same Singleness of Meaning, and Simplicity of Thought, at This Day, that Ever I did; and I do not find, in the Change of my Master, any Change in the Tye of my Allegiance. I reckon my self Bound, by the Laws of God, and in Common Decency, Prudence, and Duty, to Preserve a Right Understanding betwixt my Believers, and matter of Civil Obedience, and

and Respect. The Divine does not Discharge the Subject; neither does Christianity pretend to Cross the Measures, to Trouble the Peace, or to Thwart the Order of Government. The Frame of a Political Body, is as Nice, and Delicate, as That of a piece of Clock-work: It will hardly endure, so much as Breathing upon; It must be kept, Clean, as well as Whole; and from Dust, or Cankering, as well as from Falls, and Bruises: For Scan-dal is a Step toward Sedition; and the Blackening of a Prince in his Reputation, is next door to Drawing Blood of him. A man can hardly make Subjects, Think amiss of their Sovereign, without Disposing them to Un-dutifull Actions too; and there are Ways of Calumniating, so Artificial, and so Effectual, that the Greatest Mischief in the World, seems to be done, Many times, for Gods sake, and the Irreverence to be Hallow'd, by Scripture, and by Conscience. Common Men will not bear the Affront of being told, that there are none but Knaves, and Fools of their Opinion; But yet, at the same Time, there will be No Exception taken, at Mens Supporting their Own Sense of Things, without Falling foul upon Differing Judgments. The Question is, whether I'm in the Right, not whether Another is in the Wrong, or No. And 'tis the Part of a Sober Man, to keep himself within his own Province. 'Tis so far from Meritorious, Modest, Charitable, or Discreet, for Men that set-up for the Reputation of a Protestant Zeal, and Purity; to be still Crying-out, (upon the Comparison) Lord! we are not as the Idolatrous, perfidious, and King-killing Papists; that our Saviour, in the Parable of the Publican, has Expressly set forth, for our Instruction, his uttermost Abhorrence of those Boasting Services, and Uncharitable Devotions. Lord! I do This, and I do That, he Cries; and Lord; I am not as Other Men Are, nor even as This Publican. Why here's a kind of a Justification by Works, without either Grace, Faith, or Good-manners; and a Religious Pretext Advanc'd, upon the Ruins of

*Brotherly Love.* But (as I was a saying) can it be *Imagin'd*, that a Prince will bear *That* from a *Subject*, that *One Private Man* will not *Endure* from *Another*? There's no *Libell* so *Bitter*, so *Moving*, so *Provoking*, and so *Contemptuous*, withall, as the *Wounding* of a *King*, by a *Figure*. The *Addresses* of some of his *Late Majesties Parliaments*, were *Master-pieces* that way. Now the thing that I Labour'd, upon the *Last Great Change of State*, both by *Reasoning*, *Industry*, and the most *Pressing Application* of *Councils*, and *Interest*, was the doing of All that was *Possible*, to make the *People Think Well of the Church of England*, without *Lashing-out* against the *Church of Rome*: Especially, upon Those *Capital Points*, that are commonly made use of, to *Transport the Multitude*, beyond all *Terms of Honesty*, *Moderation*, and *Patience*; Such as *Idolatry*, for the purpose; where Every *Cobler* shall bring ye so many *Texts* against *Idols*; Put-in for a *Reformer*, and make himself *Judge* of the *Controversy*. Now upon the *Truth of the Matter*; the *Managing* of a *Religion*, is; in this *Cafe*, a *Political Point*, as it *Influences* the *Affections* of the *Common People*, with a *Regard* to the *Honour* of the *Prince*; the *Peace*, and the *Well-being* of the *State*. *Hard Words*, upon the *Articles* of the *Sovereigns Persuasion*, cannot but *Glance Hard Thoughts*, upon his *Person*; And there can scarcely be a *Scorn*, or an *Odium Reflected* upon the *One*, that does not *Reach* the *Other*: and, Consequently, Expose the *Publique* to a very *Great Risque*, without doing any manner of *Good*: Beside, that it is no longer *Religion*, (as I have *Touch'd* upon't already) but a *Spice of Faction*, to *Irritate*, and *Whip-up* the *Mobile*, into a *Violent Aversion* for *any thing* that they do not *Understand*. 'Tis a *Dangerous Practice*, to make them the *Judges* in the *Point*: For they'l be taking the *Same Liberty* with *Arbitrary Power*, that they do with *Popery*; and make themselves *Arbitrators*, in *matters*, as *well of State*, as of *Religion*; and *All*, upon the

the License, and Encouragement, of Intermeddling in things of Government, which they have no Skill in.

The Lesson, and the Advice of Alaham to Heli, in a Tragedy of the Lord Brooks, falls Extremely ~~near~~ to This Purpose, and I cannot Close-up the Topique, Better, than with a Passage in't, that I have now in my hand. Alaham was upon a Design to Overturn the State; He gives Heli his Instructions, what to do toward it; and the World could not have thought of a Surer, or a Readier Way for the compassing of his End. The Discourse follows.

*Alaham. Misfortune Piece'd, grows more Unfortunate,  
And Parents Laws must Yield to Laws of State.*

*Heli. Then see the Means: For though the End were  
Good,*

*Yet for a Private man to Change a State;  
With Monarchs Sleights to Alter Monarchy,  
Seems Hard, if not Impossible to Mee.*

*Alaham. Impossible, is but the Faith of Fear;  
To make Hope Easy, fetch Belief elsewhere.  
Let lest These Sparks tak'd-up in Hollow Hearts,  
Should spread, and Burn, before their Fury show:  
Keep on the Course which you have us'd to go:  
Preach you with Fiery Tongue; Distinguish Might;  
Tyrants from Kings; Duties in Question bring  
Twixt God and Man; where Power INFINITE  
Compar'd, makes FINITE Power a Scornfull Thing;  
Safely so, Craft may with the Truth give Light,  
To Judge of Crowns, without Enammelling;  
And bring Contempt upon the Monarchs State,  
Where Streight Unhallow'd Power has Peoples Hate,  
Glance at Prerogatives Indefinite,  
Tax Customs, Wars, and Laws all-Gathering;  
Censure Kings Faults, their Spies, and Favourites;  
Holyness has a Privilege to Sting  
Men be not Wise; Bitternes from Zeal of Spirit*

It hardly Judg'd: the Envy of a King,  
Makes People LIKE Reproof of Majesty,  
Where GOD seems GREAT, in PRIESTS AUDACITY.

Traged. Alaham. p. 12, 13.

It will become me in this Place, to Distinguish upon the Matter in hand, before I quit the Subject. It is not My Meaning to Confound the Project of Mischief, with the Inaduertency, and Chance-Madley of it; or to Invoke the Confederate Projectors, with the Unthinking Instruments, in the Same Common Condemnation, and Censure: But it is sufficient to Consider, that here's a Way chalk'd-out, that leads most Certainly to Perdition; and that whoever Steers, and Pursues that Course, shall, most Infallibly Arrive at the Same End. Whether upon Set-Purpose, and Advice, or by giving Credit to a Wrong Direction, or a False Guide, it Matters not, as to the Publick: For the State suffers as much in the One Case, as in the Other. Only 'tis True; that, as to the Aggravating, or the Mitigating of the Offence; the Zeal, the Ignorance, or the Incogitancy of the One, is much more Venial, than what the Other does, upon Preposse-Malice, and Fore-thought. One tries, out of [Curiosity,] for Instance, the Force of the Sun through a Burning-Glass, upon a Barrel of Powder, in a Magazine: A Boy puts a Blazing Link, for the purpose, out of [Wantonness,] into a Truss of Straw in a Stable. A Third leaves ye a Pan of Coals, out of [Sagittence,] in a Room, to Air it, and the House takes Fire upon't: A Fourth sets so many Deals a-Drying, out of Reasb of the Fire, (as he Imagines;) but the [Heat] lays hold of 'em. And here are Four Ways now, of Springing a Conflagration. [Curiosity] is No Excuse for the First; nor [Wantonness] for the Second; Nor [Sagittence,] for the Third; Nor [had I thought it,] for the Fourth: but the Ignorance, (Especially with a Good Meaning) is More Pardonable, then the Sag-

Peglett; the Peglett, then the Wantonness; and the Wantonness of a Child, may be Better Born with, than the Curiosity here Suppos'd. But all this while, however, These several Causes, and Occasions of Disaster, may Differ, in the Measure, and Degree, of the Wickedness, or of the Transgression; they are All Equall yet, as to the Final Burning of the Town: Though the Damnable Hellish Popish Iniquity, and Malice of Huberts Long Pole in Pudding-Lane, (as the Romance has it) Surpasses them All. The Two Cases in band, are much alike; Only the One lays but the Metropolis in Ashes, the Other, the Three Kingdoms: and Men are Answerable Both ways, for Care and Consideration, as Two Essential Ingredients, into All Offices of Honour, and Duty. That which the Papists were to do, in the Fiction; the Republicans did, in very deed, and Earnest. And (to keep to my Point) make use of the Weak, the Careless, the Curious, the Hm-moursome, (and let me Add) the Popular, the Zelous, the Fearfull, and the Covetous, toward the Effecting of the Main Work: So that it is in This, as it has been in All Other Conspiracies; for One Man, that there is of a Faci-ous, Spiefull, Canker'd Animosity and Venome, against the Government, there Are, and Have been, I make no doubt on't, some Hundreds, that have been either Wheedled, or Menac'd, or Corrupted, or Seduced, or Deluded, into the Common Cause of Apostacy, and Disobedience. And when they come to be Hamper'd, in Leagues, Covenants, Engagements, and Associations, there are but too many of them, that will rather, Venture to be Damn'd, for Staying with 'em, then to be Hang'd, for Leaving them; and there they lye, Snugg, 'till they are drawn out of the Mud, by the Teeth, like Griggs, E're they'll Quite their Hold. The Result, in fine, is but This; they do all the Hurt in the World, without Meaning it, and without looking Before 'em, into the Probable Consequences, and the Reasonable Issue, and Tendency of Things.

See the Com-  
mons Votes of  
Jan. 10. 1680.

But the Motion of Political, is as Regular, as That of Natural Bodies; and Kingdoms, and States, have their Revolutions, and Courses, no less than Seasons.

A man may as well look into the Air, and Doubt whether the Sun Shines, as look about him in the World, and Doubt whether there be a Republican Spirit at Work, and whether it proceeds, by the Same Method, at Present, that have been made use of in All Former Times. That is to say; by setting False, or Dazzling Colours before Weak Eyes; By laying Grievances before the Rash, and Cholerique; Dangers, and Matter of Fears, and Jealousies before the Timorous; Spiritual Shams, before the Scrupulous; Scandalous Stories before the Credulous; Setting the Bold, and Daring, a-fire, with Insinuations of Indignity, and Provocation; Plying Male-Contents, with Artificial Stimulations toward Revenge; Emproving the Heats of a Mistaken Zeal, into the Contempt of Civil Order, and Government. In fine; All Passions; All Humours; All Weaknesses; All Errors, are made Subservient to All Confederacies of Practice against the State.

Upon These Motives, and Inducements, it was, (as I have Hinted before) that, upon the coming of his Present Majesty to the Crown, I did so much Press, and Inculcate, Care, Tenderness, Charitable Good Will, a Christian, and Political Agreement, betwixt the Common Subjects of the Same Sovereign, and the Members of Both Churches. I did not know how far, the Craft, the Industry, and the Application of One sort of People, might Prevail over the Easyness, Carelessness, and the Simplicity of Another; there being so many Difficulties, too, and Niceties, at That Time, in the way, as might very well Puzzle a man, how to Govern himself; whether as a Good Christian, a Loyal Subject, a Friend to his Country, and Religion: with a Just Regard to his Quality, Post, and Station, and to the Offices of an Honest Man. I was not Mistaken, I perceive, in my Apprehensions, and whosoever will but look back over his Shoulder, cannot chuse

chuse but *find it so*: But God forbid, all this while, that any man should be Blam'd for being *Short-Sighted*; Or that *Humane Frailty* in the Case of any *Mistake*, should be render'd a ~~Mortal~~ Sin. There are *Scandals Given*, and there are *Scandals Taken*; And, as we have had but *Too many Unmannerly Hot-Spurrs* of the *Former*, so we have had *Some very Worthy Persons* of the *Latter sort*, that have been *Mis-represented* to the *World*: And I lay the *Stress* of This *Charge*, onely upon the *Fierce*, the *Obstinate*, the *Consumacious*; and *Those that have Offended out of Malicious Wickedness*.

In the making of *Me a Papist*, my *Adversaries* have done me an *Honour*, to *Rangle* me (how *Libellously* soever they *Intended* it) under the *Persuasion* of my *Royal Master*: But with *This Honour*, they have done me *No Right* yet; because, in *Truth*, I am a *Son of the Establish'd Church of England*; Which they wish I were ~~not~~; and they are as *Heartily Sorry*, that I *Am*: For if I were, *Really*, of the *Roman Communion*; I should be a *very Perjur'd Villain*, for *Swearing*, with so much *Solemnity*, to the *Contrary*: Which would make *My Testimony* of as little *Credit* against *Otes*, as I have made his appear to be, against the *Roman Catholiques*. Nay, If by their *Forgeries*, they could but have made a *Papist* of me, to the *Multitude*, *My Jobb had been done*; and All my *Discoveries* of their *Treasonous*, and *Seditious Plots*, and *Conjurations*, would have been so much *Breath thrown into the Air*; and Three or Four Thousand Rheme of *Paper Condemn'd* to the *Necessary House*. No No! *True-Protestant-Otes*, and *Bedloe* were *Hard*, and *Shot-free*, against any *Papish Silver Bullets*, *Screw'd-Guns*, or *Daggers*: And their *Knights of the Post*; Their *Sham-Plots*: Their *White-Horse-Consulty*; Their *Somerset-House-Adventures*, were *True-Protestant-Rogueries*, that Could only be *Blown-up*, and *Confounded*, by a *Church-Protestant Hand*. In fine; If they could but have made ~~out~~ the *Proofs* of the *Plot*, half so well, as I have made.

out, the Reasons why they would have Me to be a Papist, they might have gone-on, (for ought I know) in a Comfortable way, of Drawing, Hanging, and Quartering, in Secula Saculorum.

Since the Finishing of the Paragraph next above, and with the Pen yet in my Hand, came a Gentleman to me with a Fresh Piece of Intelligence; which is, that I have taken Pet at the Toleration, and thrown-up my Observator because Things would not Work My Way; and I have lost All my Friends at Court upon't. Now the Malice of this Suggestion, is well enough Apply'd, but the Story, Groundless, and the very Pinch of the Case, Monstrously Mistaken. For my Discourses upon Toleration, have not been made a Question of Religion, but of Government; and the Main Point in Debate, has been This; Whether Liberty of Conscience, be a Challenge in the Right of the People, or an Act of Grace, and Indulgence, Issuing from the Prerogative of the Supreme Magistrate? My Conclusion runs throughout in favour of the Latter; and bears an Exact Conformity to the Present Resolutions of State. As for Example.

Obs. Num. 38. [All Indulgences, In, or About Externals in Religious Matters, (Saving in Cases of Stipulation, Laws, Promises, and the like) are Meerly Gratuitous, and Wholly Dependent, upon the Grace, Will, and Pleasure, of the Civil Magistrate.] And once again now.

Obs. 39. Vol. 3. [This does not yet Hinder the Right of the Civil Magistrate, to Interpose in such Indulgences, as may Stand with the Peace and Safety of his Dominions: Nay, and I am Persuaded, that over and above the Natural Softnesses of Generosity, and Good Nature, there are other Inducements to it, that are yet Stronger, and Founded upon Principles of Piety, Religion it self, Civil Prudence, and Honourable Justice. But where the Subject Challenges Those Graces and Dispensations, as of Right belonging to the People, they are

are not Worthy of them : Neither, Effectually, have they any Title to them. For when they come to Struggle once, for That as a Due, which is onely a Grace ; 'tis no longer a Question of Conscience, but a Competition for Power : And a Prince cannot Grant any Indulgence upon those Terms, without Waiving his Prerogative ; and the Cession of an Incommunicable Privilege of his Crown.]

This is the Doctrine that runs thorough All my Writings upon This Argument, and they are Open for any man to Examine, and, if he Can, to Disprove what I say ; Though 'tis a little Hard, methinks, for one to be put to Vindications, and Defences thus, In Season, and out of Season ; and 'tis not Every man's Body neither, that will Endure the Stripping, and a Reading upon't, in the Market-place.

But after All This Warmth, now, let me go-off like a Christian. I Forgive the Whole World, All the Willfull, Deliberate, and Malicious Lies that any of the Wicked Part of it have told of me ; with all their Scurrilities, and Inferior Slanders, over and above : But I cannot so easily Forget them ; and I Bansy, I shall hardly ever Trust 'em. I have not the least Unkind Impression, for those that have Reported the Ill-Things they have Heard of me, without Knowing me ; And for the Rest, So help me God, as I have No Thought, or Wish of Revenge, in the Heart of me.

I have drawn out This Preface, to a Length, much beyond the Measure that I Propos'd to my self ; And since I am Dipt thus far, in the Merits of the Main Case, I'll throw out my Hand ; and Contract into This Preamble, the Substance, and Marrow of what I had Design'd for a larger Discourse.

We have had several Essays, by Snaps here and there, (as the Author pleas'd) upon Divers Walks of the Plot ; but little has been done, as yet, to the framing of a Just, and Formal History of it, or to the laying of the Axe to the

*the Root.* There are in the *Three Parts of These Observators*, more *Remarques* upon the *Train*, the *Conduct* and the *Dependencies*; with the *Characters* of the *Witnesses* and of the *Patrons* of it; then are, *perhaps*, to be found

any where else: As in the *Contradictions*,  
 (a) See Ote's  
*Veracities*, Num.  
*60. 61. 62. 72.*  
*Vol. 2.*

(b) *140. 141.*  
*142. 180. Vol. 2.*

of (a) *Otes upon the Main Plot*; and so of (b) *Prance, Bedloe, &c.* about the *Murder of Sir Edmund - Bury - Godfrey*. But there was so much *Picking-Work* in the Case; so much *Puzzle* in the *Comparing of Evidences, Times, Places, and Persons*; such a *Latitude* left, for *Exception, Distinction, Evasion, Partiality of Comment, and Interpretation*: So much *Allowance*, for *Pretext of Surprizes, Slips of Memory, &c.* and upon the *Whole*, so strong a *Prepossession*, in *Favour of the Plot*, and *Against any man that should presume to Thwart it*, that *People were Believ'd without Opening their Mouths, and Taught their Lessons before-hand*, for fear they should be *Out in their Enformations*. They had their *Rolls*, and *Private Practices by Themselves*, before ever they came to *Play their Parss*, in *Publique*, for *Good and All*. So that upon the *Whole*, *Truth* was as good as *Gagg'd*, and the *Plot insur'd*; and a *Conscientious Evidence*, against an *Affidavit-man*, was in much more danger of a *Gibbet*, than the *Other of a Pillory*; for there needed no more than a *Good Round Oath*, and a *Trusty Second*, fortify'd with the *Unaccountable Inferrences* of an *Ambulatory Committee*, to do any *Honest man's Business*: and *Oaths*, by *This time* were *Grown as Cheap as Stinking Mackrel*. The *Imposture* was *Christen'd*, a *Narrative*, or a *Discovery*; and the *Impostors Themselves* (according to a *True-Protestant Heraldry*) were styl'd the *Saviours of the Nation*. A man could not say *Black was Ote's Eye*, but he was made an *Invalidator of the King's Evidence*; A *Ridiculer of the Damnable, Hellish, Popish Conspiracy*; His *Mouth Stopt with Votes, and Proclamations*, and in *Danger of a Council*, for *Arraigning Four Parli-*

Parliaments, and the Wisdom of the Nation. In few words; Such was the Awe, and the Power of the Faction, and such the Tyranny of That Season, that there is no Perfect Memorial to be Expected of Those Times; and whoever should take upon him to Gather-up, and put together, the very Imperfections, and Fragments of That History, would find Work enough for an Age; And Matter enough, for the Bulk of the Book of Martyrs, Sixteen times over: Beside the Squabbles that would arise upon the Varie Lectiones, and the Impossibility of Reconciling Several Doctors Opinions, for want of Authentique Papers, and Instruments, to proceed by. But though the Maddest Creature in Moor Fields, would not Venture upon the Tracing of Particulars, thorough All the Turns, and Windings of that Diabolical Maze; or so much as Think of Digesting the Inconsistencies, and Confusions of That Story into any Pretence of Connexion, or Form: it may nevertheless very well stand with the Reputation, as well as the Duty of a Sober Man, not to let the Whole Truth be Lost, for want of here and there an Original; Provided, that it may come (so much as is on't) Pure, and Untainted to Posterity, and Carry an Authority in the Face on't, not to be Controll'd.

Now as This Plot, partly in the Sham, partly in the Operation of it; and Partly again, in the Occasions Administer'd by it, has furnish'd Matter for a Course of Almost Six Years Papers; I cannot do better, then to Tack the History, to the Reflections: Especially, when the One will be found so Needfull to the Exounding of the Other; and the Truth laid as Clear, and Certain, as if it had been Pointed-out by a Beam of the Sun. I Draw All my Water from the Fountain; And not One Drop that is not Neat, Natural, and Syncere; and that will not abide the Uttermost Test. That is to say; I have, for my Authorities; The Votes of Several Parliaments; Printed by Order; and Publish'd with an Express Design to Inform the World of the very Matters which I am now

(a) Oxford De-  
bates. Fol. 1.

(b) Ibid. Fol. 2.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid.

now about to lay open. (a) [Printing our Votes (says one) will be for the Honour of the King, and the Safety of the Nation.] (b) If our Actions be Naught, let the World Judge of them; If they be Good, let them have their Virtue, &c. Therefore, I am for Printing, &c.] (c) The Popish Party Dread Nothing more than Printing what you do.] (d) This Printing, &c. is like Plain Englishmen, who are not Ashame'd of what they do.] Now, over and above the Main Chance, in a Complyance with Authority, and Order; I have likewise upon the Publishing of These Papers, taken This Thought into my Care; That whereas, there are many People that would be Glad, and Willing enough to be Inform'd in this Intrigue, if it might be done without the Incumbrance of buying a Heavy Book for the sake of a Preface: Therefore, I have so far Consulted the Readers Ease, as to Order the Printing of it, apart, in a Less Volume, to the End, that it may serve to Both Purposes: But for Distinction sake, I shall give it a Title by it self however, that People may not Confound that which is properly, Preface, with the Following History.

A Brief

A Brief  
**HISTORY**  
 Of the  
**T I M E S,**  
 F R O M

*Dr. Otis's taking his Degree at Salamanca, to the Bearing of his Testimony at a Cart-Arise from Newgate to Tyburn.*

**T**HE Devil is never so Dangerous, as when he Presents himself in the Shape of an Angel of Light; and there's nothing so Diabolical, as a Religious Wickedness: When a man Blasphemes the Holy Ghost, by Kissing the Book; and Desires, and Renounces God, in the very Act of Appealing to him. This was the Case, of the Witnesses, and the Plot; which Plot, was, in Effect, such a sort of Miracle Impos'd upon the People, as the Serpents that the Magicians would have Sham'd upon Aaron: But Truth, in the End, Devour'd

*Devour'd the Imposture.* It was, in short, a kind of *Perverse Creation*, *Made*, out of *Nothing*, and without any *Pre-existence* of *Matter to Work upon*: Only a *Parliamentary Fiat*, at last, brought it out of the *Abyffe*.

Commons Jour-  
nal Oct. 31.  
1687.

A Plot Cleton.

[Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That upon the Evidence that has already appear'd to This House, This House is of Opinion, that there is, and hath been a Damnable, and Hellish Plot, Contrived and Carry'd-on by Popish Recusants, for Assassinating and Murthering the King, for Subverting the Government, and Rooting-out, and Destroying the Protestant Religion.]

This was no more then to say, That *Otes*, *Bedloe*, and *Tonge* *Made* the *Plot*, and the *House of Commons Found* it; and they could not well do *Less*, at *That Time of the Day*, Considering the *Positive Oaths* of so many *Profligate Villains*, and the *Constitution* of *That Loyal Parliament*, who thought they could never Sufficiently *Abominate*, or *Revenge* themselves on the *Papists*, for so *Unnatural*, and *Ungratefull* a *Conspiracy* against their *Prince*, and their *Religion*. Beside, that the *Noise* of *Godfreys Murder*; the *Ferreting* of the *Monks* in the *Savoy*; *Langhorn*, *Whitebread*, *Mico*, *Coleman*, and the Lord knows how many more, to be *Seiz'd*; *Papists Banish'd*, and *Disabled* from Sitting in *Parliament*; the *Raising* of the *Militia*, &c. This *Hurry*, put People out of their *Wits*; and *Consequently*, there was no Place left for

for Fair Reasoning in the Sober Way of a Cold, and Temperate Debate.

Now he that shall Stumble upon These Papers Five Hundred Year hence, and have a mind to be Peeping into the History of a Villany, (so many Ages before him) shall never need to Consult the Records, either of Salamanca, or St. Omers, for the Mystery, the Design, or the Issue of it; Nor to look any farther, then to the Two First Parts of These Observators, for his ample Satisfaction. And so without spending any more Time, and Paper, upon Preliminaries, I shall Hasten to what I am to say upon This Subject; without laying any Stress at all, upon the Authority of Hearsays, and Conjectures; without taking any thing upon Trust, or Delivering any other Truths over to Posterity, then what I have receiv'd in Form, from the very Lips of the Oracle it self.

According to  
Order.

[I Appoint John-a-Nokes, and John-a-Styles to Print These Votes, Perused and Sign'd by me, according to the Order of the House of Commons, and that no other Person presume to print them.] *ET CÆTERA.*

*Tba*

## The History of the Plot.

**I**N Sept. 1678. Otes and Tong, Together, made a Composition of a Damnable, Hellish Story, that they call'd the Popish Plot. And, such as it was, it was Sworn before Sir E. B. G. and Presented, with Wond'rous Formalities of Zeal, and Caution, to his Late Majesty Himself. There were Jesuits Letters, forsooth, to be Seiz'd at the Post-House, to Patch up the Credit of a Broken Bus'ness. I have, at This Instant, the Originals by me; Five in All, and at Least, Three of the Five, most Undeniably the Hand-Writing of Otes, and Tonge, Themselves. Briefly; the Shot was Manifestly Pointed at his Royal Highness, and thorough Him at the King, his Brother; and thorough his Late Majesty, at Monarchy it self, as will be made Clearer then the Day, in the Sequel of this Discourse. The Faction, that was Resolv'd to make the Most on't, and to Improve the Imposture, wrought such Havock, for a Month, or Six Weeks upon't, with Frightfull Stories, Continual Alarums; Fresh and Fresh Discoveries, and Enformations, that a great many Wise, Good, and Sober Men were Startled at it; and the Common People, as Mellow as Tinder, to take Fire at the least Spark.

At the Opening of the Following Parliament, of October 21. 1678. His Majesty had This Passage in his Speech. [I now intend to Acquaint you, (as I shall allways do with any thing that Concerns me) that I have been Enformed of a Design against my

my Person by the Jesuits; of which, I shall forbear any Opinion, lest I should say too Much, or too Little; but I will leave the Matter to the Law.] The Commons fell presently to work, upon the Plot-Papers; the Further and Further Enformations, of Titus Otes; (That Inexhaustible Fountain of Invention, and Slander.) Sir Edmundbury-Godfreys Matters; Priest-Hunting, and Impeaching. And Then came on the Humour of Seizing Caudle-Cups, for Altar-Plate; Medals, and Guineys, for Popish-Trinkets; the Burning of our Blessed Saviour, in Effigie; Playing the Merry-Andrews, and Buffoons, in Priests-Habits; Making Sport with Holy Orders, and Holy Things; 'till in the Conclusion, for fear of Popery, they ran-a-Muck (as they call it) at Christianity it self, and bore down Every thing that stood in their Way, betwixt This and Hell. There was no Place left for Moderation, Sobriety, or Council; Truth, Justice, Humanity, Honour, and Good Nature, were All Popishly-Affected, and never such a Competition, betwixt Divine Providence, on the One hand, and the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, on the Other; for the Preserving, or the Destroying of a Nation.

The History of the Interval, betwixt Otes's Damnable Discovery, and (if the Conceit be not too Trivial) the Discovery of Damnable Otes, has been the Entertainment of all Peoples Tongues, and Thoughts, and the Amazement of Christendome, no less then the Horror of All Good Men: To see the Foundations of Three Kingdoms, Shaken with the

*Breath of Four or Five Prostitute, Mean, and Stigmatiz'd Varlets: An Imperial Monarchy, well-nigh Sunk into a Common-Wealth, upon the Credit of Notorious Impostors, and Common Cheats: An Apostolical Church, in danger to be Over-turn'd, in the Name of God, and for the sake of Religion, by the same Instruments: Jayls, and Dungeons, fill'd with Men of Honour, Faith, and Integrity, upon the Testimony of Pillory'd Pick-Pockets, and of the Sink of Mankind: The Heir Apparent to the Crown, in a fair way too, to be Disinherited, at the Instance of Felons, and Renegades: Perjury, and Subornation, Triumphant; and Nothing so Sacred, either in Heaven, or upon Earth, as to be Secure from the Outrages of the Rabble. The Faction in short, had got a-Head, and there was No Resisting the Torrent.* Now the Fact was Agreed upon at All Hands; but as to the Rise, the Occasion, and the Danger of these Distempers; People were Divided; Some would have it to be a Popish Plot upon the Kings Person, and Government, and the Protestant Religion: Others would have it to be a Republican Plot against All Three, under Another Name, but with the self Same Design; That is to say, of Killing the King; Changing the Government; Dissolving the Church; and, rather then fail, their Ends to be Compass'd by Fires, and Massacres; as was Expressly Own'd by divers of the Common-Wealth-Conspirators that were brought to Justice, Some in 1666. and Others in 1683. Certain it is, that the Cover of the Four Evangelists never had Foul Lips laid to't, (the Merits of the Cause

Cause apart) then Those of the Kings Witnesses, upon This Occasion: And it fell out too, huge Unluckily for Their Purpose, that the People that were to be Massacred, should break out into so many Rebellions, for fear of having their Throats Cut; while the People that they swore were to Cut their Throats, were either Coop'd-up in Prisons, or Gibbeted up and down the Kingdom, like so many Vermin in a Cony-Warren, without making anyOne Attempt, either upon the Person of his Majesty, or upon the Peace of his Dominions; Nay, and (to give them their Due) without so much as Muttering against the Government, under All This Rigour. The Cause is now coming to an Issue; and the Articles of the Charge (*Mutatis Mutandis*) the very Same on Both sides; as Perjury, Subornation, Packing of Witnesses, and Juries; Only for Pickering, reade Rumbold; for Papist, reade True-Protestant; And so in like manner, where the Same Reason holds in Other Cases.

The Theme that I am now upon, is so Copious; It has so many Incidents that Necessarily fall into the Story; the Matter is of so Great a Consequence to be Clear'd, and there is so Great a Variety of Previous, and Leading Circumstances, in the Nature of *Præcognita*, that require a Place in the Preamble to *This Narrative*; that the Prologue to my Bus'ness has been a great deal longer then I intended: But I shall now Haste to an Impartial Account upon the Two Plots in Question.

Two Plots in  
Question.

**A**S to the *Proof, or Testimony of a Popish Plot*, we have the Credit of *Witnesses Innumerable*, (such as they are) both *English and Irish*: But the *Foundation of the White Fabrick*, is *Otes'es Consult at the White-Horse in the Strand*; And All the Rest has been, but a *Superfætation upon that Original*. It has been *Sworn* to be a *Plot*; *Judg'd* to be a *Plot*; I know not how many *Priests, Jesuits, and Others* have *Dy'd* for't as a *Plot*: But, in fine, Such a *Plot it was*, as no body ever yet saw Any thing Of it, or any thing Like it, but with *Otes'es Eyes*; which, in the Bus'ness of *Don John, Mr. Coleman, and Several Other Instances*, have been found not be *Infallible*. So that upon the Main, *Otes'es Plot* is the *Ground-Work of the Whole*; And if That Fails, All Fails: which may nevertheless Be, and No Affront to the Believers of it: For an Oath may be Good in Law, and yet Carry a Man to the Devil upon the Point of Conscience.

*Simpson*

Simpson Tonge proves the Popish-Plot  
to be only a Contrivance betwixt his Fa-  
ther, and Titus Otes.

**N**OW as to the Project common- Otes's Plot.  
ly call'd, Otes's Plot, if a man may Speak Truth, and Shame the Devil, it was not the Doctors Alone; but a kind of a Club betwixt Titus Otes, and Ezrel Tonge; as I have it under the Hand of Young Tonge Himself; and upon Other very Good Authorities beside. As for the Purpose.

[Our Petitioner doth Protest, in Tonge's Evi-  
the Presence of Almighty God; that dence: The  
it is very True, that the Plot was Shammer  
Contrived by my Father, and Titus Shain'd. p. 23.  
Otes, when he returned the Second Time beyond  
the Seas.] Subscribed Simpson Tonge; The Pe-  
tition; to His Late Majesty; and the Original,  
I have in My Own Hand: As likewise of these In-  
stances that follow.

[Under the Pretence of a Popish Plot, (which my Father first Im-  
gin'd was n-foot, and afterwards Otes at his Se-  
cond Return, Swore to be True) Their Main and Principal Design was to Disinherit his Royal High-  
ness. The first Persons that Manag'd the Plot, and were Privy to it, were my Father, Otes, &c.] This was Address'd to my self, Dated from the Kings-  
Bench, Jan. 5. 1681. and Sign'd Simpson Tonge. And once again yet. C 3 When

*When I came from the University, in the Year 77. I found Otes with my Father, in a very poor Condition, who complained he knew not what to do to get Bread; who went under the Name of Ambrose. My Father took him home, and gave him Cloaths, Lodging, and Djet, saying he would put him into a way.*

*And then he persuaded him to get acquainted among the Papists; and when he had done so, then my Father told him, there had been many Plots in England to bring in Popery, and if he would go over among the Jesuits, and Observe their ways, it was possible it might be One now; and if he could make it oat, it would be his Preferment for ever. But however, if he could get their Names, and a little Acquaintance from the Papists, it would be an Easy matter to stir up the People to fear Popery.] And again, [My Father and He (Dr. Otes) went and Lodg'd at Fox-Hall, at one Lamberts, a Bell-Founder, (which House was call'd by the Neighbours the Plot-House;) And there Otes's Narrative was Written; whereof several Copies were Written, very Different from the Other: and the Four Jesuits Letters (wherein Oates pretended was the whole Discovery) were Counterfeits, &c.]*

To the Instances above, I shall Add One More, for the Further Reputation of All the Rest; which is, That when Otes's Credit ran High, and the Faction as Bold as Ever, upon May the 15. 1682. I Publish'd This Following Advertisement: And it went down without either Check, or Controll.

If

If any Man, Woman, or Child,  
will be so Kind, and Generous, as out  
of an Affection to the Protestant Re-

Obl. N. 138.  
Vol. I.

ligion, and the Vindication of Dr. Otes; to call  
Simpson Tonge to a Legal Account, for Endeav-  
ouring to Destroy the Credit of the said Doctor,  
and his Evidence, by Scandalous Reflexions upon  
Both; Roger L'Estrange does hereby offer Him-  
self, out of a Zeal to the Publique Good, to Fur-  
nish Authentique Papers, and Memorials, toward  
the Prosecution of the Work.

**T**He Whole Party were as Mute  
as Fishes, after This Publica-  
tion; which they would never have  
been, if they durst have put the  
Reputation of Otes's Evidence to the Test. To  
say Nothing of the Congruity, betwixt the Method  
and the Drift of their Open Proceedings in the  
Case, and the Scope of Tonge's Private Enforma-  
tions: For the Father, and Otes, Acted the Same  
Part before the Commons, which Young Tonge said  
they did betwixt Themselves, and the Mortal Ma-  
lice of the Cabal, struck at the Duke of York too,  
just according to the Report of His Papers. In-  
somuch, that while His Royal Highness was Woun-  
ded for the Pretended Sake of the Roman Catho-  
liques; The Romanists Themselves were likewise  
to be Sacrific'd for the sake of the Duke of York;  
and Both for the Common Interest of the Change  
they Design'd.

The Party Con-  
scious that Otes  
was a Cheat,

After this Preparatory to a General Understan-  
ding of the Case here under Confederation ; it will  
be Proper and Needfull, to set forth what such a  
Plot Is, before I come to a Resolution, that This  
Damnable, Hellish, Popish Thing of Dtes'gs ;  
was, in Truth, such a Plot : That is to say, a Plot  
upon the Life of the King ; The Frame of the  
Government, and the Destruction of the Protestant  
Religion. And to This End , Parliamentary  
Votes, will be as Good in Payment, I hope, as  
for Hall Narratives ; and as Current in the  
 vindication of the Royal Family, as the Other  
were to the Defaming of it.

*The Plot-Faction Design'd the Ruine of  
the Late King ; and to Compass it,  
by leaving him neither M O N Y,  
P O W E R, C R E D I T, nor  
F R I E N D S.*

**W**HAT's a Prince, I would fain know, with-  
out [M O N Y ;] without [P O W E R ;]  
without [C R E D I T ;] without [F R I E N D S ?]  
And what are Those People that Endeavour to  
Robb, and to Strip their Sovereign of All These  
Necessary Supports ? Or what can any man  
do More, toward the Execution of the Malice of  
the Pretended Popish Plot, than to enter into a  
League, and to Joyn in a Conspiracy, to All These  
Ereccable Ends ? If the Project of doing All  
This,

This, may be call'd a Plot; If to Labour the Doing of it, be, to be ~~In~~ a Plot; And if This was upon the Wheel, and Actually a Doing, by Otes, and his Confederates, and Founded, upon His Counterfeit Plot too; And if I make All This Out, from Publique Acts, and Orders, as Credible as Records; the Question, and the Reputation of This Sham, is at an End for Ever. And so I shall Proceed to the Four Heads above mentioned, in Course, as they lye.

## No Deny.

**A**S to the Matter of [MONS] How many Addresses were made by a Prevalent Majority of the House of Commons, for  
 (a) [Reward to the Discoverers of Godfrey's Murder.] (b) [Five Hundred Pounds Reward to Bedloe.] (c) [Dangerfield to be Pardon'd, and Rewarde'd.] And so for (d) [Turberville, Boare, Sampson, Macknamarra, Eustace Commins, &c.] Beside the Horrible Charge of Pensions, for the Entertainment of Otes, Bedloe, Dugdale, and Forty more. But after all these Expences; not a Penny, to be either Supply'd, by Bill, or so much as Borrow'd upon Anticipations; unless upon Terms Worse than Death; as by These following Votes will Appear.

[Resolved, That his Majestie in his Last Message; having Assured Jan. 7. 1680.

This

*This House of his Readiness to Concurr in all other Means, for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion; This House doth Declare, that untill a Bill be likewise passed, for Excluding the Duke of York, this House cannot give any Supply to his Majesty, without Danger to his Majesties Person. Extreme Hazzard of the Protestant Religion, and Unfaithfulness to Those by whom This House is Intrusted.]*

Ibid.

[*Resolved, That whosoever shall hereafter Lend, or Cause to be Lent, by way of Advance, any MONT, upon the Branches of the King's Revenue arising by Customs, Excise, or Hearth-Mony, shall be Adjudged to Hinder the Sitting of Parliaments, and shall be Responsible for the same in Parliament.]*

Ibid.

[*Resolved, That whosoever shall Accept, or Buy any Tally of Anticipation upon any Part of the Kings Revenue; or whosoever shall pay such Tally hereafter to be Struck, shall be Adjudged to hinder the Sittings of Parliaments, and shall be Responsible therefore in Parliament.]*

In the Address of Decem. 21. 1680. The Commons Insist upon the Excluding of the Duke of York, and an Act of Association; Or otherwise see what Follows.

Commons Votes  
Dec. 21. 1680.

[*Without these Things the Allyances of England will not be Valuable, nor the People Encourag'd to Contribute to your Majesties Service.]*

From

From hence, it does abundantly Appear that his Late Majesty was *Driven upon Expence, and Hindered of Supplys, by All Arts, and Shifts Imaginable*: and the Readiest way of finding to what End All this was done, will be to look into the Grounds, and Reasons, of their so doing. (a) The *Lords* sent down a *Vote* to the House of *Commons*, for their *Concurrence*, Declaring that their Lordships were fully Satisfy'd that there was a *Horrid, and a Treasonable Plot Carry'd-on, by the Papists in Ireland*: Unto which *Vote*, the Commons Agreed with an *Addition*, in *Manner Following.*

This House does Agree with the Lords in the said Vote; with the Addition of These Words; *That the Duke of York, being a Papist, and the Expectation of his Coming to the Crown, hath given the Greatest Countenance and Encouragement thereto, (the Irish Plot that is) as well as to the Horrid Popish Plot, in This Kingdom of England.*

[*Resolved, That it is the Opinion of This House, that there is no Security or Safety for the Protestant Religion; the King's Life, or the Well-Constituted and Established Government of This Kingdom; without Passing a Bill for Disabling James Duke of York to Inherit the Imperial Crown of England, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; and to Rely upon any other Means*

*Com. Votes.  
Jan. 6. 1680.*

*Com. Votes.  
Jan. 7. 1680.*

*Means and Remedies, without such a Bill, is not only Insufficient, but Dangerous.]*

Here's the *Horrid Popish English Plot* made the Ground, for the Excluding of the Duke; and keeping the King short of Money; according to the Intent of the Votes of Jan. 7. 1680. above-mention'd. And That's made the Foundation likewise, for the Refusal, in the Address before-Cited, in the very Syllables of the said Address.

[*That your Majesties Sacred Life*  
*Com. Votes.*      *is in Continual Danger, under the*  
*Add. Dec. 21.*      *Prospect of a Popish Successor, is*  
*1680.*      *Evident, not only from the Principles*  
*of Those Devoted to the Church of Rome, but*  
*also from the Testimonies Given in the Prosecution*  
*of the Horrid Popish Plot, against Divers Traitors*  
*Attainted for Designing to put Those Accursed*  
*Principles into Practice against your Majesty.]*

There needs no Subtlety, of Quirking, or Reasoning, upon this Case, of [MONY,] the Spire of it lying so Open, that Every Common Eye sees thorough it; and that the Terms the Republican Cabal Treated upon, in some of those Parliaments, were no other, than a Tryal of Skill, to see if they could bring his Late Majesty to a

No Mony but  
in Composition  
for his Crown.

Composition for his Crown. For the King was to have No Mony, but upon Conditions of Disinheriting his Brother; (and more yet, as I shall shew in Due Place) Contrary to all the Tyes of Conscience, Gratitude, Justice, and Prudence: And All, for fear of [a Damnable Hellish Popish Plot.]

**Plot.]** We shall see now how they Dealt with his Majesty likewise, in the Matter of [Power.]

### No Power.

**T**HE Power of a Prince, Exerts it self in the Means of an Ample Revenue, to Answer all the Necessities of the Crown; to Pay his Troops, and to Reward Honourable Services: In the Privileges of Sovereign Authority; the Love, and the Reputation that he has in the Hearts of his People; In the Arms of his Militia; the Command of his Subjects; and the Clearfull Obedience of his Friends. They had already Main'd, and Disbanded his Late Sacred Majesty, in the First Great Point, of his Revenue. That which comes-on Next, is to see how they dealt with him in respect of his Power, of Prerogative, in General, and as to his Forces, both by Land, and by Sea, in Particular; and whether the whole Proceeding was not still Grounded, upon the Damnable Bug-bear of the Popish Plot. How they us'd him, upon the Matter of his Credit, and Friends, shall come-on in due Time. But to Proceed now, to an Enquiry how they handled him upon the Subject of his Prerogative. First in the Case of the Earl of Danby.

The

The Kings Prerogative of Pardonning  
Question'd.

Journal. Mar.  
24. 1678.

[**R**esolved, That an Humble Address be made to His Majesty, Representing to his Majesty the Irregularity, and Illegality of the Pardon, mentioned by his Majesty to be Granted to the Earl of Danby, and the Dangerous Consequence of Granting Pardons to Any Persons that lie under an Impeachment of the Commons of England.]

No Power of  
Life and Death.

Com. Journal,  
Dec. 21. 1678.

Here's the Kings Power of Life and Death shaken at the very Root; and what's the Unpardonable Crime at last, but This among Others!

[That he is Popishly-Affected, and hath Trayterously Conceal'd, after he had Notice of, the Late Horrid Plot, or Conspiracy, Contrived by the Papists against his Majesties Person and Government, and hath Suppress'd the Evidence, and Reproachfully Discountenanced the Kings Witnesses in the Discovery of it, in favour of Popery, Immediately tending to the Destruction of the Kings Sacred Person, and Subversion of the Protestant Religion.]

There happen'd no Evil under the Sun in those Days, but the Late Horrid Plot, or somewhat like it, had still a Finger in the Pye: But from Pardonning in my Lord Danby's Case, they proceeded afterward, to a Bolder Step in my Lord Staff.

Staffords; and to make a Moot-Point of it, whether the King, by his Prerogative, could so much as Remit, any Part of the Sentence; but Sir W. J. gave his Opinion upon't, in Favour of the Prerogative, upon a very Weighty Reason. [This House (says he) lyeth not under any Obligation to Offer at any Opposition, nor concern themselves herein, Especially at This Time, when such a Dispute may End, in Preventing of the Execution of the said Lord Stafford: And therefore I do bumbly Conceive you may do well to give your Consent, that the said Writ be Executed according to its Tenor.]

Collection of  
Debates, Dec.  
23. 1680.  
p. 215.

The Short of the Bus'ness was This; Sentence of Death was pass'd, in Form, upon my Lord Stafford; and the Kings Writ to the Sheriffs, Commanded only his Head to be Sever'd from his Body. Bethel and Cornish, (the then Sheriffs of London and Middlesex) Apply'd themselves by Petition, to the Lords, to know whether they should Obey the Writ, or Not: The Lords found the Scruples Unnecessary, and Declar'd [That the Kings Writ ought to be Obey'd.] After this, to the Commons, Stating the Matter under These Four Following Quæries. (I speak upon the Credit of the Collection of Debates above-mention'd,) Bethel and Cor-nish's Scruple a-bout the Execu-tion of the Lord Stafford.  
Lord Staffords Tryal, Fol. 217.

I. Whe-

Bethel's Queries.  
Coll. of Debates,  
Dec. 23. 1680.

1. Whether the King, being neither Judge nor Party, can Order the Execution?

2. Whether the Lords can award Execution?

3. Whether the King can Dispense with any part of the Execution?

4. If the King can Dispense with some part of the Execution, why not with All?

Upon the Debate, it was, in the Conclusion, [Resolved, That This House is [CONTENT,] (That is to say; it does *VOUCHSAFE*, and with *MUCH A-DO* too) that the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, do Execute William Late Viscount Stafford, by Severing his Head from his Body only.]

The Story of these Insolencies will never be Believ'd in After-Ages; but however, we are up-

Lord Stafford's  
Tryal. (a) fol. 4.  
(b) fol. 5.  
(c) fol. 6.

on the Foot still, of the (a) [Trayterous, and Execrable Conspiracy for the (b) Imprisoning, Depositing, and Murdering his Sacred Majesty, and the (c) Raifing and Depositing of Men, Monys, Arms, and other Things Necessary for their Wicked, and Trayterous Designs, and Namely, a Commission for William Viscount Stafford, to be Paymaster of the Army.

Here's a Dreadfull Bus'ness (as the Good Woman said) about this same Trayterous, and Execrable Conspiracy; Pray the Lord it be all

all True at Last; for the Government was Migh-  
tily off the Hinges about it; and the Fountain of  
*Mercy*, and *Power*, seem'd to be quite Dry'd-up.  
The *Sheriffs* were become the *Peoples Officers*,  
and the *Commons* made *Judges* of the *Validity* of  
the *King's Writ*, The Style of *Authority*, was no  
longer [*We Charge and Command*] but Re-  
solv'd upon the *Question*;] and the *Power* of the  
*Keys*, dropt into *St. Stephens Chapel*.

### *Parliamentary as well as Pardoning Power Encroch'd upon.*

**A**ND that they might not seem *Partial to One Prerogative* more then *Another*, They struck at the *King's Power of Parliaments*, as well as of *Pardons*; and finding that an *Ever-lasting Parliament* Agreed so well with their *Pre-decessors*, they had a Months-mind to make *Tryal* of the *Same Experiment Themselves* too; as may be seen by the *By*, in their *Parliamentary Addresses*, and *Votes*, but most *Expressly*, in the *Throng of Popular Addresses* to his Majesty, and in the *Libel of Vox Patriæ*; where so many of the *Members* got themselves *Address'd* to, in a kind of an *Association*, to That very purpose. As for Example: In the *Address* against Sir *George Jeffreys*; the Earl of *Hallifax*; and several *Votes* upon the same Occasion.

[*We your Majesties most Dutiful, &c. in hopes to bring the Popish Conspirators to speedy Justice.*

Commons Votes  
Nov. 22. 1680.

D

were

were about to Petition to your Majesty in an Humble, Dutifull, and Legal Way, for the Sitting of This Parliament, &c.] And so again.

**Commons Votes** [We, &c. being deeply sensible of Nov. 26. 1680. the Manifold Dangers and Mischiefs which have been Occasion'd to This your Kingdom by the Dissolution of the Last Parliament, and by the Frequent Prorogations of This Parliament, whereby the Papists have been Greatly Encouraged to Carry on their Hellish, and Damnable Conspiracies, &c.]

**Commons Votes** [Resolved, That Whosoever Advised his Majesty to Prorogue This Jan. 10. 1680. Parliament, to Any Other purpose, then in Order to the Passing of a Bill for the Exclusion of James Duke of York, is a Betrayer of the King; the Protestant Religion, and of the Kingdom of England; a Promoter of the French Interest, and a Pensioner to France.]

What is All This, but Overturning, and Overturning? Confusion, like Waves, following One upon the Back of Another; and the Cabal so Intoxicated with Passion, in the Logick of This Last Vote, that the very Despise of being Defeated, made them Forget their Ordinary Prudence: For the Conclusion is never to be Reconcil'd to the Premisses. All that can be said for This Worrying Vote, is, that they were then in their Last Agonies; for they were That Day Prorogu'd, from the aforesaid 10th of January, to the 20th, in Order to a Dissolution: And in All Mischievous Creatures, the Convulsions of Death are ever the Strongest: But

But for the Rolls of the Written Addresses of Those Days, they are most of them Peremptory, for Sitting 'till they might be Effectually Secur'd, and That's One Main Condition too, of the Countrys Addresses to their Members; And the Address of Sir Patience Ward, then Lord-Mayor, &c. to his Majesty Himself.

[Your Petitioners were Extremely Vox Patriæ. f. 3.  
Surpriz'd at the Late Prorogation,  
whereby the Prosecution of the Publique Justice of the Kingdom; and the Making the Provisions Necessary for the Preservation of your Majesty, and your Protestant Subjects, hath received an Interruption, &c.]

They do therefore most Humbly Ibid. fol. 4.  
pray, &c. That the said Parliament  
may Sit from the Day to which they are Prorogued,  
untill by their Councils, and Endeavours, Those Good Remedies shall be Provided, and Those Just Ends Attained; upon which, the Safety of your Majesties Person; The Preservation of the Protestant Religion; The Peace and Settlement of your Kingdoms, and the Welfare of This your Ancient City, do so Absolutely Depend.]

What is This now, but the Counter-part of the Bill for Continuing the Parliament, that was Pass'd in Forty One, and Chiefly upon the very Same Pretences too? Viz. That Publique Grievances might be Redress'd, and Justice done upon Delinquents, before the Parliament should be Dissolv'd: Or in short; The King was [Not to Pro- See Whitlock's  
rogue, Adjourn, or Dissolve This Par- Memor. fol. 43.  
ament, without Consent of Both Hous- ses.] D 2 And

And there's Another Parliamentary Point, yet to Come, in the Vote of Unqualifying the Members, for the Receiving of any Beneficial Office from the King. 'Tis a kind of a Scandalous Incapacity, for a Subject to fare the worse for his Master's Commission; And too much in all Conscience, for the Same Men to Tye-up the King's Hands from Any Act of Grace, and Bounty, toward his Subjects, that had before Ty'd-up the Peoples Hands, from Supplying his Majesty. The Vote was This,

[Resolved, That no Member of  
Votes. Dec. 30. 1680. This House shall Accept any Office, or  
Place of Profit from the Crown without the Leave of This House, nor any Promise of any such Office or Place of Profit during such time as he shall continue a Member of This House.]

An Eminent Member that Started This Motion, made it his Observation upon the Long Parliament,

Collection of Debates. p. 218. [That All Those that had Pensions, and most of Those that had Offices,

Voted All of a side, as they were directed by some Great Officer, &c.] If That Gentleman had taken as much Notice, that the House had but Two sides, and who Voted on the Other; he would have found a Noble Peer, to have Weigh'd against his Great Officer, and the Matter to be no more then the Old Discrimination over again, of [King and Parliament.] It may be a Question now, the Tendency, and Intent of This Touch duly Consider'd, whether they made the King, or the Member, in such a Case, the Greater Delinquent of the Two.

And

And they were not Contented, here, neither, without a *Further Essay* upon the Choice of his Majesties Ministers, and Officers of State, War, and Justice; After the Copy of the Old Nineteen Propositions.

*The King not to Chuse his own Officers, and Ministers.*

[**N**o (a) Judges but men of Ability, Integrity, and Known Affection to the Protestant Religion: (And They Themselves to be Judges of the Judges) Their Offices, and Salaries, to hold, Quamdiu se bene gesserint, &c. (b) No Lord-Lieutenants, but Persons of Integrity, and Known Affection to the Protestant Religion, (the Religion of the Associates, that is) No Deputy-Lieutenants, and Justices of the Peace, but so Qualify'd; And moreover, Men of Ability, Estates, and Interest in their Country: (under the Same Character still) None to be Employ'd as Military Officers, or Officers in his Majesties Fleet, but men of Known Experience, Courage, and Affection to the Protestant Religion.] (All, Parliament Proof, still, and of the Same Stamp.) To say nothing of the *Habeas-Corpus Bill*; and other Encroachments upon the Prerogatives of the Crown: for fear of being too too Tedium. We'll see next, how they Behav'd themselves in the Bus'ness of the *Militia*, and the *Kings Guards*; over and above the Step they made to have

The 19 Propositions over again.  
(a) Votes. Address. Dec. 21. 1680.

(b) Ibid.

have the *Approbation of All Officers, Themselves ;*  
After the *Blessed Example, Still, of Old Forty*  
*One ; Nay, and in the very Method too ; Begin-*  
*ning with an Address for Guards ; as follows.*

*They offer at the Militia, and the Guards.*

Attempts upon  
the Militia.  
Journal. Oct.  
24. 1678.

[**W**hereas the Safety and Pre-  
servation of your Majesties  
Sacred Person, is of so Great a Con-  
sequence and Concernment, to the Pro-  
testant Religion, and to All your Subjects ; We do  
most humbly beseech your Majesty to Command the  
Lord Chamberlain, and All Other the Officers of your  
Majesties Household, to take a Strict Care that no  
Unknown, or Suspicious Persons may have Access  
near your Majesties Person ; and that your Majesty  
will likewise please to Command the Lord Mayor,  
and Lieutenancy of London, to Appoint sufficient  
Guards of the Train-Bands, during This Session of  
Parliament ; and likewise the Lords Lieutenants of  
Middlesex and Surry, to appoint the Like Guards  
of the Trained Bands, in Middlesex, Westminster,  
Southwark, and other Places Adjacent, as shall be  
thought Necessary.]

With Honour to That Long, Loyal Parliament ;  
so many of them as Believ'd the Witnesses, had  
great Reason to Provide against Otes's Black-Bills,  
and Mustard-Balls : But They that KNEW the  
whole Story to be as Arrant a Tale, as Tom Thumb ;  
Those People, I say, had Designs, of Drawing the  
Militia over to Themselves, by Trepanning the Mul-  
titude

*titude into the Execution of One Cheat, under the Dread, and Belief of Another: And there were Ill men enow got into That Body, to Leaven the Whole Lump: The City of London however, will be Wiser, I hope, in the time to Come, after the better Part of 200000 l. paid for Experience; then to call for Double Guards again, for fear of Popery. But here follows Another Address about the Militia, that goes a little Further, than the Former; Tho' That would not do, Neither.*

[ May it please your Majesty,

Journal, Nov.  
22. 1678.

*We your Majesties most dutifull, and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in Parliament Assembled, taking into Consideration the Eminent Dangers Arising to your Majesty, and the Whole Kingdom, from Popish Practices, and Conspiracies; and Conceiving that Nothing can so well Resist their Attempts, as some Parts of the Militia; (The Settled Legal Forces of This Kingdom: ) [They should have said By your leave, Gentle- men of the Guards] Actually in Arms, on whom your Majesty may Rely, with the Greatest Confidence, and Security.*

*We do therefore humbly Desire your Majesty to Command your Lieutenants, and Deputy-Lieutenants of the Several Counties of This Kingdom, to Give Order to All their Trained-Bands to be in a Readiness, and Draw together one Third Part of the Respective Militia; and to Continue them in a Body for Fourteen Days; and after they are Dismiss'd, to Draw up another Part for the same Time, &c.*

The Plot would not Take it seems, in One Parliament, and so they Try'd it again in the Next; falling foul, particularly, upon the Kings Guards, in the First Place, and after That, they were All in Post-hast again, for the Raising of the Militia, in these two Following Instances of Vote, and Address.

*[Resolved, That the Continuing  
Journal Ap. 1.  
1679. of Any Standing Forces in This  
Nation, other then the Militia, is  
Illegal, and a Great Grievance, and Vexation to  
the People.]* And then.

*[Journal May 10.  
1679. We your Majesties most Loyal, &c.  
do most humbly beseech your Majesty,  
that your Majesty would be Graciously  
pleas'd to give Order, that the Militia of London,  
Westminster, Southwark, the Tower-Hamlets,  
and the Counties of Middlesex and Surry may Im-  
mediately be Raised, and put in a Posture of De-  
fence, in such Proportion, and for such time, as  
your Majesty shall think fit.]*

In the Wipe upon the Guards, they had it in their Heads, directly, to Disarm the King; Nay, to Unking him; (for without the Power of the Sword, he hath No Power at all;) and in fine, to Turn the Point of it, upon their Sovereign: For the Militia, at the Rate that they had Tamper'd the Peoples Minds, and Affections, would have been as Fit for Another Edg-bill Expedition, against Charles the Second, as ever it was for That, in the Time of Charles the Martyr.

Practices

## Practices upon his Late Majesties Credit,

After these Attempts to make the Late King Poor, and Weak, by all ways of Draining the Exchequer, without any Prospect of Resource; and by Usurping upon his Prerogatives, as well Military, as Civil, they Attacqu'd him next, in his Credit: the Conspirators of the Cabal Endeavouring to Render him as Cheap, and as Hatfull, That way, as they Propounded to all other Purposes, to make him Miserable. When I say Credit; I do not mean the Credit of a Merchant, in Matter of Money; but the Credit of a Prince, upon the Point of Character, and Honour. There could not well be a Greater Libell, then their Printed Votes, beside the Encouragements they gave, to Scurrilous Little Knaves, and Pamphlets; Nor was it Possible, to Speak Worse of a Prince, then Those Papers made Every body Think, that Read, and Believ'd them. His Wisdom, His Justice, His Truth, His Clemency, were, All, call'd in Question; and Expos'd by Votes and Orders: As That One Instance of the Address, Nov. 29. 1680. may serve for All. The Question was Popery; The Fears of it grounded upon the Plot; the Queen, and the Duke of York involv'd in the Scandal of the Accusation; and his Majesty Himself render'd, by more then Implication, a Favourer of That Plot, and a Conspirator against Himself. But let the Address speak in it's own Words.

Their

Votes Nov. 29.  
1680. p. 77.

*Their Opposers (the Papists) have found means to Disgrace; and if they were Judges, Justices of the Peace, or other Magistrates, to have them turn'd out of Commission.*

Ibid. *The Continuance, or Prorogation of Parliaments, has been Accommodated to serve the Purposes of That Party, Money rais'd upon the People to Supply your Majesties extraordinary Occasions, was by the Prevalence of Popish Councils, Employ'd to make War upon a Protestant State.*

Ibid. *When the House of Commons were Prepared to bring to a Legal Tryal the Principal Conspirators in This Plot, That Parliament was first Prorogu'd, and then Dissolv'd.*

Ibid. *Witnesses are Attempted to be Corrupted, and not only Promises of Reward, but of the Favour of your Majesties Brother, made the Motives to their Compliancy.*

Ibid. *Divers of the most Considerable of your Majesties Protestant Subjects, have Crimes of the Highest Nature Forged against them; the Charge to be Supported by Subornation, and Perjury, that they may be Destroy'd by Forms, of Law, and Justice.*

Ibid. *We have lately upon Mature Deliberation, Proposed One Remedy of These Great Evils, without which, (in Our Judgments) All Others will prove Vain and Fruitless; And (like All Deceitfull Securities, against Certain Dangers),*

gers) will rather Expose your Majesties Person to the Greatest Hazzard, and the People, together with All that's Valuable to them, as Men or Christians, to Utter Ruine, and Destruction.

If after All This, the Private Sugges-  
tions of the Subtle Accomplices of  
That Party, and Designs should yet Prevail, &c.  
we shall have This Remaining Comfort, that we have  
Free'd our selves from the Guilt of That Bloud and  
Desolation, which is like to Ensue.

Ibid.

What did These People make of the King all this while, but the Patron of the Sworn Enemies of his Life, and Religion; and the Contriver of the Ruine of Himself, and of his People? The Papists did All, it seems; and made Him to do All too, that They pleas'd. Was it True, that They did so, or was it False? If True; it must be either out of Facility, Confederacy, or (with Veneration to his Sacred Ashes) it must be Inadvertency, to the Highest Degree, and Such an Inadvertency, as Hazzarded his Crown, his Life, and his Reputation, All in One: For the Action was His Own, upon what Motive soever he Did it. Was it the Papists that put-out the Judges, and Justices? Was it the Papists, that Continu'd, or Prorogu'd Parliaments? Was it the Papists, that made the Protestant War? That Repriev'd the Plot; and the Conspirators? Was it the Papists, that Suborn'd Witnesses against Shaftsbury, and College? (for That's their Meaning) And was That the Case of Subornation that This Address Strikes at? Was it the Papists, that Ruin'd All, for not Tiel-

ding

ding to the *Exclusion* of the Duke : Was it the Papists, again, that they make *Answerable* for the Blood, and Desolation Threaten'd in This Address, because They Could not do the Things which only the King, Could do ? How could Any man Believe These *Calumnies*, and, at the same time, keep his *Thoughts* of his Prince, within the Bounds of his Duty ? Or how could any man Disbelieve 'em, without the Uttermost Abhorrence of so Diabolical a Practice upon the Honour of their Sovereign ?

*They Brought the Late King of his Friends too.*

The King's  
Friends were ei-  
ther Papists  
Convict, or Re-  
puted Papists.

**A**ND the Malice of the Conspira-  
tors was not Satisfy'd Here  
neither ; unless, after the Stripping  
his Majesty of All Other Means of  
Supporting Himself, they Depriv'd

him, of the Use, and Service of his Friends too ; which Friends of his, may be Properly Divided, into Papists Convict, and Suspected, or Reputed Papists. The Former were Visible, and Known ; The Other, were a sort of People of their Own Creation : For whoever was not for their Turn, they could make such a Papist of him at pleasure. We shall see in Good Time, how it far'd, both with the One, and with the Other ; while the Remaining Body of the Nation, was only a Party, of so many United, or Associated Protestants, that were Link'd in One Band of Confederacy, and Wag'd War, to the Ever-lasting

lasting Reputation of the Plot; under Otes's Banner. But to come to the Matter, I shall begin with the Former Sort of them, and Carry These Two Points Before me. First, The Story, and Secondly, The Ground of their Sufferings; And bring the Whole into as Few Words as Possible, in a Consistence with Candor, Truth, and Justice.

Their Proceeding with Papists. Journal Oct. 23. 1678.

**P**apists or so Reputed, were to be Banish'd; [BECAUSE] of the Bloody, and Traiterous Designs of Popish Recusants.

Nov. 8. 1678. To be taken into Custody, and Disarm'd; Their Names Taken; Rewards given to the Discoverers of their Arms, [BECAUSE] of the Damnable and Hellish Plot, for the Destruction of his Majesties Person, &c.

Nov. 16. 1678. Papists to be Disabled from Sitting in Either House of Parliament, [BECAUSE] of the Restless Conspiracies of Popish Recusants, against his Majesties Person, &c.

Nov. 23. 1678. No Popish Recusants to have a Residence in his Majesties Palace, or Access unto his Presence [BECAUSE] his Person is in Danger at This Time from Popish Conspiracies.

Dec. 3. 1678. All Popish Recusants, or Justly Suspected Papists to be Apprehended, Disarm'd, and Secur'd, [BECAUSE] of the Pernicious Plots and Contrivances of Popish Persons.

Resol.

**Resolved, That if any Popish Recusant Convict shall Receive any Commission, he shall be Deemed a Felon, And shall be Pursued, Apprehended, and Executed as such.**

Dec. 7. 1678. **Popish Delinquents to be brought to speedy Justice, [BECAUSE] of the Manifest Danger to his Majesties Sacred Person, &c. from the Notorious Conspiracies of Popish Priests, and Jesuites.**

Nov. 16. 1678. **Pickering to be Executed, and all Papists or Reputed Papists to be Banished Twenty Mile from London and Westminster for Six Months; [BECAUSE] of the Horrid Conspiracies of Popish Recusants.**

Ap. 27. 1679. **London, and the Parts Adjacent, to be Freed from Popish Inhabitants.**

Journal May 7. **At this rate they Proceeded against Papists Convict, in the Quality of Papists, and put That Part of his Majesties Friends out of Condition, of either Serving their Master, or Helping Themselves. But then the Distinction of [Suspected,] or [Reputed] Papists, Swept the whole Remainder of them, to a Single Man: for One Wry Word, of Otes, or of his Works, was enough to bring any Mans name into the Black Roll. Whoever Adher'd to the Duke of York; Oppos'd the Exclusion, was Suppos'd to Advise a Prorogation, or Dissolution; Deny'd the Plot; Spoke Courfily of the Evidence; and in fine, Whoever was not an Associator, or a Friend to That Interest, was Popishly Affected.**

**Affected.** But before I proceed to *That Part of the Division of the Kings Friends*, there are Certain Qualifications of Papists and Popery, under Other Circumstances, that are to be taken in the way.

*An Address to be Presented to his Majesty, that his Royal Highness may Withdraw himself from his Majesties Person and Council.*

Bold Addressees,  
Jour. Nov. 8.  
1678.

**Resolved,** That a Bill be brought in to Disable the Duke of York, to Inherit the Imperial Crown of This Realm.] And then follows immediately, *The Resolve, Nemine Contradicente*, of the *Revenging Vote*. In the Next Parliament, they were at the very same Sport again.

May 11. 1679.

Ibid.

**Resolved, Nemine Contradicente,** That the Duke of Yorks being a Papist, and the Hopes of his coming such to the Crown, hath given the Greatest Countenance and Encouragement to the Present Designs and Conspiracies against the King, and the Protestant Religion.

Votes, Nov. 2.  
1680.

The Next Resolve is the *Revenging Vote*, and after That, the *Disabling Bill*, These Three Successively. So that the Matter, and the Order of it, were Evidently *Fore-laid*, and the *Caball* in Both Parliaments agreed upon't before-hand: Nay, the Queen her self was brought into the Conspiracy; (to the Eternal Infamy of the Believers, as well as the Reporters of That Sacrilegious Scandal) and an *Address Resolv'd* upon, as follows.

[We

*Address against  
the Queen.*

*Journal No. 28.  
1678.*

[We Your Majesties most Dutyfull, &c. having received Informations by Several Witnesses (Otes and Bedloe) of a most Desperate, and Trayterous Design and Conspiracy, against the Life of your Sacred Majesty, wherein, to their Great Astonishment, the QUEEN is particularly Charged, and Accused. In Discharge of our Allegiance, and out of our Affections and Care for the Preservation of your Majesties Sacred Person, and Consequently, of the whole Kingdom, do most Humbly beseech your Majesty, that the Queen, and All her Family, and All Papists, and Reputed Papists, be forthwith removed from your Majesties Court at Whitehall.] And then follow'd a

Ibid. *Resolve of the Same Date, [That an Humble Address be Presented to his Majesty, that All Papists, and Suspected Papists, within the Several Counties of England and Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed may be Apprehended, and Secur'd.]*

This was a Ready way now, to have a Clear Stage to Themselves: And the Wickedness of That Age Stopt at Nothing, when the Four Evangelists came once to be made a Stale to the Bus'ness; and when *Murder* was Super-Added to the *Hypocrisy*, and *Perjury* of the *False Witnesses*, and their *Confederate Patrons*, and *Abettors*. I come now to the *Address* that was made upon the *Revenging Vote*.

[WE

[**W**E do humbly Represent to your Majesty, that being Deeply Sensible, that the Greatest Hopes of Success against our Religion in the Enemies thereof, the Papists, are Founded in the Execrable Designs, which they have laid against the Sacred Person and Life of your Majesty, which it is not only our Duty, but our Interest, with the Greatest Hazzards to Preserve and Defend, we have Apply'd our selves to the making such Provisions by Law, as may Defeat those Popish Adversaries, their Abettors and Adherents, &c. And while any such Laws are in Preparation, and bringing to Perfection, it is our Resolution, and we do Declare, that in Defence of your Majesties Person, and the Protestant Religion, we will Stand by your Majesty with our Lives and Fortunes, and shall be ready to Revenge any Violence Offered by them, to your Sacred Majesty.]

The Revenging Address. May 14. 1679.

It is to be noted, that the *Vote* was Soften'd, in this *Address*: For as it was Worded, at first, *Whoever had Kill'd the King, the Papists should have Gone to Pot for't*, which Hint did as good as say; *Get but over This Jobb, my Masters, and y'ave done your Bus'nss.* But the *Conspirators* found a way however, to Supply That *Restrictive Distinction*, by *Murdering him Themselves*, and giving it out that the *Papists* had done it; according to the *Evidence* of the *Republican Conspiracy*;

E

which

Walcot's Tryal,  
Fol. 9.

which says it was so *Determin'd*, if the *Rye House Project* had Succeeded. [The Conspirators were to go to several Persons, and Ask them, Supposing that the Papists should Rise, or that there should be a General Insurrection, or a French Invasion, Are you in a Posture of Defence?] This was the very *Practice*, and the *Imposture*, in the Case of the *Militia*; the *Double-Guards*, and the Rout they made among the *Papists*. But *Keeling*, a little Lower in the same Tryal, puts it into somewhat *Plainer English*. [These Men

Ibid.

(says he) were to be in a readiness, and it was Design'd that the Thing should be laid upon the Papists, as a Branch of the Popish Plot:] Which may serve for an Excellent Comment upon the Present Text.

Upon the 15th of Dec. 1680. There was no way with 'em, but immediately to [Banish All the Considerable Papists in England out of the Kings Dominions:] And it is to be Suppos'd, that they would not have Forgotten his Royal Highness in the Number; Especially, Considering how Mindfull they were of him in Other Cases. In somuch that there was hardly any thing done, by the Conspirators that had Worm'd themselves into the House, but for Countenance-sake, and to While away Time, that had not the Ruine of the Duke, and consequently, of his Royal Brother, in the Bottom of it; and they were so Eager upon't, that all they could do without it, was to no purpose.

Vo. Dec. 15.  
1680.

[Re-

[Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, that so long as the Papists have any Hopes of the Duke of Yorks Succeeding the King in the Kingdoms of England, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto Belonging; The Kings Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of all his Majesties Protestant Subjects are in Apparent Danger of being Destroy'd.] And then follows Another Resolve, upon the Necessity of such a Bill.

Dec. 15. 1680.

### *Excluding and Proroguing, Two Great Points.*

THE Refusal of This Bill, and the ~~Last~~ Refuge (that the King had left him) of Proroguing Parliaments, were Two Terrible Rubbs in their way: For, with the Help of the One, they could have done the Bus'ness of the Roman Catholiques, at pleasure, and made as many Reputed, and Suspected Papists of the Rest of his Majesties Subjects, as they found Averse to the Popular Design. And Then, under the Countenance of a Sitting Parliament they had a Thousand Tricks and Devices, by their Printed Votes, Papers, and Intelligences, to make their Principals Fall down, and Worship them, as the Bulwark of the Protestant Religion; the Heroes, and Patriots of the Common Cause, and the Saviours of the Nation. But the Cunning Snapps of the Faction, finding that the King would not let go his Power of Calling them, and sending 'em away again as he pleas'd; and that Prorogations and Dissolutions were but as Sentence,

and Execution, to them; They had the Wit to make a Provision of Parliamentary Guards for the Oxford Meeting, under Colour of Securing the Protestant Members from having their Throats Cut there by the Papists: And it is more then Probable, that if his Majesty had not very prudently, taken Two Steps at a Time, and Dissolv'd them upon the very Spot, and Instant, without the Antecedent Ceremony of Proroguing them, they would have found, (under the Colour of a House of Commons yet in Being) Another Game to Play. There had been a Heavy Cry made upon all their Former Disappointments; in Pamphlets, Papers, Discourses, Addresses, upon Surprizing Prorogations; Popish and Amazing Prorogations, &c. which humour they did Notably set forth in an Address to his Majesty of No. 11. 1680.

An Address against Prorogations.  
Coll. of Debates,  
No. 11. 1680.

**I**N relation to the Tryalls of the Five Lords Impeached in Parliament for the Execrable Popish Plot; we have so far Proceeded, as we doubt not but in a short time we shall be ready for the same.

But we Cannot (without being Unfaithfull to your Majesty, and to our Country by whom we are Intrusted) Omit upon This Occasion humbly to Enform your Majesty, that our Difficulties, even as to these Tryalls, are much Increased, by the Evil, and Destructive Councels of those Persons who Advised your Majesty, first, to the Prorogation, and then to the Dissolution of the Last Parliament, at a time when the

*the Commons had taken great pains about, and were Prepar'd for those Tryalls. And by the like Pernicious Councells of those who Advis'd the Many and Long Prorogations of the Present Parliament, before the same was permitted to Sit, whereby, some of the Evidence which was prepared in the Last Parliament, may possibly, (during so long an Interval) be Forgotten or Lost, and some Persons who might probably have Come-in as Witnesses, are either Dead, have been Taken-off, or may have been Discourag'd from giving their Evidence.*

*But of One Mischievous Consequence of those Dangerous, and Unhappy Councells, we are Certainly, and Sadly Sensible; Namely, that the Testimony of a [Material Witness,] against every of Those Five Lords (and who could probably have Discover'd, and brought-in much Other Evidence about the Plot in General, and Those Lords in Particular) cannot now be given, Viva Voce, forasmuch as That Witness is Unfortunately Dead, between the Calling and the Sitting of this Parliament.*

*To prevent the Like, or Greater Inconvenience for the Future, we make it our most Humble Request to your Excellent Majesty, that as you tender the Safety of your Royal Person; The Security of your Loyal Subjects; and Preservation of the True Protestant Religion; you will not suffer your self to be prevail'd upon by the Like Councell to do any Thing which may Occasion, in Consequence, (though we are Assured never with your Majesties Intention) either the Deferring of a Full and Perfect Discove-*

*ry, and Examination of This most Wicked and Detestable Plot, or the Preventing the Conspirators therein, from being brought to speedy and Exemplary Justice and Punishment; and we humbly beseech your Majesty to rest Assured, (Notwithstanding any Suggestions which may be made, by Persons who for their Own Wicked Purposes Contrive to Create a Distrust in your Majesty of your People) that Nothing is more in the Desires, and shall be more the Endeavours of us your faithfull and Loyal Commons, than the Promoting, and Advancintg of your Majesties True Happiness, and Greatness.*

Notes upon the Address.

**N**OW to Observe a little upon This Lamentably-Complaining Address; the Old Vein, I perceive, of Popery, and Calamity, Conspiracy, and Destruction runs quite thorough it: And what Misery soever, has either Threatn'd or Befall'n the King, the Government, the Church, or the People, is All-Charg'd upon the score of This Almighty Plot, as the First Cause, and Mover of it. And (which was the spite on't) no Averting of Those Impending Miseries, but by the Kings Parting with his Honour, his Crown, Natural Affection, Humanity, Gratitude, In short, His Ministers, His Friends, His Prerogative, Reason, and Justice. 'Tis Urg'd, that the Councils were Evil and Destructive, that Mov'd his Majesty to a Prorogation, and Then, to a Dissolution of the Foregoing Parliament. How could it be Evil, and Destructive,

tive, in the *Advising*, and not so, in the *Doing* too? Or what matters it, whether it be done *Without Advice*, or *With* it; so long as the *Venom* of This *Address* Wounds the *King*, Equally, under the *Cover* of his *Ministers*. The *Want* of That *Advice*, and *Resolution*, in the *Parliament* of One and Forty, Cost the *Royal Father* his *Life*; and the *Son*, *Probably*, upon such a *Concession*, would not have come-off much *Cheaper*: Unless it shall be Imagin'd, that he might have found *Better Quarter* in the *House*, then in the *Field*, from the *verry same Persons* that were *Now* in *Councell*, and *Afterwards* in *Arms* against him. It is pretended, that the *Commons* were ready for the *Tryal* of the Five *Lords*, at the *Dissolution* of the *Last Parliament*: Now This was only *Bubbling* the *Multitude*; for the *Commons Themselves* would not *Tield to't*, unless the Earl of *Danby* might be *Try'd First*. But to say All in a word; The *King* was *Undone* if he did *Not Prorogue*, and the *Republicans*, if he *Did*. As to the *Possibility* of *more Witnesses Coming in*, it cannot be Deny'd, that, according to the way of *Summans* that was *then in Fashion*, the *Common Jayles*, ( nay *Newgate it Self*, in the *Case of Prance*) were *Consulted* for *Evidence*: and they could not well fail of as many *Witnesses*, as either *Malice*, *Faction*, *Countenance*, or *Reward*, could *Prevail* upon to *Forswear* themselves; But a [ *Material Evidence*, ] it seems, was lost by't. (*Bedloe* they mean.) A Fellow known for a *Blasphemous, Atheistical Wretch*; A *Thief*, a *Cheat*; and in fine, a *Scandal* to the very *Alms-Basket*.

What a *Dismal*, [*UNFORTUNATE*] *Loss* was This now, of so [*Material*] *an Evidence*, (in Good Time) upon the *Plot in General!* (which *Material Evidence* in the True *Intent* of it, is no Other, then a *Rogue that would Swear any thing*:) But *against the Five Lords, they say, in Particular*; And if there had been *Five times Fifteen Hundred* more of them, he should have *Sworn against 'em All at the Same Price*. I can hardly look back upon the *Parting Complement*, without Thinking of the *Addresses and Declarations* of *One and Forty*, for the making of *Charles the First, a Glorious King*; they are so *Very, Very Alike*. But so much for the Bus'ness of *Prerogative*. And now, for the *Other Great Point*, the Matter of *Exclusion*, let the *Bill Speak for it self*. 'Tis *Long*; But it Carries the *Heart in the Face* on't; and 'tis *Pity but Posterity* should have it *Entire*.

The Bill amended as the House had order'd, was read, Intituled, *An Act for securing of the Protestant Religion, by disabling James Duke of York to Inherit the Imperial Crown of England and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging.*

The Bill of Exclusion.

**W**HEREAS James Duke of York is notoriously knowne to have been perverted from the Protestant

testant to the Popish Religion; whereby not only great Encouragement bath been given to the Popish Party to enter into, and carry on most Devilish and Horrid Plots and Conspiracies for the Destruction of his Majesties Sacred Person and Government, and for the Extirpation of the True Protestant Religion: But also if the said Duke should succeed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, nothing is more manifest then that a Total Change of Religion within these Kingdoms would ensue. For the prevention whereof, Be it Enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by, and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in present Parliament Assembled, and by the Authority of the same, that the said James Duke of York shall be, and is by the Authority of this present Parliament Excluded, and made forever uncapable to Inherit, Possess, or Enjoy the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and of the Kingdoms of Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories to them, or either of them belonging, or to have, exercise, or enjoy any Dominion, Power, Jurisdiction or Authority in the same Kingdoms, Dominions or any of them. And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if the said James Duke of York shall at any time hereafter, Challenge, Claim, or attempt to possess, or enjoy, or shall take upon him to use or exercise any Dominion, Power, or Authority, or Jurisdiction within the said Kingdoms, or Dominions, or any of them, as King or chief Magistrate of the same; That then he the said James Duke of York, for every such offence shall be deemed

deemed and adjudged guilty of High Treason; and shall suffer the Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures, as in case of High Treason: And further, that if any Person or Persons whatsoever shall assist, or maintain, abet, or willingly adhere unto the said James Duke of York, in such challenge, claim or attempt; or shall of themselves attempt, or endeavour to put or bring the said James Duke of York into the Possession, or Exercise of any Regal Power, Jurisdiction or Authority within the Kingdoms and Dominions aforesaid; or shall by Writing or Preaching advisedly publish, maintain or declare, That he hath any Right, Title, or Authority to the Office of King or Chief Magistrate of the Kingdoms and Dominions aforesaid, That then every such Person shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of High Treason; and that he suffer and undergo the pains, penalties and forfeitures aforesaid.

And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, that he the said James Duke of York shall not at any time, from, and after the 5th. of November 1680. return or come into, or within any of the Kingdoms or Dominions aforesaid; And then he the said James Duke of York shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of High Treason: and shall suffer the pains, penalties, and forfeitures as in case of High Treason; and further, that if any Person or Persons whatsoever shall be aiding or assisting unto such return of the said James Duke of York, that then every such person shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of High Treason; and suffer as in cases of High Treason.

And

And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That he the said James Duke of York, or any other Person being Guilty of any of the Treasons aforesaid, shall not be capable of, or receive benefit by any Pardon, otherwise than by Act of Parliament wherein they shall be particularly named; and that no Noli prosequi, or Order for stay of Proceedings shall be received or allowed in, or upon any Indictment for any of the offences mentioned in this Act.

And be it further Enacted and declared; and it is hereby Enacted and Declared, that it shall, and may be Lawfull to, and for any Magistrates, Officers, or other Subjects whatsoever of these Kingdoms and Dominions aforesaid; and they are hereby enjoyned and required to apprehend and secure the said James Duke of York, and every other person offending in any of the premisses, and with him or them in case of resistance to fight; and him or them by force to subdue: For all which actions, and for so doing, they are, and shall be by virtue of this Act saved harmless and indemnified.

Provided, and it is hereby declared, that nothing in this Act contained, shall be construed, deemed, or adjudged to disenable any other Person from Inheriting and Enjoying the Imperial Crown of the Realms and Dominions aforesaid; (other than the said James Duke of York) But that in case the said James Duke of York should survive his now Majesty, and the Heirs of his Majesties Body; The said Imperial Crown shall descend to, and be enjoyed by such person or persons successively during the Life of the said James Duke of York as should have inherited and,

and enjoyed the same in case the said James Duke of York were naturally Dead, any thing contained in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, that during the life of the said James Duke of York, This Act shall be given in charge at every Assizes and General Sessions of the Peace within the Kingdoms, Dominions and Territories aforesaid, and also shall be openly read in every Cathedral Church, and Parish Church, and Chappels within the aforesaid Kingdoms, Dominions and Territories, by the several Respective Parsons, Vicars, Curates and Readers thereof, who are hereby required immediately after Service in the Fore-noon to reade the same twice in every year, that is to say, on the 25th of December, and upon Easter-day, during the Life of the said James Duke of York.

The Faction were in a Fair way, by This time, to rid their Hands of the King's Roman Catholique Friends; and they were not without their

The Meaning of  
Reputed Papists. Expedients, and Inventions, to get shut of Reputed, as well as of Pro-

fess'd Papists; For there needed but an Impeachment, an Address, a Supposition, or an Opinion, to the doing of the Whole Work. The Po-

Votes. Nov. 29.  
1680. p. 75. *pish Design*, they say, was [Assisted by the Treachery of Perfidious Pro- testants.] Now Those Perfidious

Protestants made Excellent Reputed Papists. [Re- puted,] and [Suspected:] By Whom? If by Themselves; the Devil's in People, if They do not

Win

*Win All they Play for, when they have the Shuffling, and the Packing of their own Cards, and Keep-in, or Put-out as they Themselves please.*

[*Resolved, That All Persons who Advis'd his Majesty in his Last Message to This House to Infist upon an Opinion against the Bill for Excluding the Duke of York, have given Pernicious Advice to his Majesty, and are Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King and Kingdom.]*

[*Resolved, That it is the Opinion of This House, that George Earl of Hallifax, Henry Marquis of Worcester, and Henry Earl of Clarendon, are Persons who Advis'd his Majesty, ut Supra; and that they have therein given Pernicious Councell to his Majesty, are Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King, and Kingdom.] And therefore they Address'd for the Removing of them: And when their Hands were In; Laurence Hyde, Esq; and Lewis Earl of Fetherham were to be Remov'd from All Offices, and from his Majesties Presence for Ever, and an Anathema Pass'd upon the Advisers of a Prorogation, unless upon a Condition of Excluding the Duke.*

I Have Chosen, rather, upon This whole Matter, to Hazzard an Error on the Right Hand, then on the Left; and to venture being Over-large in my Authorities, and Proofs, rather than fall Short. So that here is Evidence, more then Enough, of the Snares that were laid for All men of Integrity, and Honour,

The Meaning  
of Evil Com-  
felloes.

*Honour, and the Advantages that the Faction intended to make of the Zeal, the Passions, and the Credulity of the Common People.* If This Pernicious Advice, in the Case of the Earl of Strafford, and Arch-Bishop Laud, had been given to Charles the first; which the Votes Impute to These Honourable Persons, in the Case of the Duke of York, it had, most undoubtedly, Sav'd King, Church, and People, (if his Majesty had thought fit to follow it) which were All lost for want of Proroguing, Dissolving, and Asserting the Privileges of the Crown, in That Turbulent Juncture. *Insolent Demands, Expostulations, and Propositions,* are the Certain Prologue to Insolent Actions: But his Majesty Himself, was too Good to Suspect; and where ever he Trusted any of the Party, he was Betray'd. Briefly, the Case of the Two Last Kings were but too much Alike: Only the Latter, when he had Parted with as much as 'twas possible for him to Spare, and Save the Rest, he held his Hand: Whereas his Unhappy Father, gave On, and On, 'till he left himself at Mercy. The Thing that made the Great Noise, was the Bill of Exclusion; but [A King or No King,] was the Truth of the Matter in Issue. They were of [OPINION,] that these noble Persons did so or so, and upon That Bare Opinion, let fly at the King's Ministers, Effectually, by Whole-Sale; without any respect to the Measures of Religion, Order, Reason, or State. How many Cart-Loads of Fears, and Jealousies have we had, lest the King should Abuse his Power! And how many Casuistical Whimsseys

seys of Self-Preservation, in case he does: But here was no Right, no Colour, to the Pretence, of so much as bringing *That Question* upon the Carpet: And the Councell that they Brand for so Pernicious, was, undoubtedly, the most Seasonable, and Saving Advice, upon *That Crisis*, that could be Given. But to go forward; If they may Exclude the Heir Apparent, for Religion, why not the King himself too? The Parity of Excluding the Duke, Extending to the Deposing of the Sovereign; and This Doctrine was the very Corner Stone of the Last Rebellion. And Excluding for RELIGION is not All neither; for it Involves a Claim of breaking-in upon the Crown, whether there be any Religion in the Case, or No: For the Conspirators made themselves, both Dividers, and Chusers; and Their Single OPINION, was a Sentence in the Case; the very Saying that it was This or That Religion, or Whatsoever Religion they pleas'd, was enough to Make it so. [This House is of OPINION,] went Fifty times further, then [Be it Enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty.]

The Unaccountable Prerogative  
of the Commons.

**T**HIS UNACCOUNTABLE Stretch of Arrogance, and Usurpation, put all Sober Men to a Stand, to Consider, what would be the End, in a Natural, and a Logical Consequence, upon This Proceeding. If a Prince has not the Liberty of Chusing his Own Servants; If he has not the Power of Protecting them; If Subjects shall take upon them to Treat their Sovereign like a Pupil, and turn off his Ministers

bers like so many *Footmen*; because they are of [OPINION] that they give him This or That Advice; and that such Advice is Pernicious; If Matters be thus Manag'd, what's become of the Imperial State of This Government? Here's Opinion, (and the Opinion of Subjects too) (without Proof, without Power, without Prerogative, and (shortly) without any Foundation;) Taking upon it self to give Laws to the Majesty of a Sole Governour; and if they could have Carry'd That Point, it would have been as good as a Title Gain'd, in the Account of the Multitude, to the Government of the Three Kingdoms: For nothing less then the Exclusion, would serve their Turn; and the Confounding of all Those that were Against That Exclusion: Nay, and That it self, would not have Done, at Last, neither; as we shall see by and by. So that, once for all, having the Modelling, the Judging, and the Discriminating of the Friends, and Enemies of the State, Themselves, and in their Own Right; (as they pretended) what betwixt Associating, on the One side, and Seizing, Banishing, Disarming, Imprisoning, Opining, Suspecting, Reputing; and the Sweet Comfortable Methods of Swearing, Hanging, and Quartering, on the Other, there would have been little more for the Conspirators to Do, then to Kill, and Take Possession, and to lay Violent Hands upon the King, under the Colour of a Rescue.

But

Loyalty and  
Religion the  
Pretext.

**B**ut Religion, and Loyalty, was still the Burden of the Song ; A Company of Rogues, to Blunderbuss his Majesty ! Burn Protestant Cities, and Massacre Poor Innocent People ! This was the Voyce that was Lifted up, and the Outcry, that Caused so much Weeping, and Wailing among us : While the Witnesses, in the mean time, were All-to-be Colonell'd, Doctor'd, Captain'd, and Squir'd, for the Credit of the Story. It was a most Remarkable, and an Auspicious Resolution taken, to set a-part [Gods Day,] for [Gods Cause,] (as it was Blasphemously Christen'd) when they Postpon'd the Consideration of the Lord Chancellors Speech, of Apr. 30. 1679. Time after Time, until Sunday the 11th. of May following, which was so Arrant a Forty-One-Banter, that I presently told my Friends, without going to a Wizzard, the very Dunstable Meaning of it ; and the Plot-Leaders were so kind to me in That, as well as in Other of my Predictions, that they made a Prophet of me. But I shall have another Touch upon this Particular by and by.

Upon Nov. 8. 1678. They Resolv'd upon an Address, to Desire his Majesty, that there might be [ a Particular Prayer, or Prayers Composed for the Cities of London and Westminster, relating to the Plot, and Conspiracy, Contrived, and Carry'd-on by the Papists, against his Majesties Person and Government. ]

Journal Nov.  
8. 1678.

E

Upon

Nov. 10. 1678. Upon Sunday the 10th. following,  
 they Complain'd [That in the Prayer, there was no mention made of the Papists; who (says the Vote) are the Contrivers of These Damnable and Hellish Plots, &c. And they humbly Desire his Majesty to give Effectual Order, &c. After this, and in the Next Parliament, they had Another Tour of Passe-Passe; of the Same Stamp with the Former; which went a Great way toward the Moving of All Those Passions that might be Serviceable to the Project of That Season: as will be better seen upon the Reading of that Address it self, or, (which is all one) of Another Address for a day of Humiliation on Nov. 25. 1680. in the Following Parliament, which Address is within a very little of Word for Word with the Former.

[ We your Majesties most Dutifull, Mar. 21. 1678. &c. being Deeply Sensible of the Sad, and Nov. 25. 1680. and Calamitous Condition of This your Majesties Kingdom; Occasioned

Chiefly by the Impious, and Malicious Conspiracies of a Popish Party, who have not only Plotted, and Intended the Destruction of your Majesties Royal Person, but the Total Subversion of the Government, and True Religion Established among us, &c. All which, Our Many and Grievous Sins have Justly Deserved: and being now by your Gracious Favour Assembled in Parliament, &c. do, in Alt Humility beseech your Majesty, that by your Royal Proclamation, one, or More Days may be

*Be Solemnly set a-part, wherein both our Selves, and All your Majesties Loyal Subjects, may, by Fasting and Prayer, Seek a Reconciliation, with Almighty God, and with Humble and Penitent Hearts, Implore him, by his Power and Goodness, to Infatuate, and Defeat the Wicked Councils, and Machinations of our Enemies, &c. ]*

**H**Ere's just the Style of the Old  
Blessed Times over again ;      The Old Hu-  
when Days of *Humiliation* were u-  
sed to be set a-part for the Kings  
Success against the Rebels. A Body would have  
thought by the Solemnity of the Wording of it,  
that there had been *Sword, Pestilence, and Fa-*  
*mine; Earthquakes, and Fire and Brimstone* in the  
Case. Now Every Thing help'd to Move *Terror,*  
*Jealousie, Mortal Animosities, Indignation, and*  
*Transports of Ardent, and of Vindictive Zeal;*  
Even to the Degree, of a Temptation to break  
through all the *Barrs of Duty, Shame, Modesty,*  
*Conscience, and Respect* : Beside, that upon the  
making of God Almighty a Party to the *Quarrel,*  
*Temporal Power, Thrones and Magistrates*, are no  
better Accounted then *Dirt under the Feet of*  
*Enthusiastique Bigotts*. To Conclude ; the Ad-  
dresses for One Day of *Humiliation*, should have  
put the Kingdom, Methinks, upon Petitioning  
for another, for the Sin of the very Addresses :  
At least, if the Plot should in the End, Prove  
*False at the Bottom*. But after all this *Dust and*  
*Scuffle now, betwixt Petitioners, and Aborriers* ;

*True-Protestants, and Pensioners; Whigg and Tory; Observator and Trimmer,* there are several more Difficulties yet behind, to be Enquir'd into. It is a Thing Evident, without Dispute, that a Prince Cannot be more Affronted, and Endanger'd, than by Pinching him in his Revenue; Paring, and Cramping his Royal Prerogative, and Power; Lessening him in his Reputation, and putting him out of Condition of Receiving the Services of his Dutifull Friends; and Those Friends out of Condition to Support, and to Maintain the Honour, and Dignity of their Master. Now all this has been Attempted, and Pursued with the Uttermost Industry, and Bitterness Imaginable. But here was a Dev'lisch Plot, it seems, and for That Dev'lisch Plots Sake, the Heir of the Crown must be disinherited, and the Roman Catholiques, in a manner, Exterminated from off the face of the Earth; and no other way in the World to Save our Prince, and our Religion, ( as the Infallible Oracle of St. Stephens Chappel gives us to Understand ) but by a Fair Riddance of all the Kings English Subjects of That Persuasion; which by Pursuivanting, Messengering, Sergeanting, Cooping-up, Squeezing, Rifting, Plundering, and Oppressing, they had well-nigh Effected already: Only the Late King stuck at the Exclusion of the Duke: But however, the Faction had such an Offer made them, by the way of a kind of Composition for the Exclusion, as would certainly have put them into the Possession of Their Own Wishes; If they had not been most Providentially Infatuated,

ted, into the Neglect, or Refusal of it: to the Preservation of the Crown, the Duke, the Royal Line, and the Monarchy it self. And here comes the Expedient.

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My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses of the House of Commons.

**T**hat Royal Care which his Majesty hath taken for the general quiet, and satisfaction of all his Subjects, is now more evident, by those new and fresh Instances of it which I have in Command to open to you.

L. Chancellours Speech.  
Ap. 30. 1679.

His Majesty has Considered with himself, that 'tis not enough that your Religion and Liberty is secure during his own Reign, but he thinks he owes it to his People to do all that in Him lies, that these Blessings may be transmitted to your Posterity, and so well secured to them, that no Succession in After-ages may be able to work the least Alteration.

And therefore His Majesty, who hath often said in This place, that He is ready to consent to any Laws of this Kind, so that the same extend not to Alter the Descent of the Crown in the Right Line, nor to defeat the Succession, hath now Commanded this to be further Explained.

And to the end it may never be in the power of any Papist, if the Crown descend upon him, to make any Change either in Church or State; I am Commanded to tell you, that his Majesty is willing, that Provision may be made first, to distinguish a Papist from a Protestant Successor; then so to limit, and circumscribe the Authority of a Popish Successor in these Cases following, that he may be disabled to do any harm.

First, In reference to the Church, His Majesty is content, that care be taken, that all Ecclesiastical and Spiritual Benefices and Promotions in Gifts of the Crown, may be conferred in such a manner, that we may be sure the Incumbents shall always be of the most Pious and Learned Protestants: And that no Popish Successor ( while he continue so ) may have any power to Controul such Presentments.

In reference to the State, and Civil part of the Government, as it is already provided, that no Papist can Sit in either House of Parliament; So the King is pleased, that it be provided too, That there may never want a Parliament when the King shall happen to Dye: But that the Parliament then in Being, may continue Indissolvable for a competent time; Or, if there be no Parliament in being, then the last Parliament, which was in being before that time, may Re-Assemble, and Sit a competent time, without any New Summons or Election.

And as no Papist can by Law hold any place of Trust, so the King is content, that it may be further Provided, That no Lords, or other of the Privy Council, no Judges of the Common Law, or in

in Chancery, shall at any time during the Reign of any Popish Successor, be put in, or displaced, but by the Authority of Parliament.

And that care also be taken, that none but sincere Protestants may be Justices of the Peace.

In Reference to the Military part, the King is willing, That no Lord-Lieutenant, or Deputy-Lieutenant, nor no Officer in the Navy ( during the Reign of any Popish Successor ) be put out or removed, but either by Authority of Parliament, or of such Persons as the Parliament shall intrust with such Authority.

'Tis hard to invent another Restraint to be put upon a Popish Successor, considering how much the Revenue of the Successor will depend upon consent of Parliament, and how impossible it is to raise Money without such Consent. But yet, if any thing can else occur to the Wisdom of the Parliament, which may further secure Religion and Liberty against a Popish Successor, without defeating the Right of Succession it self, His Majesty will most readily Consent to it.

Thus Watchfull is the King for all your safety, and if he could think of any thing else, that you do either want, or wish, to make you happy, he would make it his Business to effect it for you.

God Almighty Long continue this Blessed Union, between the King and his Parliament, and People.

**N**ot to Descant beyond Good Manners, upon this Wonderfull Offer. The Government seem'd, now, Cross or Pile, whether it should

be a Monarchy, or a Common-Wealth. But all Treating, and Propounding pass'd with them, for Dodging : So that they put-off the Consideration

Journal. May. 11. 1679. of it, Day after Day, till the 11th. of May following ; and Then, upon

a Sundays Vote, they came to a

Resolution of having [ *A Bill brought in, to Disable the Duke of York to Inherit the Imperial Crown of This Realm :* ] Which was follow'd with the Revenging Vote, in the Tayle on't. Now this was rather a Mockery, then an Answer ; and a Proceeding, that had more of Haughtiness, and Insolence, then of Prudence ; for it was their Interest, to have been more Mannerly and Modest : But their Bus'ness was Matter of Power, and Command, not Grievance, and Redress ; and the Kings Complyances in this Matter, were Worse then flat Denyals : For the more He Yielded, the Harder They Press'd him ; and the Inference was Reasonable Enough, from the Gaining of One thing after Another, by Importunity, to the getting of All, at Last. In short, they had set their Hearts upon the Exclusion ; and their Reputations too, were so far at Stake upon't, that the Carrying of That Point, Either way, was a kind of Victory, on the One side, or on the Other. They had said they Would have it ; - they had Tun'd the People to the Expectation of it, and therefore, Have it they Must : Insomuch, that [ *More,* ] any Other way, seem'd Less to 'em : For to be Refus'd, and to sit down with That Repulse would have been to Lose Ground : And they were, upon

any

*Any Terms, to Uphold the Credit of their Authority, and the Reason of their Demands, as well as the Opinion of their Power. Delays are Hazardous, and they were rather for One Kingdom in Hand, then Two or Three, in Reversion, upon the Emprovement of the Project. But they reckon'd without their Host, it seems, for that Bout, and so left the Stage, and the Debate, Re Infecta.*

**U**PON the Meeting of the Next Parliament, they Open'd a little Wider; Declaring in an Address of December, 21. 1680. That, in Truth, the Exclusion A- lone, would not do the Bus'ness, without an Association to Back it. Nay, and This was not sufficient neither, for [As some further means (says the Same Address) for the Preservation both of our Religion, and Property, We are humble Suitors to your Majesty, that from hence-forth, Such Persons only may be Judges, &c.] And so it proceeds, to the Purging, and Regulating of Courts of Justice; the Choice of Lord-Lieut-tenants, Deputy-Leut-tenants, and Justices of the Peace; Military Officers both at Sea and Land: with an Express Exception all this while, to [Men of Arbitrary Principles, and Countenancers of Papists and Popery, &c.] That is to say; Always Excepted, the Pernici- ous Advisers of Proroguing Par- liaments, and Rejecting Bills of Exclusion: So that

Exclusion A-  
alone would not  
do the Bus'ness  
Votes Dec. 21.  
1680.

Ibid.

Ibid.

that in fine ; the Devil a *Dram of Popery*, was here to be found, upon the Foot of *This Account* ; nor any thing else, but *Sedition* under a *Masque of Religion*, and an *Impetuous, Restless Ambition*, of getting *Sovereign Power* into their *Own Hands*.

**N**Ow the most that can be pretended, in *Mitigation* of this *Violent, and Unwarrantable Practice*, is ; that they Meant **A Manifest Conspiracy.** Well, perhaps, but faid in their *Measures*. If there was a *Wheel in a Wheel* as they say, and One Plot Nurs'd-up under *Another*, it might be a Thing Started by the *By* ; and only an *Advantage* made, of an *Occasion, Unforeseen*, without any *Previous Design*. My Answer is ; that *This* was the *Cafe of Some*, but not of *Others* ; And that I hold my self *Bound*, in *Reason, Charity, and Justice*, to *Distinguish* betwixt 'em : That is to say ; betwixt the *Bare Believers*, and the *Conscientious*, though *Mistaken Abettors* of the *Plot*, and the *Malicious Contrivers*, and *Promoters* of it. Of the *Two Former Sorts* there were a Great many *Worthy Men*, and *True Lovers* of their *Prince*, their *Religion*, and their *Country*, that upon the first *Flush-ing-up* of the *Sham*, fell most Unhappily into the *Snare*, and these were Persons, Effectually, so *Eminently Loyal*, and so *Passionately Zelous* for his Majesties *Safety, and Government*, and for the *Protestant Religion*, that they were e'en the *Worse* for't again ; for their very *Character*, in Concurrence with *Vile Projectors, Patrons, and Wit-*

*Witnesses*, gave a Reputation to the Imposture. Their Passions were so taken-up, with the Horror of the Wickedness, that they did not so much Attend to the Proofs of it; and the Detestation they had for so Hideous a Conspiracy, Blinded their Eyes, that they could not see the Cheat: But Time brought the Truth to Light, and People to their Wits again. This does not hinder, (though so many Good Men were led away at First, by Plausible Appearances) but that the Foundation of This Structure was laid in Hell, and the Treason, Deliberately Purs'd from One End of the Train to the Other. The Exclusion of the Duke, was no other, then a Dethroning of the King; for his Majesties Pherogative, and his Royal Highnesses Birth-right, were Both Struck-at in the very Same Address. But whether This was done Wilfully, Spitefully, and with Malice prepense; is Another Question, which I take to be, not only Probable, in Many Respects, but Demonstratively Clear, and Certain, in Others.

First as to the Quality of the Two Cardinal Witnesses. It was Low, and Mean, to the Degree of a Scandalous, and a Starving Poverty; and yet One of 'em from a Street-Beggar, and the other from a Jayle, and an Alms-Basket, sets up for the Discovering of a Conspiracy Carry'd on in the Cabinets of Princes; In the Privacies of Cloysters, and Cells, and in the Secret Confidences of men of Honour, of the First Rank; what

The Witness-  
ses and the  
Conspiratours,  
agreed upon.

what *Forces* to be Rais'd ; What *Officers* ; When, and in *What Manner* the King was to be *Murder'd* ; the *Price* of the *Villany*, and *Who* and *Who* to do the *Execution*. How could any man, whose *Patience* upon the *Surprize* of the *First Alarum*, would but give him leave to *Think*, tho' never so *Little*, of the *Tale*; and of the *Reporters* of it, *Imagine*, that these *Scoundrells* should ever come within reach, of being *Privy* to this *Plot*, even if Every *Syllable* of it had been *True* : And that so many Persons of *Brains* and *Fortune*, should Trust their *Lives*, and *Estates* in the *Hands*, and at the *Mercy* of such a Brace of *Varlets* ! Otes at the End of his *Narrative*, in his *List* of the *Conspirators*, reckons up [Nine Benedictines, Three Carmelites, Two Franciscans, Ten Dominicans, Twenty Fiye Jesuits, All in England : Two at Liege, Five at Watton, Twelve at St. Omers, Seaven Jesuits more abroad ; Twelve Scotch Jesuits, Eight Secular Persons ; two Lay-Brothers, Fourteen Secular Priests in England, which he has but upon *Enformation*, he says : (as who should say, *I dare not venture an Oath upon't.*) {Four other Persons ; Beside Seaven and Twenty Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Officers, that had All, Commissions, whose Names (he says) did not Occur at Present.] This is a Great Number of Conspirators, for One poor Man to give an Account of

As to the Probity of their *Life* and *Conversation* ; They came upon the *Stage*, Recommended for *Buggery*, *Perjury*, and *Horse-Stealing* by *Advance* ;

Otes's Narrative.  
fol. 58.59.  
60. 61.

vance ; and Notorious, for these Evidencing Qualifications, before-hand. In their Enformations, they Fall Foul, not only One upon Another ; but upon Themselves too; and Each of them is *Felo de se*, in his Self-Contradictions. Now this is a Topic, that has been Beaten over and over, throughout the whole Course of the Observators ; and a Man might Muster-up, at least Forty or Fifty Corroborating Swearers more, of the Same Stamp.

BUT I am now upon the Subject of the Sub-borners Themselves, Not the Hirelings ; For Those Men, and Matters, would never have pass'd Muster, if there had not been more Care taken to Cover, and Conceal the Perjury, then to find out the Truth. Who were the Great Sticklers for Otes, and his Accomplices, but the very Persons that were the Ring-Leaders of the Late Rebellions ? And who but Otes again, at all their Republican Clubs, and Cabals ? In short ; Nothing could be more Palpable, then that there was a Confederate Agreement of the Party, in Mediating for the Profess'd Enemies of the Government, and Addressing against the Unquestionable Friends, and Servants of it. Nor could that Constant Practice have any Other End in Prospect, then the Ruine of the King, the Subversion of the Monarchy, and the Introducing of a Common-Wealth. What was the Meaning of their Vote of [Thanks to the City of London for their Manifest Loyalty to the King, their Care, Charge, and

Their Cross  
Mediations.

Votes. Jan. 10.  
1680.

Vigi

*Vigilancy for the Preservation of his Majesties Person and of the Protestant Religion,] But the Firing of a Gun to Call for Help, upon the Springing of a Leake, and no body within distance to*

Ibid. *Relieve them ? And then to follow it the same Morning, with Another*

Ibid. *Resolved, [That it is the Opinion of the House, That James Duke of Mon-*

*mouth hath been removed from his Offices and Commands, by the Influence of the Duke of York.]*

*And so to [Order an Application to be made to his Majesty from that House, by such Members thereof as were of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, to desire his Majesty to Restore the said James Duke of Monmouth to his said Offices, and Commands.]* What were These Two Votes,

I say, but so much *Holy-Water* cast away upon the *D. of M.* and the *City*; and to do as much as in Them lay, under That Exigence, toward the bringing of the *Head*, and the *Body together*:

Briefly, they found that *One Duke* was as *Necessary* for the *King*, as the *Other* was for the *Faction*, and that was the *True Ground of the Bill of Exclusion*, and the *Vote of Intercession*. *Ben. Harris* was *Fin'd*, and *Pillory'd* for *One Treasonous Libell*; *Care* (with his *Strange Knack*) was *Fin'd* for *Another*,

*Every jot as Bad as That*; And *Brown* for *Other Libells*, the *Worst of all Three*. And yet These Paltry *Libellers* found Powerfull Friends, and *Intercessors*:

Nay and the very *Fining* of them for *Sedition*, was Enter'd upon the *Charge* against *Sr. W. Scroggs*, as *One Article Ingredient to the making*

making up of his *Treasons*. Now certainly there was something Extraordinary in't, that more then That Number of *Noble Lords*, should be Declared Pernicious Advisers ; Promoters of *Papery*, and *Enemies to the King and Kingdom*, for only Joyning with the *King Himself* in Opinion against the *Exclusion*; And that the Same Persons should Arraign the One, that Brought-off the Other: So Mortal a Sin was it accounted, in Those days, to Serve the *Crown*, and the *Royal Family* ; and so Venial a Slip, to Endeavour the Overturning of the Government. I do not remember so much as any *One Instance*, that vary'd from This Rule ; And never was any thing so Constant, that came by Chance. To give These Political Operators their Due ; there was Nothing Wanting to their Purposes, that either *Fraud*, *Industry*, *Confidence* or *Hypocrisy* could Furnish. They made the People afraid of *Infallibility*, and *Arbitrary Power*, and at the Same Time, look'd them in the very Faces, while they Assum'd the One, and Practis'd the Other, *Themselves* ; the Former, under the Authority of [the *Wisdom of the Nation* ;] and the Latter, in the Right of the [Commons of England.] For Every Vote was, in Effect, a Sentence of *Law*, *Reason*, and *Power*; *Sovereign*, *Absolute*, and without *Controll* ; And it was but saying, that This or That [Is, at This Time, Grievous to the Subject, a Weakening of the Protestant Interest, an Encouragement to Popery, and

Votes. Jan. 10.  
1680.

*and Dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom, to make the Resolution Authentique, with a Non Obstante, of never so many Laws to the Contrary.* If a Vote say, that the King Can-

(a) Mar. 24  
1678.  
(b) Jan. 7.  
1681.  
(c) Oxon.  
Mar. 26.  
1681.

*not (a) Pardon; (b) That Subjects shall not lend him Money; Or (c) That the Refusal of the Lords to Proceed in Parliament, upon the Commons Impeachments of any Peer or Commoner, for Treason, or any other Crime, or Misdemeanour, is*

*a Denial of Justice, and a Violation of the Constitution of Parliaments.] Here's the King, Law, and Lords Over-rul'd, and the Votes made Presidents; Cited, and Pleaded, for the Prerogative of the House of Commons, in all the Clubs, or (which is the same Thing) the Peoples Courts of Justice, throughout the Three Kingdoms: And it could not well be Other, so long as Green-Ribbon-Committees, and Caballs, Without doors, had such an Influence upon what pass'd Within; and that the Principal Managers of Otes'es Plot, were the very Oracles that were Consulted for Direction, and Resolution upon All the Conspiracies that were then in Agitation. These Evidences, upon the Transactions of the House it self; drawn from the Prints, that they Themselves Order'd to be Publish'd; (and that were Publish'd accordingly) as an Appeal to the Whole World, in Justification of their Proceedings; and to Prevent False Copies and Reports: These very Papers*

pers are the *Evidences* (as their Unlucky Stars would have it) that are now Arisen in Judgment against them; and *Faithfully Deliver'd-over to Succeeding Times*, as the Only Sure Means of Unriddling the Mystery of This Wonderfull Intrigue: And, certainly, No better way to let the Reader into the Secrets of This Affair, then by the Key it self, that was ~~Made~~, Originally, to the Cypher.

Their own  
Votes and Pa-  
pers are the  
best Eviden-  
ces.

I Have by this Time, Trac'd the Likelihoods of a Deliberated Design upon the King, Church, and State, thorough all the Steps of Probability, and Strong Presumption, up to the Highest Degree of Certainty, and Demonstration. Were not All the Violent Asserters of the Duke of Monmouth's Pretended Interest, and the Opposers of the Indubitable Right of his Royal Highness, Embargu'd in the Same Bottom, of Enmity to the Government, and of Kindness to the Faction? How many were there in Both Houses, that had the Same Hearts towards the King, in a Committee of Parliament that they had afterward, in a Clubb, or in an Army? And still, Otes'es Plot, the Support of All their Pretences: And what was the Countenance of That Plot, at Last; but that the King was in Danger of being Assassinated by the Papists; and therefore, the Posse of the Three Kingdoms was to be Rais'd, to Prevent that Murther?

ther? Now whoever Believes That Story to be True, must of Necessity, draw this Conclusion from it; That the Same People Stickled for the Slaughtering of the King, at Whitehall, that were for the Killing of him, in the West: That is to say, unless they can Bear the World down, that there was No Rebellion: Or that None of the Leading Members of Either Houfe were Concern'd in't; but for That, there was never any thing made Plainer, then This Affirmative; not onely from the Mouths of their Confederates, but from the Confessions of the very Parties Themselves. For the Truth of This, I may further Remit my self to Divers Proclamations, Declarations, and Other Acts of State, that have been Issued out, by the Order, and Authority of the Late Blessed King, and of his Sacred Majesty that is now in Being. But, as a Supplemental Explanatory to All the Rest; the Paper of Association that was found in the Late Earl of Shaftsburies Closet, (and prov'd upon him, if ever Light it self was made Manifest) That Paper, I say, may serve; without any Violence to the Text, for a Comment upon All the Dark Passages of That History: for it is, in the Frame, Order, and Matter of it, no other then a Compendious Abstract of the Debates, and Resolutions that had pass'd the Commons upon the business of the Plot, and the Succession: Insomuch that there is hardly a Syllable of any Moment in the One, that is not Answer'd, and Echo'd, in the Other: and whoever Lick'd it into Form, the Project

ject was the *Cubb* of a *Close-Committee*, and it was kept in *Reserve* for a *Forc'd-Put*. The *French Holy League* was look'd upon, in those days, as a *Master-piece*; but the *Devil* was, as yet, a *Novice*. The *Scotch*, and *English Holy League*, and *Covenant*, came an *Age Later* into the *World*, and *Refin'd* upon the *French One*; and Then, some *Forty Year after that*, came the *Noble Peers Association*, that *Out-did them Both*. But there's no *Reading* upon't 'till we have the *Piece* it self *Before us*, in its own *Dimensions, Words, and Colours*.

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G 2                      The

The Paper which was Seized in the E.  
of Shaftsbury's Closet by Francis Gwin  
Esquire, One of the Clerks of His  
Majesties Privy-Council, and Read  
*November 24. 1681.* at the *Old-Baily*,  
before His Majesties Commissioners  
of Oyer and Terminer.

**W**E the Knights, &c. Finding to  
the grief of our Hearts, the Popish  
Priests and Jesuits with the Papists,  
and their Adherents and Abettors have for several  
years last past pursued a most pernicious and  
hellish Plot, to root out the true Protestant  
Religion as a pestilent Heresie, to take away the  
Life of our Gracious King, to subvert our Laws  
and Liberties, and to set up Arbitrary Power  
and Popery.

2. And it being Notorious that they have  
been highly encouraged by the Countenance and  
Protection given and procured for them by J. D.  
of Y. and by their expectations of his succeeding  
to the Crown, and that through crafty Popish  
Councils his Designs have so far prevailed that  
he hath created many and great Dependents up-  
on him by his bestowing Offices and Preferments  
both in Church and State.

3. It appearing also to us, That by his Influence Mercenary Forces, have been levied and kept on Foot for his secret Designs contrary to our Laws; the Officers thereof having been named and appointed by him, to the apparent hazard of his Majesties Person, our Religion and Government, if the danger had not been timely foreseen by several Parliaments, and part of those Forces with great difficulty, caused by them to be Disbanded at the Kingdoms great Expence: And it being Evident, that notwithstanding all the continual endeavours of the Parliament to deliver his Majesty from the Councils, and out of the Power of the said D. yet his Interest in the Ministry of State and others hath been so prevalent, That Parliaments have been unreasonably Prorogued, and Dissolved, when they have been in hot pursuit of the Popish Conspiracies, and ill Ministers of State their Assistants.

4. And that the said D. in order to reduce all into his own Power hath procured the Garrison, the Army and Ammunition, and all the Power of the Seas and Souldiery, and Lands belonging to these Three Kingdoms to be put into the hands of his Party and their Adherents, even in opposition to the Advice and Order of the last Parliament.

5. And as we considering with Heavy Hearts how greatly the Strength, Reputation and Treasure of the Kingdom both at Sea and Land is Wasted and Consumed, and lost by the intricate expensive management of these Wicked de-

fructive Designes; and finding the same Coun-  
cils after exemplary Justice upon some of the  
Conspirators, to be still pursued with the utmost  
devilish malice, and desire of Revenge; where-  
by his Majesty is in continual hazard of being  
Murdered, to make way for the said D's Ad-  
vancement to the Crown, and the whole King-  
dom in such case is destitute of all security of their  
Religion, Laws, Estates and Liberty, sad ex-  
perience in the Case, Queen Mary having pro-  
ved the willest Laws to be of little force to  
keep out Popery and Tyranny under a Popish  
Prince.

6. We have therefore endeavoured in a Parlia-  
mentary-way by a Bill for the purpose to Bar  
and Exclude the said Duke from the Succession  
to the Crown, and to Banish him for ever out  
of these Kingdoms of England and Ireland. But  
the first Means of the King and Kingdoms Safe-  
ty being utterly rejected, and we left almost in  
Despair of obtaining any real and effectual secu-  
rity, and knowing our selves to be intrusted to  
Advise and Act for the preservation of his Majesty  
and the Kingdom, and being persuaded in our  
Consciences that the Dangers aforesaid are so  
eminent and pressing, that there ought to be no  
delay of the best means that are in our power to  
secure the Kingdom against them. We have  
thought fit to propose to all true Protestants an  
Union amongst themselves by solemn and sacred  
promise of Mutual Defence and Assistance in the  
preservation of the true Protestant Religion, his  
Majest

Majesties Person and Royal State, and our Laws, Liberties and Properties, and we hold it our bounden Duty to join our selves for the same intent in a Declaration of our United Affections and Resolutions in the Form Ensuing.

## T H E

# Affociation.

I A. B. Do in the presence of God solemnly, Promise, Vow, and Protest to maintain and Defend to the utmost of my Power, with my Person and Estate, the True Protestant Religion against Popery, and all Popish Superstition, Idolatry, or Innovation, and all those that do or shall endeavour to spread or advance it within this Kingdom.

I will also as far as in me lies maintain and defend His Majesties Royal Person and Estate; as also the power and privilege of Parliaments, the lawfull Rights and Liberties of the Subject, against all Incroachments and Usurpation of Arbitrary power whatsoever, and endeavour intirely to Disband all such Mercenary Forces, as we have reason to believe, were raised to advance it, and are

still kept up in and about the City of London, to the great Amazement and Terrour of all the good people of the Land.

Moreover J. D. of P. having publickly professed and owned the Popish Religion, and notoriously given Life and Birth to the Damnable and Hellish Plots of the Papists against his Majesties Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom. I will never consent that the said J. D. of P. or any other, who is or hath been a Papist, or any ways Adher'd to the Papists in their wicked Designs be admitted to the Succession of the Crown of England, But by all lawfull means and by force of Arms, if need so require, according to my Abilities, will oppose him, and endeavour to Subdue, Expell and Destroy him if he come into England, or the Dominions thereof; and seek by force to set up his pretended Title, and all such as shall Adhere unto him, or raise any War, Tumult, or Sedition for him, or by his Command, as publique Enemies of our Laws, Religion and Countrey.

To this end we and every one of us whose hands are here under-written, do most willingly bind our selves and every one of us unto the other joynly and severally, in the Bond of one firm and loyal Society or Association, and do promise and vow before God, That with our joint and particular Forces we will Oppose and Pursue unto Destruction all such as upon any Title what-

whatsoever shall oppose the Just and Righteous ends of this Association, and Maintain, Protect and Defend all such as shall enter into it in the just performance of the true intent and meaning of it. And lest this Just and Pious Work should be any ways obstructed or hindered for want of Discipline and Conduct, or any evil-minded persons under pretence of raising Forces for the service of this Association, should attempt or commit Disorders, we will follow such Orders as we shall from time to time receive from this present Parliament, whilst it shall be Sitting, or the Major Part of the Members of both houses subscribing this Association: when it shall be Prorogued or Dissolved, and obey such Officers as shall by them be set over us in the several Countries, Cities, and Burroughs untill the next meeting of this or another Parliament, and will then shew the same Obedience and Submission unto it, and those who shall be of it.

Neither will we for any respect of Persons or Causes, or for Fear, or Reward, separate ourselves from this Association, or fail in the Prosecution thereof during our Lives, upon pain of being by the rest of us prosecuted, and suppressed as Perjur'd persons, and publick Enemies to God, the King, and our Native Country.

To which Pains and Punishments we do voluntarily submit our selves, and every one of us

us without benefit of any Colour or Pretence to excuse us.

*In witness of all which Premisses to be Inviolably kept, we do to this present Writing put our Hands and Seals, and shall be most ready to accept and admit any others hereafter into this Society and Association.*

## Notes upon the ASSOCIATION.

THE Reader will find in this Paper of *Association*, All the Lines of the *Pretended Popish Plot*; the *Summ of the Whole Cause*, and of all they Contended for. It shews the *Modell*, and Expounds the *Meaning* of the *Design*; the *Manner* of *Working-it-up*, and the *Degrees* of *Ripening* it for *Execution*. It lays Open the *Rise, Progress, and Drift*, of a *Republican Conspiracy*, Step by Step: Insomuch, that a man may Trace out with a *Chalk*, the *Entire Course* of the *Intrigue*, from the *First Broaching* of it to the *Last Resolution*, and understand, that [Resolved upon the Question] had a Hand in't, as well as [With the Knights, &c.] And This will Plainly Appear, upon Comparing the One with the Other.

My

*My Next Bus'ness is, to lay open the Conformity of Parts, and the Harmony of Design betwixt the Proceedings of the House, and the Tendence of the Paper of Confederacy, and when I have made out That once, there will be No Separating the Conspirators in the Votes, from [We the Knights, &c.] in the Association; but they must be Both, of Necessity Involv'd in the same Plot.*

The First Clause finds [*a Hellish Popish Plot,*] agreeable to the Vote of Oct. 31. 1678. The Second finds the Duke of York in the Bottom on't; And so did a Following Vote, some Four Days after the Former; Whereupon, I remember, there was a Debate Started, for an Address, to Remove him. It speaks of [*the Power, and Influence of Popish Councillors, in the Disposing of Offices;*] which is the Main Topique again, of the Address of Nov. 29. 1680. And so in the Third and Fourth Clauses; it falls upon the *Illegal, [Mercenary Forces,]* [*Unreasonable Prorogations and Dissolutions;*] The Strength of the Nation both at Sea, and Land, put into the hands of [*His Royal Highnesses Party, and their Adherents;*] which is no other again, then an Extract out of Several Votes, and Addresses already mention'd. The Fifth takes a General Prospect of the Miserable Condition of the King and Kingdom; through the Vindictive Malice of the Papists: Which is over and over Inculcated also, in Several of their Addresses; as in that of November 29. 1680. If so and so;

[We

Address No. 29.  
1680.

Address Dec. 21.  
1680.

[We have Freed our selves from the Guilt of That Bloud and Desolation which is like to Ensue.] And so afterward, in that of Decemb. 21. 1680. The Question is Put; [Whether, in case the Crown should Descend to the Duke of York; the Opposition which may possibly be made to his Possessing it, may not onely Endanger the Further Descent in the Royal Line, but even Monarchy it self.] In the Sixth Clause, it sets forth, that since they cannot Prevail upon the King to Exclude the Duke by a Bill, in [a Parliamentary-way,] they Propose [a Promise of Mutual Defence and Assistance among All True-Protestants.]

[In the Preservation of the True-Protestant Religion, his Majesties Person, and Royal State, and our Lives, Liberties, and Proper-ties, &c.]

The Condition  
of the Associa-  
tion.

The Conditions  
of the Address  
Dec. 21. 1680.

These are the Words of the Preamble, or Introduction to the Association; which are but the very same Thing, in Other Terms, with the Proposal of Dec. 21. 1680. in the Address it self: Wherein they desire [That his Majesty will be Graciously pleased to Assent to an Act, whereby his Majesties Protestant Subjects may be Enabled to Associate Themselves for the Defence of his Majesties Person; the Protestant Religion, and the Security of his Kingdoms:

These

*These Requests (say they) we are Constrained humbly to make to your Majesty, as of Absolute Necessity for the Safe and Peaceable Enjoyment of our Religion.]*

So that *This Association*, is Parliamentary, from Head to foot, and little more in't, then a *Working* upon *Their Modell*: Only [*With the Knights, &c.*] *Took Leave* in One Case, and *Ask'd* it, in the Other. I speak of the *Majority* of the *House*, as it was then *Leaven'd*, and with *Great Honour* to the *Loyal*, and *Sober Mixture* that was in *That Assembly*. While the *Address above-Mention'd*, (in *Answer* to the *Kings Speech* of the 15th of the same Month) was under *Debate*, the *Collectour* of the *Proceedings* of *That Season*, takes upon him to *Report* this following *Passage*, of a *Speech* *Deliver'd* in the *House*, upon *That Question*.

[*I cannot agree, in Pressing the Association-Bill: For being it hath not yet been brought into the House, we do not well know what will be the Purport of it: And it is not Proper that we should Ask of the King, we know not What, nor Expect that he should Grant us what He can know nothing of: And truly Sir, I think that These Things about the Judges, Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace, are Minute Things to be Insisted on, at This Time, Compar'd with Others, which might be Demanded!* Queen Elizabeth's Councillours never thought Her Safe 'till the Popish Succession was in a Tower; and I am afraid that you will never be Safe, untill you take some such Course, that

*Coll. of Debates,*  
p. 202.

that may bring things to an Issue. When you have done That, and Banished All the Considerable Papists out of England, I think we shall not be in such Apparent Danger as we now are; And seeing This may Probably be Granted, and the Other Bills Not, I humbly Move you to Recommit the Address, that it may be better Consider'd.

And what's the Difference now, in Substance, betwixt the Bias of the Debate, and the Effect of the Resolution? The Exclusion, and Association, were not let fall, because they were Unequal, and Unreasonable; but because they were not Attainable; and only in Exchange too, for Other Equivalent Expedients: for Such an Imprisonment, and Such a Banishment, would have had the Force of an Exclusion, and an Association, without the Name of it; for the Banishing of All, on the One side, does Naturally Resolve into an Union, of All, on the Other.

Now to put All This together; it amounts to no more then what the Prevailing Party in the House, had Propounded, Declar'd, and Resolv'd upon, Before-hand: Only the Kings Peremptory Refusal, put 'em upon the After-Game of Attempting to get That by Force, which they could not Gain by Address; And it is not to be doubted, but the Faction Acted In the House, as well as Out of the House, by the Same Spirit. To say the Truth on't; The Conspirators that Influenc'd These Desperate Designs, were Past Rubicon, long since, and No Retreat left them, but with Halters about their Necks; if Tenderness, and Clemency it self,

self, had not well nigh *Diffolv'd* the *Awe of Royal Power*, and *Justice*; in the *Overflowings* of That most Gracious Prince's *Patience*, and *Mercy*: But when the *Ring-Leaders* found, that they might *Ask any thing, Gratis*; they never fail'd of following *Denyals* with *Importunities*, and *Importunities*, with *Expostulations*; 'till, in the End, up-on a *Full Tryal* of their *Interest*, and *Skill*, they might come to *Settle their Measures*. They Reckon'd upon't, that they had *Two Strings to their Bow*: And that if *One Fail'd*, they had *Another* would *Hold*. They Ply'd his Majesty with the most *Reproachfull* of *Libells*, under the *Title* of *Petitions*, and *Addresses*; and, in a *Style*, and *Courtenance* of *Duty*, and *Respect*. When they *Miss'd* of any thing at *First Request*, they were sure to follow it with *Passion*, *Instance*, *Mendce*, and *Clamour*: The [Monarchy it Self] could not *Stand*, without *Excluding* the Duke; and no way to Prevent the [Blood that was like to Ensue] but by an Association. And in Excuse for the Liberties they took, they had recourse to [the Trust Reposed in them, by those they Represented.] If the King Buckles, he's *Lost*, by his Own *Act*: If he *Persists* in the *Negative*, there's the *Ruine of Religion*, and the *Three Kingdoms* laid at his *Door*. If he *Yields*, it must be either; to the *Right*, and *Reason* of their *Demands*, or in *Acknowledgment* that they are too *Strong* for him, which is *Equally Dangerous*, Both ways: To Conclude, what matters it, whether a Prince be *Lost*

Address No. 29.  
1680.

*Lost by Treaty, or by Violence? or whether the People be Gull'd, into a Barefac'd; or into a Plausible Rebellion? But at the same time, the Common Medium that they Depended upon, to Either End, was the Good Will, and Favour of the People: And there needed no more to Secure That Interest; then to put their Shams Plausibly Together: And under the Colour of Zeal, for the Publique, to Draw Credit to the Imposture.*

At the First Opening of *This Plot*, Almost All peoples Hearts took Fire at it, and Nothing was heard, but the Bellowing of Execrations, and Revenge, against the Accursed Bloody Papists. It was Imputed at first, and in the General, to the Principles of the Religion; and a Roman-Catholic, and a Regicide, were made One and the Same Thing. Nay, it was a Saying Frequent in some of our Great, and Holy Mouths; that they were Confident, there was not so much as One Soul of the Whole Party, within his Majesties Dominions, that was not either an Actor in *This Plot*, or a Friend to't. In this heat, they fell to Picking-up of Priests, and Jesuits, as fast as they could Catch 'em, and so went on, to Consult their Oracles, the Witneffes, (with All Formalities of Sifting and Examining) upon the Particulars of Place, Time, Manner, Persons, &c. while Westminster Hall, and the Court of Requests, were kept Warm, and Ringing still of New Men Come in; Corroborating Proofs, and Further Discoveries, &c. Under This Train and Method of Reasoning, the Managers Advanc'd Decently enough to the Finding-out of what They Them-

Theirselves had *Laid*, and *Concerted*, before-hand: And, to give the Devil his due, the Whole Story was but a *Farce* of so many *Parts*, and the *Noisy Enformations* no more then a *Lesson* that they had much ado to go thorough with; even with the Help of *Diligent*, and *Carefull Tutors*, and of *many and many a Prompter*, to bring them off at a *Dead Lift*. But *Papery* was so *Dreadfull* a Thing, and the *Danger* of the *Kings Life*, and of the *Protestant Religion* so *Astonishing* a *Surprize*, that People were almost bound in *Duty*, to be *Inconsiderate*, and *Outrageous* upon't; And *Loyalty* it self, would have look'd a little *Cold*, and *Indifferent*, if it had not been *Intemperate*: Insomuch, that *Zeal*, *Fierceness*, and *Jealousy*, were never more *Excusable*, then upon This Occasion. And Now, having *Excellent Matter* to *Work* upon; and the *Passions* of the *People* already *Dispos'd* for *Violence*, and *Tumult*, there needed no more then *Blowing the Cole* of Otes's *Narrative*, to put All into a *Flame*: And in the mean Time, all *Arts*, and *Accidents* were *Emprov'd*, as well toward the *Entertainment* of the *Humour*, as to the *Kindling* of it. The people were first *Hayr'd* out of their *Senses*, with *Tales*, and *Jealousies*, and Then made *Judges* of the *Danger*, and Consequently of the *Remedy*: Which upon the *Main*, and *Briefly*, came to no more then *This*. The *Plot* was *Laid*, all over the *Three Kingdoms*; *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, Tax'd their *Quotas* to't; we were All to be *Burnt in our Beds*, and

*Rise with our Throats Cut; and no way in the world, but Exclusion, and Union, to help us: The Phancy of this Exclusion, Spread Immediately, like a Gangrene, over the whole Body of the Monarchy; and no saving the Life of his Majesty, without Cutting-off every Limb of the Prerogative; The Device of Union, pass'd Insensibly, into a League, of Conspiracy; and instead of Uniting Protestants, against Papists, Concluded, in an Association of Subjects against their Sovereign, Confounding Policy, with Religion.* By these Steps, the Managers, I remember, proceeded to the Instrument of the Association, that is now in Question. They Labour'd, at first, to Sham-it-off; for the Old Queen Elsabeths Association Reviv'd. Secondly, That it was only the Copy of a Bill that had pass'd the House of Commons: But when the Matter appear'd so Foul that there was No Defending of it, they made use of a Third Shift, to Evade the Danger; and the Scandal, by pretending that there was No such Paper in my Lord Shaftesbury's Closet, any otherwise, then as They that Found it there, Laid it there: And so they Endeavour'd to Turn the Malice, on the One side, into a Trick on the Other. This Last Shuffle was as well Colour'd as the Case would bear; in a Paper call'd, [A Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend, about Addresses and Abhorriers,] It was an Artificial, Sly Piece, and the Noble Peer more then Suspected to have a Hand in't, Himself.

Now

Now as to the *First Pretext*, (to say nothing of the *State-Craft* of the *Old Association*) there was This Difference Between them; The One was to *Defend the Queen* against any *Pretender* upon the *Suggestion of a False Title*; The Other, was a *Conspiracy* set up *against a Just, and Legal Title*; the One was only to *Work at a Distance*, in Case of such an *Occasion*; The Other was to *Blow-up a Civil War Immediately*, for fear of *Imaginary Dangers to Come*. The One had the *Countenance of an Union* against the *Queens Enemies*, and *With her Allowance, and Consent*; The Other, was a *Plot upon the Kings Brother*: and *Against his Majesties Mind, and Consent*. The One was, (in fine) a *Limited Association*, with *Submission to Authority*; The Other, a *Treasonous Usurpation*, in *Defyance, and in Despite of Authority*.

The *Second Cavil* was as good as a *Gagg to many People*, in *That Troublesome Conjuncture*; for a *Parliamentary Association* in Those Days, would have been *Sacred*, even against both *Law, and Gospel*; and therefore Those that *Believ'd the Flam* of its being a *Bill* that had *pass'd the House*; (And Consequently *Asserted the Reason of the Proceeding*) reckon'd upon't, that they had the *Wisdom of the Nation* on their side, on *One hand*, as they had, most *Certainly*, the *Folly, and the Madness* of it, on the *Other*. Now This *Opinion serv'd for a Protection to All* that could be said, in favour of the *Project*, upon *That Text*. But the

*Passing of That Bill was a Mistake*, for ought that I could ever hear to the Contrary. The King, 'tis True, was Pres'd in't, over and over, as the Expedient, fine qua non, for the Saving of his Life, his Crown; the Protestant Religion, and his People. And it is Obvious to Presume, that they had Resolv'd upon the Draught, the Conditions, and the Provision of it, before ever they made any Application about it: Beside the Manifest Agreement that was between them, upon the special Matters in Issue. But in One Instance for All. On the 24th. of Nov. 1685. There Sate at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bayly, a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, upon a Bill of Indictment, for High-Treason, against Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury. The Foreman of the Grand-Jury put certain Questions to a Principal Secretary of State, and a Clark of the Council, that gave Evidence there, about this Paper of Association, which coming from a Member of the East Westminster House of Commons, could not but carry Great Weight.

Proceedings at the Old-Bayly, London, upon the Bill of Indictment for High-Treason against Anthony E. of Shaftsbury. p. 34.  
 i.e. [Do not you know, Sir, or have not you heard of a Discourse, or Debate, in the Parliament concerning an Association? Do not you remember in the House of Commons, Sir, it was Read upon Occasion of That Bill?] This Question made many People think, that the Noble Peer, and the Plot-Managers in That House of Commons, were upon the Same Bottom; and that the Former

mer was only to *Erecute*, what the Other had *Contriv'd*; which was no more, in *Truth*, then the *Execution* of his *Own Purposes*, and *Designs*: For his *Lordships Head, Heart, and Purse*, were in at both Ends of the Bus'ness.

The *Third Evasion* was Immediately *Blown off* by *Proofs* under Mr. Wilson's Own Hand, over and over, (a Servant of Great *Trust* in the Family) to make Good that the *very Paper of Association*, which was *Produc'd* at the Old-Bayly, was found in my *Lords Closet*, according to the *Depositions*.

There can be no Doubt in the World, from what is allready said, but that the *Knight-Voters*, and the *Knight-Undertakers*, as to the Bus'ness of the *Association*, were *Both* of a *Mind*; and that there was little Difference betwixt the *One* and the *Other*, more then that the *One Cut out the Work, and the Other made-it-up*. So that if it was an *Ill Thing* in *One*, it was so in *Both*, and whether it was so or not, is now to be Enquir'd into; and first, upon the *General*.

**T**here was a very *Loyal Declaration* from the Middle Temple, Presented to his Late Majesty by Mr. Saunders, ( afterwards Lord-Chief-Justice of the King's-Bench) upon This Subject. I cannot bring an *Instance*, of more Honour, or Greater Authority, toward the *Confounding* of This Association, than *That Paper*, nor an *Address* more Pertinent to My Purpose, or Better Warranted, both in *Law*, and *Reason*.

Middle-Temple  
Declaration,  
See Ob. 106,  
Vol. 1.

[**O**UR Sense of That Execrable Paper, Purporting the Frame of a Trayterous Association, produced at the Late Proceedings against the Earl of Shaftsbury at the Old-

Bayly, We do therefore Declare it our Opinion, that the same Contains most Gross, and Apparent Treasons, more Manifestly tending to the Ruine of your Majesties Dominions then the Old, Hypocritical, Solemn League, and Covenant, which they that were Seduced to take, are no more bound to keep, then he that should Swear to Murther his Father is Obliged to Commit the Parricide.

And it is most Evident to us, that whoever promoted That Rebellious Association Designed by the said Paper, or Countenanced the Same by Refusing upon the Full Evidence, to find Bills of Indictment against the Authors and Promoters thereof, and thereby as much as in them lay, Preventing their being brought to a Fair Tryal, have, in a High

*High Meafure, Perverted the Laws: And could have no other Design thereby, then to Usurp to Themselves, an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Dominion, not only over your Subjects, but over your Majesty also.]*

I Shall proceed now to the *Dissecting* of it, and see, if the *Particulars* be not as Foul upon the *Retayle*, as the *Whole* has been here *Represented*, in the *Lump*, and in *Gross*. The *Ground* of it is a *Popish Plot*: *The Preservation of the King, Religion, Laws, and People*, are set forth to be the *Intent* of it: So that by an *Orderly Examining* of One Thing after Another, it will be Easily seen, how far the *Means* here *Propounded*, will Answer the *End*.

### *Notes upon the Association.*

[**W**E the Knights, &c.] in the *Preface*; Signifies, in the *Cow*, and *Promise*, [*the Major Part either of This Present Parliament, while Sitting, or of the Members of Both Houses, Subscribing This Association, when Prorogued, or Dissolv'd.*] And what is *This Majority* to *Do* now? [*To Defend and Assist one Another In the Preservation of the True Protestant Religion, His Majesties Person, and our State, and our Laws, Liberties,*

and Properties.] And Against whom, are they to Defend, and Assist? [Against Popish Priests, and Jesuites, with the Papists, and their ADHERENTS, and ABETTERS:] That same [Adherents, and Abetters] goes a Great way; and needs Another Explanation: But what's the Quarrel now? [A most Pernicious and Hellish Plot;] to Destroy All, that the Associators have, by Solemn, and Sacred Promise,

*Engaged Themselves, to Preserve.*

Of ADHERENTS and ABETTERS. And now for the [Adherents, and Abetters;] There are Several Sorts of them. There are the Plotters

*Themselves; the Duke of York;*

*the Mercenary Forces, (alias, the Guards;) The Officers that the Dukes Interest has brought in, both by Sea, and Land; and [All that HAVE ANY WAYS Adher'd to Him, or Them:] And [All such as SHALL Adhere unto Him.] So that here is an Association against the King Himself, for Adhering unto his Brother; and Consequently, against All the Kings Loyal Subjects; for Adhering to Him, that Adher'd to his Royal Highness; which is only a Degree or Relation of Adherency once Remov'd. But How now is This same Adherency to be Understood? What is it that is here Call'd an Adherency? And how far does it Extend? Any man that shall [Seek by Force to Set up the Duke's Pretended Title; or raise any War, tumult, or Sedition for him, or by his Command]*

ward ]. Or that [ upon any Title whatsoever, shall Oppose the Just and Righteous Ends of This Association ; ] Or in fine [ that shall ANY WAYS Adhere ; ] ( which is an Unlimited Latitude ; and reaches to Thought, Word and Deed ). *That Man is an Adherent.* Allways Provided, God Save the King, I hope. No No. Without [ any Respect of Persons, or Causes ] 'Tis against [ the Duke of York, or any other, that hath any ways Adhered to the Papists in their wicked Designs : ] So that *This League* is as *Particular-ly Levell'd at the King*, for Refusing to pass a Bill of Exclusion, as the Votes of Jan. 7. 1680. was at the Noble Lords there, for Advising the King to Refuse it. Well ! Again : And *What Course* is to be Taken at last, with These Papists and Adherents ? Why the *Associators* will [ Endeavour Entirely to Disband All Mercenary Forces ] They will [ by all Lawfull Means, and by Force of Arms, if need so require, Oppose the said Duke of York ; and Endeavour to Subdue, Expell, and Destroy him, if he comes into England, and All such as shall Adhere unto him. ] They will also [ with their Joyn and Particular Forces, Oppose, and Pursue unto Death and Destruction, All such ] as aforesaid. But what are these same [ Joyn and Particular Forces, ] they speak of ? Whence do they Come ? Who Raises them ? Who Leads 'em ? By What Authority, by What Law, is all this done ? The People are [ To follow such Orders as they shall from

from time to time Recesse from This Present Parliament, while Sitting; and the Major Part of it, when Prorogued, or Dissolv'd; and to Obey such Officers, as shall be set over them, by the Authority aforesaid.] And This they do [Knowing Themselves to be Intrusted, to Advise, and Act for the Preservation of his Majestie, and the Kingdom; and being persuaded in their Consciences, that the Dangers are so Eminent, and Pressing, that there ought to be no Delay of the Best means that are in their Power to Secure the Kingdom against them.]

The Intent, and  
Effect of the AS-  
SOCIATION.

**W**HAT is all this now, but King, Monarchy, Parliaments, Laws, Liberties and Properties, Cut-off at a Stroke?

The Papists Destroy'd, under the Colour of a Plot; the Duke, as the Head of the Papists; the King, as an Adherent to the Duke: The King's Friends, for their Fidelity to their Master; the Laws Over-rul'd by a Vote; The Oath of Allegiance made Void, by a Subscription to an Association: Kingly Government Sunk into a Common-Wealth. One Part of the Two Houses Enslav'd to the Other: And this [Just and Pious Work, (as they Call it) Is, in the Presence of God set a-foot for the Preservation of the True-Protestant-Religion; His Majesties Person, and Royal State, Our Laws, Liberties, and Proper-

*Properties : ] And this to be Pursu'd by the Subscribers [ During Life ] too, [ upon pain of being by the Rest Prosecuted and Suppreſſ'd, as Perjur'd Persons, and Publique Enemies to God, their King, and their Native Country. ] Here's in One Breath, an Oath that Makes them All This, and an Oath that They will Never be Other. This Paper Begins with an Oath, [ Against ] a Conspiracy, and Concludes with an Oath [ Of ] Conspiracy. It begins with an Exclamation against Jesuites, Priests, and Papists, and Ends in the Dissolution of King, Lords, and Commons. Upon the Whole, it speaks, neither More, nor Less, then the Sense, the Design, and (within a little of) the very Syllables of the Votes Themselves : And to say all in a Word ; the One is but the Model, or the Minutes of the Other.*

**T**here was likewise found among my Lord Shaftesbury's Papers (as I have formerly Noted in some of my Writings) a

Worthy-MEN  
and Men-WOR-  
THY.

*Book of the Several Counties of England, Ranged in Alphabet ; under the Heads of [ WORTHY MEN, ] on the One side, and [ MEN WORTHY, ] on the Other, which was Intended, and Made use of, for a Discriminating List of the Royalists, and the Republicans. Under the Cypher of [ Men Worthy, ] was Couch'd the Conceit of Men Worthy to be Hang'd. Now the Probable Advantage that they intended to make of This*

This Distinguishing Register, (if Rightly Understood) may serve to give some Light to the Dark, and Mysterious Part of the Oxford-Plot, upon the King's Person ; The Mercenary Forces, and the Papists Adherents, in the Style of These Times. By the Virtue of This Roll, and Distinction, at hand, they could, any time, at a Week, or Ten days Warning, Flush-up an Universal Plot ; Get it Authenticated upon the Oaths of Half a dozen of the Sons of Belial that they had in Pay ; Put All the Considerable Men in the Kingdom, into the Catalogue, and File it at last, to the Account of the Conspirators, [whose Names did not Occurr at present,] to Otes upon his Calculation of his Narrative.

Otes Narrative  
Fol. 58.

A Thousand ways might have been Contriv'd, by giving a Hot Alarum ; to have taken 'em All in their Beds before they were aware : And at the same time, to Beset the King with Petitions upon their Knees, to give 'em leave to Provide [for the Preservation of his Majesties Person, and Royal State] to the Tune of the Association. There would have been no more Need of Voting the Duke to be Banish'd, or the King's Ministers, to be [Removed from his Majesties Councells and Presence for ever ;] but there would have been Downright Commitments, and Impeachments ; and more Work for One Poor Executioner, than Twenty Dextrous Knaves could have Turn'd their Hands to. Three or Four Dame-Oaths, and Warrants,

*Warrants, Immediately Dispatch'd away for the Seizure of the Conspirators, would have left the Government at Mercy.* Nothing can be Clearer, I think, than that the *Oxford Plot* was a *Branch of the Capital Design*: And that by the Help of *Schaftsbury's List*, they might have Infinitely ~~Fa~~cilitated their Work. Now, if it be Reasonable to Believe, that This was a Course to turn to Account; it is ~~as~~ Reasonable to Believe, that they Intended to make Use of it, and Emprove it as the Best Means they had Before them. There needs no more towards the Satisfying of any man, over and above the Evidence, in the Foundation, and Truth of the *Oxford-Design*; then to Consider, how the Whole Faction were Startled at the Summons Thither; and the Pressing, the Importune, nay and the Menacing Instances of Application to his Majesty that the Meeting might be at Westminster. These Considerations upon the Noble Peer's Book, and the *Oxford Conspiracies*, may seem to be a *Digression*; but whoever duly Weighs them, will find that they hang All on a String, and are only Several Members of the Same Plot.

Re-

*Reflections upon the Whole.*

I Shall now pass some *Necessary Reflections* upon the *Whole*. There never was, perhaps, since the Creation of the World, so much *Confusion Wrought*, by so *Mean*, so *Scandalous*, and so *Ridiculous Instruments*; *Lowzy, Greazy Rogues*, to be taken into the *Arms of Princes*: *Porters*, and the *Courtest of Letter-Carryers*, to be made the *Confidents of Publique Ministers*: *Starving Indigent Varlets*, that had not *Credit* in the *World*, for a *Brumigen Groat*, and liv'd upon the *Common Charity of the Basket*, to be a matter of *Seven Hundred Pound* out of *Pocket*, in his Majesties Service; as *Otes* and *Bedloe* pretended. *Sots*, to find *Treason*, in *Words*, at *length*, in *Common Post-Letters*. The *Four Russians* to have but *Twenty Pound a Man*, for *Murdering* the King by *Assault*, and *Sir George Wakeman*, *Fifteen Thousand Pound*, only for *Poysoning* him, without running the *Fifteenth Part* of the *Risque*; Nay and *Bedloe*, *Fifteen Hundred Pound* for but Lending a *Hand* to the *Helping away* of a *Dead Justice*. *These*, and a *Thousand Incredibilities more*, must be *All Believ'd*, or the *Witnesses* found to be most *Damnably Forsworn*; Unless it were for the *Evidences sake* that they had *Credit given 'em*; for the *Matter of Fact*, under *Such Circumstances*, was *Morally Impossible to be True*; And for the *Probity* of the *Witnesses*.

*Witnesses*, they were already as well known as the *Whipping Post*, for a Pack of *Swearing, Lying, Cheating*; a *Prostitute*, and an *Abandon'd Sort of Mercenary Villains*: And yet such was the *Infatuated Credulity* of the *Common People* at that Season, and such the *Bold, and Shameless Hypocrisy* of the *Managers* of That *Imposture*, that there was no *Place*, for either *Truth*, or *Honesty* to *Appear*. The *Inference* I draw from This *Preposterous* way of Proceeding, is, that the *Whole Story*, from *End* to *End*, was a *Practice*; that the *Suborners* of the *Perjury*, were also the *Protectors*, and the *Patrons* of it *Both under One*: And that they had their *Accomplices* in the *House of Commons*, upon This *Crisis of State*, that play'd the *same Game* which their *Fore-fathers* had done upwards of *Forty Years before*.

### *The Earl of Shaftsbury a Busie Man in our Late Troubles.*

**B**ut after the *History* of the *Wickedness* of *These People*, it will be Needfull to look a little into the *Woe* they *Wrought* us; Or at least, to Compute upon the *Calamitous Infelicities* of *That Season*, and *Whence* they took their *Rise*. The Man knows little of the *History of Our Troubles*, that's a Stranger to the *Life, Practice, and Character* of

The Character  
of the Late E. of  
Shaftsbury.

of the Late Earl of Shaftsbury; who had the Wit in All Changes and Revolutions of State, still to Turn Tail to the Weather, and Swim with the Tyde. And he did This too, by Nature, as well as by Application; for, beside the Advantages of a Mercurial Humour, a Ready Tongue, And a Dext'rous Address, he had none of Those Vulgar Barrs upon him, of Honour, Shame, or Conscience to put any Checque to the Impetuous Course of his Ambitious Lusts: I am not upon the Story of his Life; but it shall serve My Purpose, to say, that thorough All the *U*surpations, from Forty to Sixty, he came Sailing down still before the Wind; and so from that time forward, steer'd by the same Compass.

His Manage and Practices.

**O**N November 17. 1672. His Lordship being already Chancellour of the Exchequer, and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, was further Advanc'd, by his Majesty to the Keeping of the Great Seal, with the Title of Lord Chancellour of England: And upon the 8th of November 1673. He was Discharg'd of That Commission: Upon the Opening of the Parliament Feb. 5. 1672. His Lordship, in a Large and Elegant Speech, Blesses God, and the King, as follows.

Let

**L**et us Bless God that he hath given us such a King: to be the Repairer of our Breaches both in Church, and State, and the Restorer of our Paths to dwell in; That in the midst of War, and Misery, which Rages in our Neighbours Countrys, our Garners are full, and there is no Complaining in our Streets, &c. Let us Bless God that he hath given This King Signally, the Hearts of his People, and most Particularly of This Parliament.

Chancellour  
Shaftsbury's  
Speech, Feb.  
5. 1672.

Let us Bless the King, for taking away All our Fears, and leaving no room for Jealousies; for those Assurances and Promises he hath made us.

Let us Bless God and the King, that our Religion is Safe; That the Church of England is the Care of our Prince; That Parliaments are Safe; That our Properties and Liberties are Safe. What more hath a Good Englishman to Ask, but that This King may Long Reign, and that This Triple-Allyance, of King, Parliament, and People, may never be Dissolv'd.

**H**is Lordships Matters, as yet, went Merrily on, and his Good Humour kept pace with his Good Fortune: But so soon as ever the Wind came about, All these Blessings were thrown over the Left Shoulder: The Clouds began now to Gather, and soon after, Discharge themselves in a Storm, upon Papists and Publique Ministers: In This Mood they brought on

A great Strick-  
ler for the  
TEST, EX-  
CLUSION,  
&c.

the *Bill about the Test*, whereof *Andrew Marvel* ( for the Honour of his *Noble Patron* ) gives

*Growth of Popery.* p. 39. & 40. This Account. The Parliament having met the 5th. of Feb. 1672. [ *Prepared an Act before the Mony-Bill Slipt thorough their Fingers, by*

*which the Papists were Obliged to Pass thorough a New State-Purgatory to be Capable of Any Publicae Employment.* ] [ *Upon this Occasion it was, that the Earl of Shaftsbury, though then Lord Chancellor of England, yet Engaged so far in Defence of That Act, and of the Protestant Religion, that in due time it Cost him his Place, and was the First Moving Cause of all Those Mis-adventures, and Obloquy, which since he lies ( ABOVE, not ) UNDER.* ]

*Inconsistent with Himself.* IT deserves a Note, the Libellous *Deduction* *Marvel* gives the World of the *Kings Administration of Affairs*, as well *Before*, as *After* This *Celebrated Exploit* of my Lord *Shaftsbury's*, in a flat *Contradiction* to his Lordships *Character* of the *King*, and to his *Report* of the *Happy*, the *Safe*, and the *Peaceable State* of the *Government*. For whoever reads That Pamphlet, will find it only an *Artificial Scandal, & Imposture*, Cast-out to the *Multitude*, upon set Purpose to make *his Majesty Odious* to *his People*. One would have thought, that the Gaining of the *Test-Bill* should have set their Hearts, a little at Ease; but That was not sufficient,

cient, without calling for [Fast up-  
on Fast] [Raising the Militia,] [Vo-  
ting down the Guards ;] Enquiring  
into Publique Grievances, &c. which being Said,  
and Done, with a Noverint Universi, in the Eyes,  
and Ears of the Nation, is all one, in many Ca-  
ses, with Ringing the Bells Backward, and Firing  
the Beacons, as if the Town were a Burning, or an  
Enemy Landed, and as far as Black-Heath in their  
March to London. And all, upon the Old, and  
Everlasting Ground of Jealousie, and  
Apprehension still ; That is to say, Address Nov.  
3. 1673.  
*BECAUSE* [The Restless Practices  
of Popish Recusants threatn'd the sub-  
version both of Church and State.]

The Wheel was now in Motion, and they  
drove like Jehu, 'till they Dropt at last into Otes's  
Bottomless Plot.

Shaftesbury had been a long time  
at the Trade of Fast and Loose ; and  
what with Industry, Craft, Malice,  
and Experience, the Fittest Man

More of his  
Character.

perchance in the Three Kingdoms, to be the Head  
of a Faction. And he was the Fitter for't, because  
his very Inclination prompted him to Mischief,  
Even for Mischiefs sake. It was his Way, and  
his Humour, to Tear All to pieces, where he  
could not be the First Man in Bus'ness Himself.  
And yet All this while, his Faculty, was rather a  
Quirking way of Wit, then a Solidity of Judg-  
ment ; and he was much Happier at Pulling-down,  
then at Building-up. In One Word ; He was a

man of *Subtlety*, not of *Depth*; and his *Talent* was *Fancy*, rather than *Wisdom*. His *Arts* were *Popular*, and after All his *Politiques*, he was as great an *Hypocrite* in his *Understanding*, as in his *Manners*; But the *Best Incendiary* yet, upon the Face of the Earth: for he had an *Excellent Invention*, and a *Protesting Face*, without either *Faith*, or *Truth*. Now when the *Common People* are to be *Couzen'd*, One *Imposture* puts off Another, and *False Conclusions* follow Naturally, upon *False Premises*. This is the *Brief* of his *Character*, from those that knew, and understood him Best; and a man cannot do *Right* to the *History*, without giving the *Next Age* a *True Account* of a Person that had so Great a Hand in the *Confusions* of *This*: 'Tis with the *Mobile*, as with the *Waters*; the very *Blowing* upon them, makes them *Troublesom*, and *Dangerous*; and in the End, to *Overflow* their *Banks*. His *Author* sets him forth, as the Great *Advocate*, and *Champion* for the *Bill* of the *Test*, and makes him, Effectually a *Martyr*, for the *Meritorious Services* he did in *That Act*, both to *Church*, and *State*. It is most Certain, that he was a great stickler in't; and it is *No less Certain*, that he was afterward, as *Violent* for the *Bill of Exclusion*; and for *Stripping* the *Roman-Catholique Lords*, and *Commons*, of the *Undoubted Privileges* of their *Birthright*; Nay, and of the *Common Benefits* of *Life*, *Liberty* and *Property*; either as *Reasonable Creatures*, or as *Members* of a *Political Body*. As to his *Protestant Zeal*; All the world knows that he was not a man to *Burn*

at

at Stake, for his *Religion*; and if he Propos'd to himself the *same End*, in what he did for the *Test*, and what he did, some years after, for the *Plot*, the *Association* and *Exclusion*, he had undoubted-  
ly in his eye, the *Ruine of the King*, the *Duke of York*, and the *Monarchy*, from *First* to *Last*; and *Designed the One*, as well as the *Other*, for an *Ex-  
pedient* toward the *Gaining* of his Point. It looks unluckyly too, that *Marvel* should, with the *same Breath*, so much *Extoll*, both the *Loyd*, and the *Project*: for his *Whole Book*, is a *Train of Scandal upon the King*, and of *Treason*, against him, from *End* to *End*. The *Scribler* and the *Peer* were Both *Men of Parts*, They *Knew* what was for their *Turn*, and what *Not*; and it was *Impossible* for any thing to *please them*, in *Government*, that was not *Pernicious* to the *State*. This appear'd abundantly by the *Sequel*: For *Marvel's Pamphlets*, and *This Peers Practices*, were the *Main Incentives* and *En-  
couragements* to the *Following Rebellions*. To Close This Head; It was the *Removal* of the *Lord*, it seems, that brought on the *Desperate Apprehensions* of *Popery*; for, in one and the *same Year*, his Lord-  
ship found no *Danger of it at All*; and yet *No Living for Fear on't*; without any *Visible Cause of Change* Intervening. Now when Another Generation shall come to look into the *Hurry*, and the *Distra-  
tion* of These Times, they cannot but in *Reason*, presume, that there was some *Mighty Bus'ness in't*, to Produce such *Wonderful Effects*: Little Imag-  
ning, that Otes's *Popish Monstrous Snake in the Grafts*, should be found at last to be but a *Glow-*

*worm:* But now to the State of the Kingdom, upon the coming of *This Blasphemous Saviour of the Nation*, into the *World*.

### *A Short View of the Miseries that this Plot brought upon us.*

I am at a loss, in the *Infinite Variety of Miseries* that I have now before me, Where to Begin. Here's Soul and Body, Life, Liberty, and Estate; Peace of Mind, Religion, Reputation, Charity, Truth, and Justice; All, in fine, that can be Dear to a Nation, to a Christian, or to a Man; to the Present Age, or to Posterity; All This, I say, at Stake, and *All these Privileges, Interests, Rights, and Duties, Swallowed up in a Licentious, and Abandon'd Contempt, and Violation of All Obligations, Sacred, and Profane.*

How many People had we, that under the *Temptations of Fear, Avarice, Malice, Revenge, Envy, Ambition, Sold themselves to Work Wickedness*: play'd the *Hypocrites* with God and the King; and *Betray'd* them Both, under the *Masque*, of *Loyalty, and Religion!* How many Instances had we, of people that had no Other Choice before them, but either to *Hang*, or *Damn*: and of Persons that made their *Election*, *some* the One way, and *some* the Other! Only so much *Money Cast-in* on the *Swearing-side*, as if it had been upon an *Estimate*, betwixt the *Body*, and the *Soul*, to make

In Soul and  
Body.

make the Scales Even. And so much for Soul and Body. Now to Proceed.

How many Lives taken away by In Life.  
 Perjury and Subornation ; And what Security had Any man for his [Life,] when the Kingdom ran as Quick of False Witnesses, as a Cony-Warren of Rabbets, and Every mans Breath lay at the Mercy of a Couple of Reprobated Villains !

Where was the Free-born Subjects [Liberty,]. When the Kings Witnesses In Liberty, were only the Re-publicans Beagles , to Draw Dry-Foot, to the Door of Every Honest, or but Suspected Honest Man : When Priest-Hunters, and Prince-Hunters, were One and the Same sort of People ? What an Intelligence was there betwixt the Evidences, and the Catch-Poles ? When Knights of the Post made More Rogues, then the Government had provided Prisons to Receive them : When the English of [Resolved upon the Question,] was only [Take him Taylor] When Mittimus-es ran without Cause skewn, and Commitments , as Arbitrary as their Keepers-Fees. When men were Taken-up , and Spirited away , without Warrants, and made Slaves contrary to Law.

What Title had any man to his In Estate.  
 [Estate,] when a Pair of Affidavit-Sparks, ( Match't like Indentures,) could Swear

him Out on't? When Guinneys pass'd for Popish Medalls; Crucifixes for the Reliques of Superstition: Choice, and Historical Pictures, in Honour, and Memoriall of the Christian Profession; When These Paintings, I say, went for the Remains of Idolatry? When Ordinary Drinking-Plate pass'd for Chalices; and men were Rifled, Robb'd, and Undone, by the Basest of Felons, under the Masque of Zeal, and Conscience? This was Undenyably, our Condition, in the Matters of Life, Liberty, and Estate.

In Peace of Now to the Next Point, of [Peace Mind.

of Minder.] What could be more Miserable, then to live in Perpetual Fears, Jelousies, Frights, and Alarums? In fear, for the Kings Life; the Protestant Religion; The Peace of the Government, Tyranny, Popery, Slavery. In Fear for Souls, Bodies, and Fortunes, Fires, Massacres, Portugal-Black-Bills, and Smithfield-Faggots; In Fear of All that it was Possible for us to Lose, or to Suffer; and under an Incurable Jelousie of our Governours, and our Friends, that they meant to Betray us, and to bring All These Evils upon us? And so for Frights, and Alarums. Our Danger was to come from All Quarters of the Heavens. College Searches the Cellars in the Palace-Yard, for fear of Gunpowder. There was the Black-Heath Army; The Purbeck-Invasion; the City-Guards to be Doubled; Shaftesbury, and Tonge to be Murder'd, as Godfrey was; And what did they say, for All This now? Why!

the

the Pulpits are Wise ; and They tell of Squibbs, and Fire-Balls, to make Sport for the Philistins. Such a Lord sat up all night, with his Pistols and Blunderbusses about him, for fear of a Rising. The House knew what they Did, when they Voted the Guards to be a Grievance, and the Militia to be Rais'd at a Days Warning. What (Peace of Minde) could there Be ; or rather, What Horror of Thought, did not they Endure, that liv'd under the Continual Agony of These Terrors.

Neither were we one jot more at Ease in the Matter of [Religion ;] for they Bely'd the very Religion that they pretended to ; and the Practices of the Faction, ran directly Counter to All the Precepts of the Gospel. Treachery was call'd Truth, and Faith. Slander was only Liberty of Speech : Perjury, was Hollow'd by the Lips and Credit of a Kings Evidence. Forgery (if Detected) was but a Mistake, Rebellion, a True Protestant Association : A Sham-Narrative, pass'd for the Discovery of a Damnable Hellish Popish Plot ; and the People were Stirr'd-up, and Instructed to Hate, and Persecute the Papists, in Despite of the Evangelical Precept, that bids us [Love one Another.] Subornation was Authoriz'd under the Title of Reward ; Murder was recommended under the Varnish of Publique Justice. Atheism was a kind of a Qualification for a man of Interest, in This Matter, because, they were to Talk of God, and at the same Time, make a Mock of the Belief of any

any such Power ; and it was Requisite, that the *Hardness* of their *Hearts* should be *Proof* against the *Sense* of *Divine Vengeance*, and *Justice*. There was no Room left for *Christian Charity*, when Every *Papist* was to Suffer for the *Principles* of his *Party* ; and when they could *Make Those Principles* to be whatever Themselves *pleas'd*. In All their *Holy Leagues*, *Vows*, *Covenants*, and *Associations*, they have This to say for *Themselves*, that the *Hypocrite* is of *No Religion* ; and *Consequently*, that [*The lifting up of their Hands unto the Lord*,] and their *Solemn Promises* [*In the Presence of God* ;] are of *No more Force* upon people, that do not *Acknowledge* a *God*, than the *Oath* of a *Jew* upon the *Four Evangelists*.

**In Reputation.**      In the Matter of *Reputation* ; How have we Lost our selves, at *Home*, and *Abroad*, by *Believing* Things, (upon *Second Thoughts*) *Incredible*, and [*Believing*] too ; upon the *Testimony* of *Known Falsaries*, and *Blasted Criminals* ! By setting the *Evidence* of *Common H'relings* and *Scoundrells*, against the *Character*, the *Try'd Faith*, *Integrity*, and *Incontestable Loyalty*, of Men of *Honour* ! The *King*, the *Queen*, the *Duke*, and so many other *Illustrious Persons*, on the *One side*, to be *Confronted* by *Miscreants*, on the *Other* ; not to be *Nam'd* in the *Same Page* ! How have we *Expos'd* the *Dignity* of our very *Profession*, to make it a Point of *Conscience* to work so Great a *Villany* ! An Instance of our *Zeal*, to *Pursue* it into so many *Barbarous Extremeties* ; and, which is more then All ;

All ; to cast a *Protestant Cover* over One of the *Lewdest Impieties* that ever was under the Sun, and to make it an *Impulse* of our *Religion*, which was only a *Perjurious Conspiracy of State* ! It has Lost us to the *Present Age* throughout the *Christian World* ; for the King receiv'd not so much as one *Complement of Gratulation*, from any of the *Forreign Ministers*, for his *Deliverance* ; which would have been *Otherwise*, if any of them had Believ'd it ! It leaves us *Expos'd* likewise, to *After-Times* ; Especially, Considering that so great Care has been taken by *Some* for the *Transmitting* of the *Imposture* ; and so Little, by *Others*, for the *Propagating*, and *Confirming* of the *Truth*.

And now again we are as much Lost In Charity,  
in the Offices of *Charity, Truth, and*  
*Justice.* This Plot has turn'd *Religion* into a *Fa-*  
*ction* ; and the *Animosity* which it has begot in  
us toward *Roman Catholiques*, has utterly *Extin-*  
*guish'd* the *Love, and Veneration*, we Owe to *Chi-*  
*ristianity* it self.

As to the Next Point ; *Truth* and *Truth*  
*Falshood* have *Chang'd Places* ; and,  
according to the *Mode* of the *Times*, the very  
*Quality* of it is *Inverted* too. [*Truth*] is *Ridiculing*  
the *Witnesses* ; *Invalidating* the *Plot* ; *Arraigning*  
the *Justice* of the *Nation* ; and *Popery* in a *Dis-*  
*guise* ; whereas *Falshood*, or *Perjury* is a *Thing* to  
*Bless God for* ; a *Miraculous Discovery* ; a *Subject*  
to beg a *Pension upon* ; a *Wonderful Service* to the  
*Protestant*

*Protestant Religion*; and what was *This Plot* at last; but a *Blasphemous Slanderous Imagination*, made up of *Lies and Contradictions*? as I shall set forth by and By.

And Justice. Now, over and above all the Rest; How was the *Justice of the Nation*, *Abus'd*, and *Impos'd-upon* by the *Trumperies of Confederacy*, and *Practice*; even to the *Confounding of Right, and Wrong; Good, and Evil*; and Inverting the very *Order, and Equity of Reward, and Punishment*! How many Innocent Men were *Clapt-up*, and *Kept*, upon *Unconscionable Expence*, 'till all they had left in the World was little enough to Clear the *Charge* of the *Prison*: without *Any Cause Assn'd*; without ever being brought to know their *Accusers*, or their *Accusation*; and forc'd to Content themselves, (upon their *Humble Petition*) with the Hope of a *Mercifull Vote*, in the *Conclusion*, for their *Discharge*, [*Paying their Fees*] without any *Reparation*; while *Suborners*, and *False-Witnesses*, Peiter'd the *Lobbys Barefac'd*, with their *Crimes as Open*, as if they had been Writ in their *Fore-beads*: So *Sacred* was *Villany*, and so *Hazardous* was it for any man to do his *Duty*. 'Tis true, that upon the First Springing of this *Cause*, a man might for want of *Judgment, Thought, or Foresight, Charitably, and Innocently enough be Misled, or Mistaken*. The *Evidence* was *Positive, and Bold*; the *Fact Horrid*; so many *Conspirators of Quality, to Countenance the Tale, and Formalities of the Law*,

*Law, in favour of the Witnesses : But yet afterward, when the Masque came to be Taken off, and the whole Web of the Villany to be Unravel'd; the Justice of the Nation did Then Suffer, I say, in the Opinion of the World, for not doing Immediate Right upon these Miscreants, to a Distracted State, and People : to the Orphans, and the Widows, that these Forsworn Wretches had made, and to the Innocent Bloud that cry'd for Vengeance.* It gave them some sort of Reputation, to let 'em Triumph so long in their Wickedness ; Insomuch, that a Friend of mine Burnt his Fingers in the Case of Otes, even for bringing the Bear to the Stake, at Last. *Why This will Destroy the whole Plot,* they Cry'd, as if the leaving of a Nest-Egg would have been such a Comfort to the Nation. I speak, in This Place, rather of Publique, then of Private, and Personal Justice ; for the Indignities they put upon the Government, were Infinitely above the Injuries, of here and there a Member of it : for they Swore the Monarchy it self to Death, as well as the Papists. They Embroil'd the Order, and they Unsettled the Foundations of it. Under Colour of Securing the Kings Person, they Cramp'd his Prerogative ; and took away peoples Inheritances for fear of their Religion : How many Incapacities and Disabilities have we seen Created upon the Same Score ? Now I take the Reason of the Case, betwixt a Private Cheat, and a Publick, to be much the Same. If a man Wins my Money by False Dice, and I can Prove it, I'le have my Money again : and why

The Case holds  
betwixt a Cheat  
at Play, and a  
Cheat of State.

why should not this *Equity* hold as well now, in the Case of a *Factions* getting any thing from a *Government*, by the *Help of False Witnesses*. There's a *Plot Affirm'd, Warranted, and Sworn*. We shall lose our *Prince*, they Cry, our *Religion, Laws, Lives, and Liberties*, unless we have such and such Powers put into our hands, to Prevent, or to Disappoint, the Danger. The *Tielding*, on the One side, is, in *Confidence*, and upon *Condition* of such a Desperate *Plot*, on the Other. Now if there be *No Plot*, there's *No Bargain*: Nay, and 'tis a *Worse Matter Yet*; if what was *Demanded* for a *Security* against *One Devilish Plot*, shall Appear Evidently to be *Intended*, and *Apply'd*, toward the *Promoting*, and the *Strengthning* of *Another*. A *Lapidary* sells me at a *Horrible Price*, That which He *Warrants* for a *Ruby of the Old Rock*; I *Buy* it of him accordingly. Now if it prove afterward, to be only a *Past*, or a *Doublet*; My *Remedy* is good against him. But shall *Equity Relieve* a *Private Man*, in a *Cheat of Trade*, and will there lye *No Relief*, for a *Whole Politique Body*, against a *Cheat of State*? Especially, where there's *Mischief*, and *Premeditate-Malice*, *Super-added* to the *Fraud*: That is to say; where the *Pretended Means* of *Preserving* the *King*, are *Meant*, and *Emprov'd* for his *Destruction*. In such Instances as these, *Common Justice* requires that Matters may be put into the *State* they were in, *Before*; for otherwise, it will lye in the Power of a *Brace of Prostitute Knaves*, to *Swear* the *Government* off the *Hinges*. To Conclude; This *Impious Dissolution*

*lution of Faith, and Good Manners, made the King-  
dom as Miserable, as 'twas possible to be, without  
Plague, Sword, Pestilence, and Famine ; and All,  
Charg'd upon the Account of the Papists, by the  
Patrons and the Instruments of the Opposite Interest.*

Upon the whole Matter, we have had *Saying, and Swearing, Abun-* Saying and  
Swearing. *dantly, (and Nothing else) in Af-*  
*firmance of the Popish Plot. Not so much as a*  
*Letter, nor a Commission Produc'd, to Help a*  
*Lame Dog over the Style ; Not so much as One*  
*Paper found, upon the Strictest Search of Popish*  
*Houses, Lodgings, Boxes and Cabinets (Colemans*  
*Letters Excepted) to Countenance the Evidence ;*  
*Not a Conspirator taken in the Manner ; nor so*  
*much as One Material Witness in the Cause, that*  
*did not Open for Reward and Reward, and Eat*  
*the very Price of his Damnation. His Pardon*  
*Secur'd him in the False Accusing of Himself, and*  
*his Allowance Encourag'd him, in as False a Testi-*  
*mony against Others : Whereas the Proceedings on*  
*the Other hand, were only One Continu'd Series of*  
*Restless Importunities, Expostulation, Slander,*  
*and Tumult.*

There was a Great Stress laid, 'tis True, upon Mr. Colemans Letters ; which, in respect of his Over-busy Intermeddling in Matters of State of so Great Moment ; Together with Several Indelicencies in the Wording of them, are not, upon any Terms, to be Defended. Whoever knew him Well, knew him to be a Forward Zealous Man, in His way ; and upon That Consideration,

*ration, I told a Gentleman of Great Honour, and my Particular Friend, the Apprehensions I had (when he was just Taken-up, and before Any of his Papers were Seiz'd) of the Inconveniencies, that his Careless, and Unwary Way of Writing, and Keeping Papers by him, would bring upon the Whole Party, if they Search'd His Study : For, to be sure, Things would be Interpreted at the Worst. So I Sayd, and so it Prov'd : But it was not upon the Plot of his Letters, but upon the Plot that Otes and Bedloe swore against him, that He suffer'd : So that even supposing the Worst that can be Imagin'd, of his Letters, he Dy'd yet, upon the Oaths of Two Perjur'd Varlets ; That is to say ; if Otes's Plot was an Imposture : For, Colemans Plot could have No Relation at all to a Plot that had no Being. His Main Bus'ness was, to get Mony, for the Entertainment of his Humour, in an Expensive Train, and Equipage : To that End he Got it ; and in That Way he Spent, by much the Greater Part of it. His Pretence was the Gratifying of Members, in order to the Service of the French Interest, and to Try what might be Done, toward the Dissolving of the Parliament, and procuring Liberty of Conscience. [The Subversion and Subduing of the Pestilent Northern Heresie] in one of his Letters to Mr. Le Chaise, was a Rude, and a Dangerous Expression, but not one jot a-kin yet, to his Privity or Approbation, of Groves, and Pickering's Shooting the King, or the Design of the Four Ruffians, that was Sworn against him by Otes ; and the 10000 l. to Sir George Wakeman, for Poysoning his Majesty ; as was given in Testimony upon the Oath of Bedloe. In fine; Colemans*

*mans Letters were but Brass Grains Cast into the Scale, to help out Light Gold, and to make the Other Evidence Weight.*

Coleman's Story  
& Godfrey's the  
Two Stilts of  
the Plot.

**T**hese Letters of Mr. Colemans, and the Somerset-House Gambole upon Sr. Edmundbury Godfrey, I look upon as the Two Stilts of the Crippled-Plot. They have neither Life, nor Sense in 'em. But without many Words in This Place, I have Some Thoughts, and Hopes, of giving the World such an Account of the History of That Fantastical Murder; (That is to say, if my Life, and Health will give me Leave,) as it shall be No longer a Question, how he came by his End. For I have Materials enow by me, upon the Oaths of Unquestionable Witnesses, not only to Trace the Matter of Fact, from End to End, (Bating the Proof of the very Stroke it self) but to lay Open a Great Part of the Practice, in the Manage of the Proceeding, for the making of a Popular Cause on't. I shall shew, how Evidences were Stifled, Disguis'd, Rejected, Unfaithfully set down, and as Unfaithfully Reported: And though the Contradictions of the Witnesses to the Murder, over and above Common sense, and Reason, might serve to Convince All Mortals of the Iniquity of This Jugglery; I shall yet make Those Inconsistencies the Least Part of My Bus'ness. This is enough to say at present; Saving only, that I do no more doubt of his Falling upon his Sword in the place where his Body was found, then I do of Any thing in Nature, which I my self did not see the doing of.

K                  That

A Plot, under  
a Plot.

**T**HAT there was a *Plot*, no man in his *Right Wits* can pretend to *Doubt*; and if Otes's *Narrative* was a *Sham*, it self, there was *Some Other Plot* in the *Setting-up* of *That Plot*: and a *Plot* that was to be *Carry'd-on*, under the *Cover* of the *Counterfeit*. We cannot find any *Trace*, or *Foot-steps* of That same *Popish Plot*, more then from the *Incredible Informations* of *Incredible Mercenaries*: The very *Matter*, and the *Men*, being Equally a *Scandal* to the *Evidence*; and the *Characters* of the *Accusers*, and the *Accused*, as *Contrary* one to the Other, as *Light* is to *Darkness*. There's *Infamy Oppos'd* to *Honour*; *Persidy* to *Faith*; *Base* to *Noble*; and in short, the *Scum*, and *Dreggs*, of the *Nation*, for the *Accusers*, and the very *Pillars* of the *Monarchy*, for the *Traytors*. Let no man say *Miracles are Ceas'd*; and *Swallow This*. He that has the *Faith* to Believe, that so many *Prostitute Criminals*, became *Men of Integrity*, and *Conscience*, all in an *Instant*; and *Believe This* too, upon their own *Bare Words* for't, against the *Habitual*, and the *Persevering Lewdness* of their *Lives*, and *Conversations*, to *Prove* the *Contrary*: He, I say, that could *Believe This*, on the *One hand*; and Then, that so many *Persons of Eminent*, and *Exemplary Worth*, and *Dignity*, All, in the *Same Moment*, should Turn *Apostates*, on the *Other*, might as well be *Impos'd* upon, to *Believe*, that the *Fall'n Angels* have *Recover'd* their *Primitive Station*;

tion; and that the Glorious Spirits, that have stood Firm ever since their Creation, have now Joyn'd in a Rebellion against their Maker. If a man may Collect any thing, from Strong Presumptions, and Improbabilities Innumerable, the Principal Abettors of Otes'es Sworn Plot for the saving of the King, were, Themselves, Conspirators in an Under-Plot for the Destroying of him: and there needs no more, for a Final Proof of This, then a Short Summary of what I have Deliver'd already.

**T**hey did all they could; to leave the King neither *MONEY*, *POWER*, *CREDIT*, nor *FRIENDS*: To Strip him bothi of his Parliamentary, and his Pardonning Pterogative; the Command of his Militia, and the Choice of his Officers. They made it Penal even to Assert his Regalities, or come Near his Person; and when they had gone as far, as the Plot, and Popery would Carry them, they Join'd in an Express League of Association to take up Arms against the King Himself, and to lay Violent Hands upon the Government: So that as they Began with the Necessity of Excluding the Duke, for fear of the Plot; They Ended, in the Opinion of as Absolute a Necessity, of Dissolving the Monarchy for fear of the King. By These Methods, they proceeded, fr Bad, to Worse; 'till they had pass'd, Gra, through all the Degrees of a Seditious P, K 2. fgress, from

Confusion, and  
Change of Go-  
vernment De-  
sign'd:

from the *Hypocritical Pretence of a Tenderness* for the *Life* of their *Sovereign*, to the *Last Peremptory Determination* of taking the *Crown* off from his *Head*. If either *Thought*, *Word*, or *Deed*, *Project*, *Contrivance*, or *Execution*, might pass for the *Proof* of any thing, here is a *Plot* under a *Plot*, made as *Clear as Truth it self*: A *Plot* in a *Westminster-Committee*, as well as in a *Kings-Head-Club*. There was all done by the *Plotting Part* of them, toward the *Ruine* of the *King*, that *Spite*, *Art*, and *Industry* were Able to do. [With the *Knights*, &c.] in the *Association*, was, in *Plain English* [We the *Conspirators*;] for the *Members* of the *Present Sitting Parliament* took upon *Themselves* the *Authority* of [Subduing, Expelling, and Destroying;] [Issuing out of Orders, and Raising of Forces;] Or in Case of being *Provok'd* or *Dissolv'd*; [the *Majority* of the *Subscribing Members*,] were like *Cromwell's Major Generals* again, to *Govern* in the *Counties*, *Cities*, and *Burroughs*, for which they were *Chosen*. Now the *Bus'nes*, had never come to an *Association*, it seems, if his *Majesty* would have *Hearken'd* to his *Parliaments*; for [the *Danger* was timely foreseen (they say) by several *Parliaments*.] And [Notwithstanding all the *Continual Endeavours* of *Parliaments* to Deliver his *Majesty* from the *Councells*, and out of the *Power* of the said *Duke of York*, Yet his *Interest*, &c.] [Even in *Opposition* to the *Advice* and *Order* of the *Last Parliament*.] And so again,

Ibid.

again, [We have Endeavour'd in a Parliamentary Way, to Barr, Exclude, and Banish him for ever, &c.] [But the First Means of the King and Kingdoms Safety being Rejected, &c.] [We have thought fit to Propose an Union of Mutual Defence, and Assistance, &c.] From hence it appears that they Aim'd at the *Same Thing* upon the *Main*, in their *Votes*, and *Addresses*, that they did in the *Association*; and that they were *Both Govern'd by the same Influence*; and that the whole *Tract* was but the *same Conspiracy*. So that it is now somewhat a *Clearer Case*, Who they were that *Design'd the Murther of the King*, then *Who Burnt London* (the Opinion of the House, Jan. 10. 1680. notwithstanding) It would be *Pleasant enough* (if it were not allmost *Inhumane* to take any *Pleasure* in a Discourse upon this Subject) to see how direct a *Counter-part* the *Truth* of the Story was to the *Fiction*; for *They Themselves* were to do all those Things, which they charg'd upon the *Papists*. There were to be *Sham-Plots*, *Cutting of Throats*, and *Burning of Towns*. How did they *Tamper*, and *Practise* with the *Witnesses*, *Bribe*, *Suborn*, *Forswear!* All these Things were laid at the door of the *Papists*, while they *Design'd*, and *Did*, those very Things *Themselves*.

[*Witnesses* (says the *Address*) are Nov. 29. 1680. Attempted to be Corrupted and not only Promises of Reward, but of the Favour of your Majesties Brother made the Motives to their Compliance.] Was not this the very Course they took with *Otes*, with *Prance*, with *Fitz-Harris*? and

briefly, what were All their *Mediations* for? Their *Secret Examinations*, *Importunities for Reward*, *Recommendations to Deaneries*; and the *Good Word* of the Committee still, in their favour? What was all This, I say, but the same *Saddle* set upon the  
No. 29. 1680. *Wrong Horse.* [Divers of the most

*Considerable of your Protestant Subjects have Crimes of the Highest Nature Forged against them; the Charge to be Supported by Subornation and Perjury, that they may be Destry'd by Forms of Law and Justice.] Was not This the very Case of the Duke, the Lords, and other Persons of Honour, and Quality? Were not the Priests, the Jesuits, and the Other Pris'ners upon the Account of the Plot; Outrag'd at their Tryals in the very face of the Bench, by the Scomms, and Execrations of the Rabble? When the Insolencies of the Mobile, (to the Scandal of That Popular License) made it liker a Bear-Garden, then a Court of Justice? And then, when False Witnesses had Suppress'd, and Out-fac'd the Truth, and Sham'd the Imposture, both upon Bench, and Jury; the Authority of Four Parliaments is Vouch'd, for the Credit of the Abuse. Nay the Invention was so Pompous a piece of Trumpery, that, Effectually, they made it a kind of Raw-bead-and-Bloudy-*

Ibid. *Bones*, to the Common People [We can only Ascribe it (they say) to an Overruling Providence, that your Majesties Reign is still Continu'd over us; and that we are yet Assembled to Consult the Means of our Preservation:] As who should say; 'tis e'en a Mercy that we have not had

All

*All our Throats Cut in our Beds, by These Bloody Papists:* When yet all this while, not so much as a Popish Mouse durst peep out of his Hole, for fear of an Evidence, or a Catch-pole; for they had their State-Weazels Ferreting up and down in every Corner.

### *A Short History of Otes.*

**A**S for Otes now, that was no man of *Form*, and *Ceremony*, but according to M. Hunts *Quaint Character* of him, rather [*Incurious*,] and [*Apert*] the said Mr. Otes, I say, never stood upon the Scruple of the *Parentbeſis* in the *Revenging Vote*, [*WHICH GOD FORBID*] but like a *Son of Thunder*, call'd a spade a spade; and by the Dint of Oaths, and Maledictions, Carry'd Three Kingdoms before him. *A Plain Blunt Man*, they cry'd; *He did not love to Mince matters*; This was his *Character*. He was for *Freedom of Speech*, and so it appear'd, upon the Executing of a *Writ of Enquiry*, at the Bar of the *Kings-Bench* at *Westminster*, June 19. 1684. The Duke of York having brought an Action against him upon the Statute *De Scandalis Magnatum*: But we'll see some of his *Flowers* there.

**T**he Duke of York's a *Traytor*,  
(says he) fol. 9. *A Rascal, a  
Papist; and a Traytor*, fol. 17. *A  
Traytor*, (again) and in the *Plot*.  
19. *He shall be hang'd*, fol. 13. *I*

The Account of  
the manner of  
Executing a  
*Writ of Enqui-*  
*ry, &c.*

*shall Live to see him Hang'd, fol. 16. And Hang'd, fol. 17. We'le have no more regard for him, then if he were a Scavenger of Kent-street, fol 14. I hope to see him at the Barr of the House of Commons, where there are many Better men then he, p. 14, 15. If the Devil has a Place in Hell Hotter then Other, I hope he will bestow it upon him. fol. 18.]*

His Insolencies Encourag'd.

**O**nes was a Free-spoken Man, we see; and there's an End on't. His Trust was in That Part of the Parliament, that put their Trust in Him; who were so far from Checking him for These Insolencies, that They Caref'd, and Encourag'd him; And his Evidence, forsooth, Aton'd for his Sawciness: But all Liberties against the Government were at that Time Indulg'd; and whatsoever serv'd either to make his Majesty Cheap, or Odious, was Wellcome to them. What was the Printing of the Votes, Addresses, and Colemans Letters for; but to Expose the King, under the Colour of Enforming the People? They saw how Audaciously Otes Treated His Majesty Himself, and how he Bely'd his Own Narrative, by bringing His Rayall Highness into the Plot; after a [So help me God] that the Duke was Not in the Plot: Nay, that he was to be Murder'd as well as the King; and that the Jesuits had no hope of Gaining him. Beside a Further Oath at the Lords Barr, Oct. 30, 1678. That he believ'd the Duke Inno-

See Otes's Narrative. fol. 15, & 64. And Pickering's Tryal. fo. 22.

*Innocent.* If This *Wretch* had not been made use of as an *Instrument* toward the *Compassing* of his *Pa-trons Ends*, he would have been Deliver'd over to *Everlasting Infamy*, and *Exemplary Punishment*. So *Impudent*, and so *Blasphemous* an *Impostor*, up-on the very Point of *Morality*, and *Example*, would never have been *Endur'd*; But his Bus'ness was only to *Quest* and *Spring* to his *Masters*, while they were to *Fly at the Game*. No man that had not *Design'd Ruine*, and *Dishonour* to the *Royal Family*, would ever have *Countenanc'd* him at this rate. The very *Sufferance* did Sufficiently Mani-fest the *Good-Will* they had to what Otes was then *a doing*. Upon the Whole Bus'ness; it is as *Clear* as *Noon day*, that the *Narrative-Plot* was a *Cheat*; and that [*We-the-Knights-Plot*,] was a *Formal*, an *Impious*, and a *Desperate Conspir'acy*. This is *Clear*, I say, from the very *Acts*, and *Instruments* of the *Defenders*, and *Supporters* of the One, and likewise, from the *Harmony* of their *Co-operating Endeavours* toward the *Accomplishing* of the Other. But to come to the *Root*; the *Mother-Plot* was the *Pretended Consult*, at the *White-Horse* in the *Strand*; on the 24th of *April*, 1678. where the *Bloody Resolution* was Taken; and the *Result* car-ry'd about by Otes, from House to House, as if there had been no more in't, then the Gathering of a *Parish-Tax*. Take away that *Consult*, and the *Babel lies in the Dust*.

Otes

## Otes Try'd, and Convict of Two Perjuries.

**I**N the 7th Year of Otes's Reign; That is to say, upon the 8th and 9th Days of May. 1685. Otes was brought to his Tryal, upon Two Indictments, for **Willfull, Malicious, and Corrupt Perjury**, at the King's-Bench-Bar at Westminster, before the Lord-Chief-Justice Jeffreys, and the rest of the Judges of That Court.

Otes's Tryal  
upon the Con-  
sult fol. 77.

The Former; [for Swearing in Irelands Tryal, that there was a Treasonable Consult of the Jesuites held at the White-Horse in the Strand. Ap. 24. 1678. And that He himself was Present.] And the Other;

Otes's Second  
Tryal fol. 44.

[for Swearing that Mr. Ireland, (who had been already put to Death upon Otes's Testimony) was in London upon the First or Second of September 1678. And likewise for Swearing That He took his leave of him at his Chamber in Russel-street, between the Eighth and Twelfth of August, 1678.] He was found Guilty upon Both Indictments:

The Former, by the Testimony of **Two and Twenty Witnesses**, that Swore directly, that he was Not here in London, the 24th of April. 1678.] And not onely so; but

[They Swore Directly that he was in another Place, at That Time.] I had the Honour to take their Enformations, my self, and I reckon it my Duty to do them Right, upon This Occasion, in saying,

(over)

Otes's Tryal  
fol. 87.

(over and above the *Eminent Quality* of the Persons) that it was Impossible for Men to be *Tenderer*, or more *Scrupulously Cautious* in what they *Swore*. He was *Convicted* likewise, the Second Day, upon the Testimony of Forty Seaven Witnesses, and most of them Persons of a very *Considerable Character*. Now if Otes was not in *London*, the Plot falls, and All the Branches of it, and the Superstructures upon it, go for *Nothing*. This in short, was the *Seed-Plot*, that brought forth All the Rest.

After this General Account of the Tryals, and Convictions of this *Perjur'd Wretch*, I'll Conclude, with his Sentence at Large, as it was Pronounc'd by Mr. Justice Withens, on the 26th of May. 1685.

### Otes'es Sentence.

**F**irst, The Court does Order for a Fine, That you pay a Thousand Marks upon Each Indictment.

Secondly, That you be Stript of all your Canonical Habits.

Thirdly, The Court does Award, That you Stand upon the Pillory, and In the Pillory, here before Westminster-Hall-Gate, upon Munday next, for an Hours time, between the Hours of Ten and Twelve, with a Paper over your Head, (which you must first walk with, round about all the Courts in Westmin-



Westminster-Hall (*declaring your Crime.* And That is upon the First Indictment.

Fourthly, (On the Second Indictment) Upon Tuesday, *You shall stand Upon and In the Pillory, at the Royal Exchange in London, for the Space of an Hour, between the Hours of Twelve and Two; with the same Inscription.*

*You shall upon the Next Wednesday, be Whipt from Algate to Newgate.*

*Upon Fryday, You shall be Whipt from Newgate to Tyburn, by the Hands of the Common Hang-man.*

But Mr. Otes we cannot but remember, there were several Particular Times you Swore False about: And therefore, as Annual Commemorations, that it may be known to all People, as long as you Live; we have taken Special Care of you, for an Annual Punishment.

*Upon the 24th of April, Every year, as long as you live, you are to stand Upon the Pillory, and In the Pillory, at Tyburn, just Opposite to the Gallows, for the space of an Hour, betwixt the Hours of Ten and Twelve.*

*You are to Stand Upon and In the Pillory, here at Westminster-Hall-Gate, every Ninth of August in every Year, so long as you Live: And that it may be known what we mean by it, 'tis to remember, what he Swore about Mr. Ireland's being in Town between the Eighth, and the Twelfth of August.*

*You are to Stand Upon, and In the Pillory, at Charing-Cross, on the 10th of August, every Year during*



during your Life, for an Hour, between Ten and Twelve.

The like over against the Temple Gate upon the Eleventh.

And upon the Second of September, (which is Another Notorious Time, which you cannot but be remember'd of) You are to Stand Upon, and In the Pillory, for the space of One Hour, between Twelve and Two, at the Royal-Exchange: And All this you are to do Every Year, during your Life; and to be Close Prisoner as long as you live.

**T**here was never any Government upon the face of the Earth, perhaps, that Labour'd so long, under the Scandal of Oppression, Cruelty, and Injustice, upon the Testimony of so Infamous, so Sottish, and so Despicable an Impostor: Never so many Persons of Honour met in a Court to give Evidence, toward the Confounding of so Contemptible a Miserere: Never was any Perjury made out by so many Unquestionable Witnesses, and Demonstrative Proofs; and yet for the Honor of the Criminal, it must not be forgotten, how he stood his Ground to the Last.

**I** Appeal (says he) to the Great God of Heaven and Earth, the Judge of All; and once more in his Presence, and before All This Auditory, I Avow my Evidence of the Popish Plot, All and every Part of it, to be nothing

A Villany, and  
a Scandal be-  
yond Example.

Otes's Appeal.  
Otes's Tryal  
P. 76.

thing but True, and will expect from the Almighty God, the vindication of my Integrity and Innocence.]

The Lewdness  
of his Life and  
Conversation.

**T**HIS LAST EFFORT of his from any Other Lips, would have Stagger'd a man, if the Exact, and Wonderfull Agreement of the Testimonies against him, and the Palpable Contradictions of his Own Witnesses, had left any Possibility for Doubting: But from a fellow so Flagitious, in the Habit, and through the Whole Course of his Life; This Last Defyance of God's Power, and Justice, Compar'd with the Ordinary Course of his Conversation and Manners, did but serve to make the Man All of a piece. The Practice and Attempts of Bestiality upon his own Servants; (after he was preferr'd from a Street-Begger, to be a King's Evidence) the Falseness of his Malicious Oath against Parker at Hastings; His taking the Holy Sacrament, over and over so many times, for a Cover for his Malitious-Treasons; These and the Like, are Things so Certain, and so Notorious, that no Mortal that knows his Person, can be a Stranger to his Villany. My Lord Chief Justice says, indeed, that [There was a Consult; and there was a Conspiracy, against the Life of our King, our Government, and our Religion. Not a Consult at the White-Horse in the Strand, but a Caball, and Association of Perfidious Rebels, and Traytors, who had a mind to Embroil us in Bloud and

Tryal p. 86.

*and Confusion.] This is the very Truth, and may serve for the Winding-up of That Point. There was most Indubitably, a Republican Plot, as has been made appear from the Express Acts of the Plotters Themselves; and Trac'd through Every Step of the Proceeding, from the very Project, and Foundation of it, to the Last Resolve of putting it in Execution. But This Plot was to be Call'd a Popish Plot; according to the True Intent, and Meaning of the Revenging Vote; which, by Interpretation, was no more then This, That [The True Protestants were to Kill the King, and the Papists to be Hang'd for't.*

### *Our Accounts Cast-up, whether we have Got, or Lost by the P L O T.*

**W**E are now at the Bottom of This Bottomless Business, and we should do very well, and like Sober Men, and Good Managers of our Honour, Time, Peace, and Mony, to Compute a little upon matters. So much for Double Guards;— So much for Treating the King's Witnesses;— So much among Catch-poles;— So much in Pensions;— So much for a Fond to Defray Plot-Charges;— So much in Narratives;— So much in Processions, and Pope-Burnings;— So much to Re-imburse Otes and Bedloe, the Seaven Hundred Pound a Man they were out of Pocket for the Protestant Cause; So much upon Well-Affected Elections;— So much in Ignoramus Juries;— but Discounting All this while, for what we have Receiv'd from the Westminster-Insu-

**In**surance-Offices, upon the *Whole Charge*: and in One word; to see at the *Foot* of the *Account*, (*Paper* and *Pack-Thrid pay'd for*) whether we have *Got* or *Lost* by *Part'ner-Ship* with *Otes*, and his *Adbe-rents*, and *Abettors*, in *This Loyal*, forsooth, *This Religious*, and *This English-Bloud-Adventure*:

Great Sufferers  
by the Plot.

**I**T is not to be *Deny'd*, (and it is already *Agreed*) that *King*, *Nation*, and *People*, have *Suffer'd All manner of ways*, and in a very Great Measure, too, quite thorough This Period of *Otes's Administration*; and *All for Fear of the Damnable Hellish Popish-Plot*: Because, and by Reason of it; and that we were *Necessitated* to do what we did, to secure his *Late Majesty*, and his *Government*, against *Popish Conspirators*; and his *Sacred Person*, against *Poyson*, and *Silver Bullets*: Had it not been for *That Damnable Plot*, the *King* had been *Safe*; The *Queen* and the *Duke*, *Untaint-ed*; and the *People* had still continu'd in their *Wits* and in their *Duty*. The *Popish Lords* had been yet at *Liberty*; the *Priests*, *Jesuits*, and the *Godfrey-Men*, *Unhang'd*; The *Papists* might have had *Tolerable Quarter* among the rest of the *King's Subjects*; and the *Honour*, and *Justice* of the *English Nation* might have yet stood as *Fair* in the *Esteem* of Other *Christian Princes*, and *States*, as ever it did: So that upon the *Upshot*, what have we now to say, for the *Wickedness*, the *Folly*, and the *Madness* of *Those Times*, if there was [*NO Popish Plot at all*,] nor any thing *Like* it, but the

the Seditious Confederacy of an Ambitious Caball of Juggling, Canting Hypocrites, to Murder the King Themselves from behind That Stake? What Reparation now, for Innocent Bloud, and Oppression? What Satisfaction, or What Effectual Repentance, for Those that Preach'd; Pleaded, Supported, Assisted (how Innocently soever,) the Credit of that Diabolical Imposture, without making the Churches, the Courts of Justice, Coffee-Houses, and Other Publique Places, Ring as Loud of their Mistakes, as ever they did of their Invectives, and Clamours? The Misleading of People into a Belief of Falsities, of This Desperate Kind, and Consequence, even though I my self take them to be Truths, is but next door to the Swearing Men into a Belief of That which I Know to be False: That is to say, If, when I come to find My Own Error, I do not Endeavour to set All Those People Right, that I Carry'd out of the Way. The Shame of a Repentance, is not far Remov'd from the Willfull, and Deliberate Committing of a Sin. I do not Expect, that My Sermonizing here shall Work upon Those that Shut their Eyes against the Light of Experience, and Example; though One would think that men should be very Wary of Setting That Door Open, over and over again, that had been still the Inlet to all our Former Confusions. If a Thief Breaks into my House at a Garret-Window, I'll provide Better Barrs and Bolts. And Undoubtedly, a Government may have a Weak side, as well as a Private Habitation; and there ought to be as much Care taken to Secure a State against

L

Poli-

*Political House-Breakers, upon That Quarter  
where they ever Enter'd Before.*

*A Caution against the same Cheat  
over again.*

THE President of This *Cheat*, and *Pretext*, and the Sense of the *Ruinous Calamities*, which the *Belief* of it has brought upon us, should, methinks, *Fortifie* men against Those *Panick Frights*; and That *Childish Jealousie*, and *Credulity*, that has Wrought us All This *Misery*; And it is not to say, that there may be more *Reason* for This *Apprehension* at One Time, then at Another; for let the *Reason* be *Great*, *Little*, or *None at all*, it works the *Same Effect* upon the *Common People*, when either the *Fear*, or the *Truth* of the Thing, is *Unseasonably*, and *Undutifully Expos'd*. There may be a *Thousand Popular Causes* Assign'd, for a *Rebellion*; but the Whole World can never furnish One Shadow of a *Reason* for't. The *Father* of our *Present Sovereign*, was a *Strict Afferter* of the *Church of England*: and his *Sacred Majesty* that now is, no less, an *Afferter* of the *Communion of the Church of Rome*. Now the *Difference of Persuasion* betwixt These two most Gracious *Kings*, neither *Did*, nor *Does*, One jot Operate upon the *Matter* here in *Question*: For the very *Sham of Property* Cost that Blessed Prince his *Crown*, and his *Life*, as a *Roman-Catholique*, though he was so far from it. 'Tis True; the *Suggestion*, may *Colour Better.*

Better, One way, then Another; but whether it be so, or Not so, 'tis all a Case, as to the Danger, of Troubling the Heads, or the Minds of the Multitude with it, either One way, or T'other. It makes Sovereignty Conditional, and the Loose Multitude Absolute; when the Chief Magistrate shall be Answerable to the Rabble for his Religion; and when the Mobile's Opinion shall Stamp That Religion, and say; Let him be of This, or of That Religion, and he Shall be so. They were never Cut out for the Judging, or the Understanding of Things; But Plausible Disguises and Appearances, have with Them, the Force, and Value of Certain Truths, and Foundations: And 'tis a Hard matter, to bring people out of the Wrong, that are not able to Discern, and to Distinguish the Right.

### *The Reasons of This Undertaking.*

**T**HIS is already an Over-grown Preface; and I must make it yet a little Longer, by Expounding upon it, (with a respect to the whole Matter before me) and by the Reasons I am to give for the Spinning of it out to This Length. I was gotten a good way into't, with the Design of an Introduction only to my Third Volume of Observators; and with such a Mixture of Lights, toward the Clearing of Several Matters in Controversy betwixt the World, and my self, as might serve to set any Reasonable Man, Right, in the Naked State of the Question. While I had This in

my *Thought*, and my *Papers* under *Consideration*; it came into my Head, that there was something *Wanting* yet, both as to the *Use*, and the *End* that was *Aim'd* at, in This *Publication*; and that Notwithstanding the *Unquestionable Truth*, and *Clearness* of *Fact*, and of *Doctrine*, that was *Reported*, and *Deliver'd* in Those *Dialogues*, there were still Several *Defects*, that were *Inevitable*, under the *Circumstances* wherein they were *Written*, and as *Necessary* for my purpose, in *Some Degree* to be *Supply'd*. This will *Undenyably Appear* to any man that shall but take Notice of the *Time*, and the *Occasion* of the *Undertaking*.

In Respect of  
the Time.

**A**S to the *Time*; the *Faction* had the *Ascendent* of the *Government*, and the *Multitude* bore down All before them like a *Torrent*; The *Witnesses* led the *Rabble*; The *Plot-Managers* led the *Witnesses*; and the *Devil Himself* led the *Leaders*: For they were to pass to their *Ends*, thorough *Subornation*, *Perjury*, *Hypocrisy*, *Sacrilege*, and *Treason*. This was the State of Things when I first dipt my Pen into *This Subject*; And there was no *Launching-out*, into the *Abyß* of the *Plot-Mystery*, without *Certain Ruine*: but *Coasting*, and *Slanting*, *Hinting*, and *Trimming*, was the *Best Office* a body could Perform, in *That Season*: And the Man had been *Felo de se*, that should have taken upon him to search the *Ulcer* to the *Quick*, A little *Skirting* now and then, upon the *Narratives*; and *Bantering*, betwixt *Fest* and *Earnest*, upon

upon the *Credit* of the *Witnesses*, gave people, by Little and Little, to *Understand*, as much as any man could Safely *Communicate*: But the Foundations of the *Plot* lay as yet *Untouch'd*; The *Patrons*, and the *Vouchers* of it, remain'd *Sacred*; and, for a Long Time, there was no Meddling with a *Vote*, without *burning a Mans Fingers*; So that the Source of the *Plot* lay hitherto in the *Bowels of the Earth*, and (like a *Consecrated Fountain*) it would have been little less then *Sacrilege*, to *Puddle* and *Prophane* it. But since it has pleas'd God, by a *Beam of Providence* it self, to *Light* us into all the *Intrigues* and *Recesses* of it, and to Deliver this Nation from the *Tyranny* of *Arbitrary Orders*, and *Nemine Contradicente's*; I thought I could not do better, then to lay hold of, and to Improve this *Opportunity* of *Tracing* it from the *Labourers*, and the *Journey-men*, to their *Principalls*; and, in One Word more; to shew the *Next Age*, *Puss in her Majesty*, in the *Caball* it self; and that [ *With the Knights, &c.* ] Govern'd the *Oraculous Delusion* from *One End* to the *Other*: Beside that 'tis a Thing that has not so much as yet been Offer'd at, by any Other Hand; and *All the Rest*, without *This*, amounted to no more then the shewing of *Children a Puppet-Play*: They hear the *Figures Squeak*, and see 'em *Dance*, and *Play*; but know nothing of the *Springs*, and *Wires*, that give them *Motion*. So that the *Historical Part* of This *Preamble*, is not a *Repetition* of the Matters Contain'd in the *Observators*, but a *Fair*, and a *Regular Deduction*, in it's *Proper Season*, of a Ma-

*vage, and Intrigue, which was at That Time Secret, and not without Extreme Danger to be Laid Open to the Publique.*

And to the Oc-  
cation.

**T**HERE is Another Imperfection, which I reflected upon, with a regard to the Thrid, and Continuation of the Story; which I could not Attend to, in the Course of Those Observators; for their purpose being only to Encounter Shams, Slanders, Seditious Libels, and Opinions, pro Re Nata, as the Humour, and Bus'ness of the Season Started them; I was not the Master of my Own Bus'ness, but forc'd, to Follow, Turn, or to go Forward, or Backward, as the Freak of the Conspirators Led me; and Briefly; to Accommodate the Biass of my Papers to the Topiques of the Times. In Few Words, they were Design'd for Present Use; and to Expose the Imposture, and the Cheat, of the Swearers, and of the Matters Sworn, by the Pakable Contradictions of their Evidence, as well by Word of Mouth, as in Writing. But to make some Amends, for the Disorder of Papers that were written only by Snatches, and therefore Excusable for want of a Formal Transition from One into Another, provided they kept the Decorum of a Connexion, every one apart: I thought it might be worth the while, to Draw a more Methodical Extract of the Plot, out of the Transactions upon the Commons Journal, and to Range the Members of the Several Divisions, under their Proper Heads; which

which I have done, with All Fidelity and Candour  
in This Short History.

People will be apt to take This now, for only Cold Cabbridge, three or Four times serv'd up. [Why we have had Plot enough in the Observators, they'll Cry ; There's no body doubts of the Plot ; and This is no more, in Effect, than Chewing the Cud upon his Own Papers, &c.] Now This is a Question, as Easily Answer'd, as it is Anticipated. I am here upon the Subject of a Parliamentary-Plot ; whereas my Observators kept themselves within the Compass of a Narrative-Plot ; neither does the One Interfere at all with the Bus'ness of the Other. As to the Faith, and Justice of the Dialogues, I am perwaded, that there was hardly any thing Considerable, that Pass'd within the Compass of Their Date, and that would Endure a Publique Test, at That Season, which may not be found Expressly, and Punctually, set forth in that Collection ; and Those are Particulars, wherein This Additional Supplement does not pretend to Intermeddle.

And I have yet One Word more to say ; if I may, without Vanity, give this Account of my self. From the First Moment of Otes's Plot coming into the World, I look'd upon it, and Declar'd my Opinion of it, as a Conspiracy in Disguise. I Contracted a Horror for it ; and [Vow'd to make War against

After Otes's  
Copy.

the Whore and Dragon, of Geneva, and All her Votaries as long as I had a day to Live ; and that I would, to the Utmost of my Power, Discover her Cheats and Villanies. ] Learned Authors have Written after Otes's Copy ; and (to give the Devil his Due) This Figure is Borrow'd from a Rhetorical Flight in Titus Otes's Dedicatory to Anthony E. of Shaftesbury, before his [Popes Ware-house,] [In the Publication of This Poor Piece, (says he) by many Reviews and Remarques, I have been at some PAINS ; and now my Lord it is upon the [TRAVEL.] Your Lordship's Countenance may beget the Countenances of many more Persons of Honour : So that I may not to all Intents and Purposes be Discouraged in this War that I have Vow'd to make against the Whore and Dragon of Rome, and All her Votaries,, as long as I have a Day to Live ; and will to the Utmost of my Power Discover all her Cheats and Villanies. ] And so much for my Authority.

A Horror for  
the Plot, from  
the Begegin-  
ning.

**B**ut, (as I was a saying) I Contracted a Horror for this Villainous Cheat of a Plot, from the very Spawning of it ; and, in the same Instant, an Ambition, aboveall things under the Sun, to have some Hand in Breaking the Neck on't. From That time to This, I have Barr'd my self the Benefits of Ease, Liberty, Conversation, and Effectually, All the Comforts of Humane Life, in Order to This End : And I hope I have not wholly lost my Labor neither. But to make

make short ; I found, by Degrees, that the *Plot it Self*, and the *Plot's-Master*, *Lost Ground*. I follow'd the *Plot* 'till it was *Ridiculous* ; I follow'd *Otes* to the *King's Bench Bar*, the *Pillo-ry*, and the *Carts-Arse*. And since that was *Over*, I have had the Bus'ness of *Sir Edmundbury God-frey* in my *Eye*. 'Tis true, I have *No Lease of my Life*, and so I cannot *Positively Undertake* for't : But there was still *Wanting* a *Parliamentary Calculation* to *Finish* the *Work* ; which I have here drawn into a very *Clear Method*, and as *Narrow a Compass*, as the *Infinite Variety* of *Cross-Pur-poses* and *Debates* would *Admit*. In One Syllable more ; I am an *Old Fellow* ; and if I can but *Live to get thorough That Solemn Foppery of Prance's*, and *Bedloe's Vision*, at *Somerset-Houſe*, I shall Dye in *Peace*.

April. 28. 1687.

*P.S.* Since Finishing the Matter above, I have recover'd a Paper that I had mislay'd, and it is a Passage so remarkable, that I cannot fill an Empty Page Better then with the Insertion of it.

In October 1678. Mr. Attorney General was appointed by an Order of Council, to peruse the Articles against several of the Pretended Conspirators, and to make a *State of the Evidence*. The Report was very Particular, and bears date *Octo-ber*, 18. 1678. Subscribed *W. Jones*, under his Own

Own Hand, as appears by the Original which is yet Extant: Wherein are These Words.

*Some Objections have been made, as to the Credit of Mr. Otes, against some particulars of his Testimony, which relate to the General Design; wherein he is supposed to be mistaken: But because those Objections are many, and some of them not made by the Prisoners; (nor perhaps will be) and because [I] am not certain what Answers he can make to them, when they shall be objected against him, I think it fit not to mention them in particular.]*

*It was not the Bus'ness it seems, of Those Days, to bring the Guilty to Justice, but to Ensnare the Innocent: For the Prime Manager of That Accursed Plot of a Plot, saw the Devil in the Bottom of it, before ever One Drop of Bloud was Drawn: And the Conscience of a Reprobate will not be Better Evidence against him, at the day of Judgment, than the Testimony of the very Lips of These False Witnesses, duly Weigh'd, and Consider'd, would have been, against These Perjur'd Wretches in a Temporal Court of Justice.*

A T A-

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THE END.



A

# Brief History OF THE TIMES, &c.

Shewing the *Pretended Popish Plot* to have been quite another Thing then it has been taken for.

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P A R T . II.

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L O N D O N

Printed for R. Sare, at Grays-Inn-Gate in  
Holborn. 1688.



TO

# Posterity.

I Call these Papers, *A Second Part to a Brief History of the Times*; and I Dedicate This Part likewise to **Posterity**, as I did the Other; for the very Reasons given in my Former. That is to say; I reckon my Credit, my Cause, and my Writings, to be only Safe in the Hands of *Impartial Judges*. The *White-Horse-Consult*, I know, is as Dead as *Catilines Conspiracy*; and People will be Wond'ring perhaps, after so many Thousand Rheme of Paper spent upon *This Topique* already, to see the same Mart go-on, Calculating, and Harping still, upon the same Subject. But let not the Reader Imagine, that I am now about to Murder the Old Plot, over again; or to surfeit the World with

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a Nauseous, and a Needleß Repetition  
of things gone and past. The Jugglē  
of the Republican Intrigue, in Every  
Part, Branch, and Member of it, has  
been overtand over laid as Open as ever  
Day-Light and Demonstrarion Expos'd  
any thing : and so have the Practices,  
and the Managers of the Project :  
Neither is the Infamy of the Wit-  
nesses less Notorious ; for the bringing  
of Otes to Justice, has brought the  
Truth to Light, and the Curse of  
Cain is gone out against them. [The  
Voice of thy Brothers Bloud (says the  
Text) Cryeth unto me from the Ground.  
A Fugitive, and a Vagabond Shalt  
thou be in the Earth. Gen. 4. v. 10.  
12.] Let any man but look about  
him now, and see, if This Male-  
diction has not most Judicially Pursu'd  
them, to the Uttermost Degree of  
Misery, and Contempt. To Sum up  
the Whole in a Little ; The Cheat  
of the Plot, the League and Addresse  
of the Conspirators, and the Hypocrisy  
of

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of the *Pretext*, are Points made out in the face of the Sun beyond Doubt, or Contradiction ; and the *Mobile*, in Good time, Deliver'd from the Incantation of *That Epidemical Imposture*.

But still, though 'tis Evident past all Dispute, that the *Supposed Plot* it self was a *Cheat* ; and no other then a *Treasonous Confederacy* at the Root ; Yet how *That Plot* came first into *Play*, and the *Sham* of it to be Handed into the *World*, and to get *Credit* in't, is a Question that has not as yet been much *Enquir'd* into, though as *Necessary* perchance, to be *Truly Understood*, as any other Part of *That History* : And the rather, for the *Light* it will give to the *Order*, and *Cohherence* of all the *Rest* ; for the *Tracing* of a Story, *step by step* is the most *Natural Method* toward the finding out of the *Truth* : Beside, that upon an *Impartial View* of the *Whole*, and of Every *Part* of the Matter in hand, Men will be better able to *Judge*,

## The Preface.

which is the *Right*, and which the *Counterfeit*; and of the *Dependence* which One Thing has upon Another. This is it that I propose for the Business of *This Second Part*; and in regard that I find the *Pretended Popish Murder* of Sr Edmundbury Godfrey to have been Impos'd upon the World as a *Limb* of the *Pretended Popish Conspiracy*, and in such a *Manner* too, as if the *Whole Train* of it were no more than the *Series* of One *Entire Pièce Concerted* betwixt the *White-Horse* and *Somerset's House*, I find my self Obliged to say somewhat of the *Original Plot* it self (I speak of *Habera-feld*, from whence this *Latter Sham* was taken), and to carry-on my Discourse to the *Rise, Progress, Conduct, and Authority* of Tong's *Narrative-Plot*, by way of *Introduction* to the Matters of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; which I reserve for *A Third Part of This Little History*.

The

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The Subject that I am now to Treat of, is such a Composition of Fragment, and Rubbish, that it will hardly bear a Methodical Distribution into any Tolerable State of Perspicuity, and Order, but to come as near it as I can, I shall yet Endeavour to Reduce my Present General Purpose to some Certain Particular Heads; that I may know where to find my self, and what Measures to take toward the Shaping, and Bounding of the Following Discourse.

The Two Main Pillars of the Old Cause were the Protestation (that was afterwards Emprov'd into a Covenant) and the Virtuality of the Sovereign Power in the Two Houses. These Two Fundamentalls of Popular Usurpation, by which, Charles the First was Dethron'd, and Murder'd; were set afoot in the Two Last Parliaments of the Late Blessed King, under the Name, and Form, of an Association, (and an Another Expedient

## The Preface.

dient which they found out ) with the very *Same Intent* and *Design* upon *Charles the Second*; No less then upon the *Rights*, and *Person* of his *Royal Brother*, Our *Present Sovereign*, whom God long Preserve. These two *Conspiracies* were Cover'd under the *Pretended Necessity* of a *Common League of Union*, and *Defence*: and there were *Two Imaginary Plots* also, to *Answer*, as well as to *Countenance* These Two *Real Conspiracies*; The One ( as I sayd e'en now ) was *Habernfelds*, the Other, *Tongs*; *Cheats Both*, and of the very *Sainte Make*, and *Cut*; but as *True* however, to the End they were *Made* for, as a *Pair of False Dice* to the Interest of the *Coffer*. If I may lead the *Allegory* a Step further; the People were to be *Bubbled*; the Table was *Set*, the Battle begun; the Sharpers carry'd all before 'em, while the By-Standers, ( That is to say the *Multitude* ) that were to *Judge* the Points in *Controversy*, understood Nothing at all,

## The Preface.

all, either of the *Trick*, or of the *Play*. Neither in Truth, was it for *Every Common Eye* to *Discern* the *Abuse*. Some were blinded with *Prepossession*; Others, *Misled* for want of *Good Heed* and *Attention*; Some again were *Short-sighted*; and Some perhaps, too *Charitable* to suspect the *Worst* of Things: But briefly the *Plot* of 1678 was an *Imposture*; and there were those that *Knew* as much, and saw *Thorough* it upon the First bringing of the very *Pretence* upon the *Stage*. Some I say, that saw *Thorough* it, and yet made the *Most* out of it; to the Hazzard of the King, the Royal Family, and the Three Kingdoms. I am not without *Pregnant Instances*, and *Great Authorities* to Back me in *This Opinion*, over and above the *Historical Course* of Parliamentary *Resolutions*; *Votes*, *Orders*, and *Addresses*, which I have lately publish'd in a *Former Part*, upon *This Subject*, and *Grounded* upon *Those Evidences*, as a *Demonstrative Proof* of what

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what I take upon me to Affirm. The Thing is Clear, and True; Fit to be Known, and Worthy of a Sober Consideration; for how can any Man Bestow a Thought Better, then upon the Means of Distinguishing Right from Wrong; Truth from Falshood; Hypocrisy from Good Faith; The Means I say, of Setting Men Right in their Understandings, and in their Duties; and of Undeceiving the People, in a Matter, where Misunderstandings, and Mistakes are of so Mortal a Consequence to the Well-being of the Publique? I took This Hint from the Postscript to my Last; Resolving within my self to say somewhat farther upon't in my Next, then I had, at That Time, either Will, or Leisure to do: So that I shall Begin, where I left off; and proceed from Thence, to a more Particular Enquiry into the Story of This Intrigue.

And in This Place, I must give the Reader to Understand; that whatever looks

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looks for the Date, or the Mystery of the Pretended Popish Plot, in Otes's Pretended Narrative of it, will have his Labour for his Pains ; for Otes was neither the Inventer, of the One, nor the Author of the Other ; any further, than as he follow'd Dr Tong's Directions ; Smore to Dr Tong's Words, and Wrote after Dr Tong's Copy. So that Tong is the Oracle we are to Consult for the Revelations of Titus. Some there are, I know, that will have the Original Contrivance to be the Work of Shaftesbury, and his Cabal ; when, in Truth, they did only Refine upon, and Improve Materials that were brought ready to their Hands ; and to give them their Due, they had That Talent beyond All that ever went before them. For in the Case of Fears and Jealousies, (the Old way of Proceeding) the Advance is only Gradual, the Dangerous Consequences at a Distance ; and the Evils yet to Come ; The Treasons, Massacres, Murders,

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*Murders, &c.* are all but in Vision; and men have the Patience to Wait for the Operation of *Imaginary Causes* at the *Long-Run*: But our Modern *Plot-Drivers* have found out a way to put the Multitude into a *Present Possession* of their very *Fore-bodings*; and, in the Name of the *Law*, and under the Countenance of *his Majesties Courts of Justice*, to do the Whole Work at a Heat. *Swear-ing* is *Proving*, and *Proving* is *Hanging*; and a Brace of *Knights of the Post* upon the Spot, will do Forty times more Execution than the Dogging of a *Plot* out at Length; A Bloody *Conspiracy*, *Sign'd*, *Seal'd*, and *Deliver'd*, upon the Faith, and Reputation, of Two or Three [ *So help me God's* ] makes Infinitely surer Work on't, than the Bare Presage of a *Destruction*, *Future*, and *Uncertain*, upon any *Political* or *Conjectural Calculation* whatsoever. This was the *Master-piece* of our Late *Impostor's*. They had *Swear-ers*

## The Preface.

ers at Command ; Powerfull Patrons, and Mediators, for the Encouraging, Protecting, and Rewarding of Perjuries ; and Two False Oaths to a Fact, though never so Incredible, with a Commons-Address to Back it, is as Certain Death, as a Screw'd-Gun, or a Silver-Bullet. By the Help of This Invention, they had Witnesses, Juries, Advocates of the Long Robe of All sorts ; Votes, Ryots, and Tumults at their Beck, and found out so Sure, and so short a way, to their Journeys End, it would have been a Madness to run the Risque of Attempting That by Fallacy, and False Reasoning, which they could not fail of bringing about, by the Dint of False-Swearing.

To Conclude ; That which in Common Acceptation has pass'd so many Years for Otes'es Plot, will be found no more at Last, then a Transcript of Tong's ; as Tong's was, Effectually, of Habernfeld's : and I have very Good Authority to Support me in

## The Preface.

in this Opinion. So that Otes has been  
but a Tool all this while, and a sorry  
one too, God Wot, to make such a  
Bustle in the World, so long as he  
has done. But to come to my Mat-  
ter; we'll first take the Plot, ( such  
as it was Sworn to be before the King  
and Councell ) with Sir Will. Jones's  
*Report upon the State of the Evidence.*  
And we'll Then look back for the Head  
of This Nile; and so Trace the Course  
of it into the Branches, which I have  
Divided into Ten Chapters, according  
to the Order of the following Method.

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T H E

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C H A P. I.

*Sir William Jones's State of the Evidence about the Popish Plot, Presented to His Late Majesty in Council, Oct. 18. 1678. with Notes upon his Report, and upon his Opinion of the said Plot.*

**I**N the Handling of this Text, there are Two General Points, that I have still laid the Main Stress of all my Discourses, and Thoughts upon: First, That the very Story of the Popish Design upon the Kings Person, Crown and Dignity, was an Imposture in the Original Conception of it.

B

Secondly,

Secondly, That the very Same Treasonous Design, was Couch'd, and Carry'd-on, by Another Party, in Truth, and in Earnest, Under the Cover of That, in Common Fame, and Imagination. I have so far Clear'd my way to This Question, that in the First Part of This Brief History, I have Link'd together the Entire Chain of This Project, by such a Connexion of Orderly, and Parliamentary Proceedings, that there's not so much as one Gap in the Series; Not one Knot in the whole Thrid of the History. The Exhibits I make use of, are their Own Papers, and Journals; The Inferences, as Natural, as it is Possible to Imagine, from a Congruity of Premisses: And the Deduction of Things, is so Full, so Plain, Faithfull, and Regular, that, for so much as is There Pretended to, the Work is done Once for All; and Unanswerable for Ever. It sticks only, that I Write under a Prejudice, and make Ill Things Worse then they Are; which forces me to look out a Little for some more Popular Authority then my Own, to Support my self upon.

Sir W. Jones  
Order'd to make  
a State of the  
Evidence.

Upon the Opening of Tong's  
( commonly called Otes'es ) Plot,  
Sir William Jones, the Kings Attorney  
General, was order'd by his Majelty  
in Councill, Octob. 16. 1678. to  
make a State of the Evidence, against Dr. Fogarty, John  
Fenwick, Edward Fetre, John Grove, William Ireland,  
John Smith, Tho. Jennison, Tho. Pickering, and Richard  
Langhorn, ( then Pris'ners in Newgate, for High Tre-  
ason ) in Plotting, and Attempting to Assassinate his Ma-  
jesties Royal Person: To which End, Otes'es Narra-  
tive, and other Papers of Enformation, were Transmit-  
ted by the Clerks of the Councill to the Attorney Ge-  
neral, who, upon Perusal of them, Returned his Re-  
port under the Title of A State of the Evidence:

Dated

Dated Octob. 18. 1678. and Subscribed [ W. JONES ] The Report is Long, and the Greatest Part of it *Narration* only ; which is Little or Nothing to our purpose : So that Abstracting the one from the other, I shall only make use of what may serve to the Clearing of the matter in hand.

If ( says Mr. Attorney ) the Testimony of Titus Otes be to be Credited ; and If a Single Witness in this Case of High Treason is Sufficient ; without All Question, This Horrible, and Execrable Treason is Fully and most Evidently Prov'd, not only as to the Wicked Design in General ; but as to every one of these Particular Persons. ] This is no more then to say, That If Otes Be to be Credited, the Charge is so far Prov'd : If he be Not to be Credited, the Information falls to the Ground.

The Pinch lies here, upon Otes'es Credit, and a Single Testimony ; with an [ IF ] to Both. And a Little Lower, he refers to his Narrative, and other Examinations, with the same Qualification still, i. e. [ IF ] what he Swears be [ True : ] Concluding that the Probability of Particulars doth much depend upon the Truth of the General. This was a Judgment grounded upon Honour and Justice ; And if This Rule had been Observ'd in the Following Tryals ; ( That is to say, if the Detecting of him to be Corruptly, and Willfully Forsworn in some Cases, should have Blasted his Evidence in All ) a great deal of Innocent Blond might have been sav'd, which, for ought I know, stands at This day upon Accompt for the Nation it self to answer for. The Next Thing Remarkable is his Report upon the Five Windsor Letters, (as they are Call'd.)

The Stress of All  
lies upon Otes'es  
Credit.

The Contents of  
the Five Windsor  
Letters.

There are also Certain Letters ;  
(he says) Five in Number, which  
are All Directed to Mr. Bedingfield  
at Windsor ; One of them Subscribed Nich. Blundel,  
and Dated Aug. 29. Superscribed Thus : [ For Mr.  
Bedingfield at his Lcdgings in Windsor ; ] Leave This  
with the Post-Master at Windsor, to be Delivered to  
him. The Effect of which Letter, as to the Present Pur-  
pose, is, that Blundel was very Carefull of Encouraging  
W. and P. (by which is conceiv'd to be meant Grove  
and Pickering ; who, as Otes hath before Deposed, had  
Undertaken to Assassinate his Majesty ) to put on strong  
Resolutions ; And that if the Businesst not at Windsor,  
to be ready to attend 48. which, as Mr. Otes before  
Deposeth, signifieth the KING.]

It further saith, that [ Ours here are very Devout,  
that after so long Patience they may Enjoy Catholique  
Religion in a way more Publique then now they do :  
Certainly we can never fail, since we have so many Strings  
to our Bow. 48 is secure, and All our Party very Faithful.]

The Other Four were all enclos'd in One Cover ;  
The First whereof, subscribed John Fenwick, and su-  
perscribed For Mr Bedingfield at Windsor. Recom-  
mended to the Post-Master there, 'till he shold Call for  
it. This Letter is Dated the 26th of August, without the  
Year, and sa much thereof as concerns the Present Mat-  
ter, is, that 48 is prepar'd for, and you are desired to  
be Kind to the Four Worthy Persons of the Irish Na-  
tion, that are Vigilant Good Men, and will do Service  
for us in These Parts. They are Religious, and though  
not of the Society, yet Lovers of Us, and are resolved  
to Joyn Issue with us in Dispatching Forty-Eight.

A Third Letter, which was Enclos'd in the same  
Cover, is Subscribed FOGOTY, without Date, or Su-  
perscription, or Seal, only it Begins with Good Mr.  
Benyfield,

Benyfield, That which is therein Contained relating to This Matter, is, that he prays Mr. Benyfield to be Kind to Those Four Countrymen of his, who are Good Men, and would do the Busines.

A Fourth (which was also in the same Cover) is subscribed Irland, Directed to Mr. Benyfield, and Dated at Flamstead, August. 1. 1678. It Imports, that there is No Need of Telling him their Good Success, because Intimated already. That they did Expect Mr. Fenwick Every day to give them Account of the Progress made in the Business of 48. and prays him to be Carefull of it's Dispatch, if Possible.]

The Fifth, and Last Letter bears Date as the Last, and also from Flamstead, subscribed T. White, and is Directed to Mr. Benyfield. So much thereof as Concerns the Matter in hand, is, to beg him to Encourage Fogoty, and the rest of Ours.

These Letters, if they can be so Prov'd, as to be Believ'd to be the Hands of the several Persons by whom they are said to be Written; do fully make out the Guilt of the Writers, and do much Confirm all the rest that hath been Deposed by Mr. Otes.

Mr. Otes hath Deposed them to be the Hands of the Persons whose Names are subscribed; and being shew'd the Letters, was able, upon the sight of some Few Lines of them, Hiding the Name, to say whose Letter Each was; which, the Name being Discover'd, prov'd to fall out accordingly; and This he did readily, and without Hesitation. And farther he said, that though the Spelling of Mr. Bedingfields Name, and of the Writers Names, do not agree with the Right Spelling, that it is an Usual Art of the Jesuits, purposely to Commit such Faults to Disguise themselves, if the Letter's should be found: And further, that though the Hands Themselves do not agree with what they do at other times write, yet That is purposely done to

Prevent Discovery, and that he is well acquainted with These their assumed Hands ; and knows the way of writing, not only of These, but of about Eighty of the said Society.

Objections against the Five Letters.

But Against the Truth of the said Letters, there were many Objections ; Some by the Prisoners, Others from the Letters Themselves, and the way of their Coming to Light : The Particulars thereof, as they are Many, and some Resulting from the Inspection of the Letters Themselves, so I doubt not but the same are fully remembred by your Majesty.

Toward the Stating of the Case in hand ; the Attorney-General, among Other Papers of Enformation had the Five Jesuits Letters, it seems, to work upon : And all the world knows, that Sr. William Jones was as good at Hitting a Blot in an Evidence, and laying his Finger upon the Pinch of the Question, as any Man Living : So that having These Pieces before him, it may reasonably be Presum'd, that upon Comparing Circumstances, and Weiging one thing with Another, he saw far enough into the Merits of the Cause, and the Mystery of that Intrigue, without any Need of an Observator's Spectacles. But however, I shall rather Produce the Letter's Themselves here, to tell their own Tale, and leave it Indifferently, to any Sober Person to Consider, what Opinion, so Wise, and so Wary a Man as Sr. William Jones could entertain of These Papers.

The

The Five Windsor Letters, Commonly  
called the Jesuits Letters,

Mr Bennyfield

(1) Mr White is now about to come for — and I suppose there will bee noe Necessity of telling you of our good Success hitherto because intimated to you already wee Expect Mr FenwickE with us every day to give us an account of your progress made in the BUISNES. of '48 I pray bee carefull of its dispatch if possible I will say noe more but than I am yours

Flamsted Aug 1<sup>st</sup> 78

IRLAND

For mr Bennyfield with care,

Sr

(2) I can now give you noe further Intelligence of our affaires but that I heare our affaires in IRLAND stand in a good condition and I am informed our friends are arrived safely to Scotland and have made a good begining there ~~me~~ mee begg of you to incourage FOGOTY and the rest of ours; I praise god Almighty I am still in good heart yet not without some apprehension of crossing the Seas because of my weaknes mr Ashby is ready I heare to Come from the bath I pray make my Lord BRUNEL acquainted (if you think it Convenient) with our designes I will tell you more when I see you I therefore rest

Your Loueing Friend

Flamsted Aug: 1<sup>st</sup> 78

T White

for mr Bennyfield Windsor.

Mr Bennifield

(3) Yours of the eightht instant arriuied safely to our hands and wee are glad of your care and Industry and I am now to gine you to understand that our affars in the kindgom of IRLAND stand well & his grace of Dublin is not onely kinde to us but also industrious for the promotion of our good designes there and question not but to accomplish them Ormond wold fain bee friends with the Catholique party but wee must neither trust him nor let him — much longer forty eight is prepared for and you are desired to bee kinde to four worthy persons of the Irish nation that are Vigilent good men and will doe ser- vice for vs in those parts they are religious and thought not of our Society yet louers of vs and are resolved to Joyn Issue with vs in the Concernes of dispatching forty eight I am Just now for St O with some young Ladds and may Chance returne home with our master you have heard I suppose of the Contents by Mr Stratford I am in hast and therefore Conclude and rest yours to serue your

Lot : Aug : 26

Jno Fenwicke

recommend me to mr Coleman I hope J. K. will bee with you to take a little Fresh air

For mr Bennyfield at Windsore recommended to the Postmaster there til bee shall Call for it Windsore

Good mr Bennifield

(4) I am sorry I haue not had the happynes of one line from you since you left london my good Friend his grace of Dublin is in very good health and did let mee haue the fauour of line or two from him and tolls mee that Ormond is as much out with the Protestants as euer he was with the Catholiues to gratifie them he hath given them commissions but that will not doe the BUISNES now  
hee

hee will never gain his credit more with vs I pray bee kinde  
to those four countrymen of mine who are good men I  
assure you and will do the BUISNES I am in haft  
and rest your lo : Friend

## EGGOTY

Dear Sr

(5) the present affaire wee haue in hand gines the occa-  
sion of a line or two to let you understand that IRLAND  
is now in an excellent posture & his grace of Dublin is  
very Industrious in the management of the BUISNES  
and our master has ordered F to aduertise ours of it I haue  
given HARCOT and Jennison notice of it & so I haue  
to Keines I am very carefull of encouraging W and R  
to put on strong resolutions if the BUISNES hit not at  
Windsor to be ready to attend forty Eight and if GW  
doe but Hitt the BUISNES here Scotland will come into  
us viz the C party and then the work is done ours here are  
very devout that after so long patience they may enjoy cath  
Religion in a way more Publique then now they doe and  
certainly wee can never faile since wee have so many strings  
to our Bow forty Eight is securre and all our party very  
faithfull my kinde respects to you and honest Mr Coleman  
as for Smith hee is daitie in his intelligence and care is  
taken for sending it to Flamsted I have no more but that  
I am yours

Aug 29

Nich Blandel

For Mr Bennifield att his lodgings in Windsor leave  
this with the Post master att Windsor to be deliuered  
to him Windsor.

These

The Windsor-Letters a Plain Forgery.

These Letters were formerly Publish'd at Length, with Notes upon them: October, 1684. *Observator*, 150. 151. 152. 153. Vol. 2. But the Fraud being so Palpable, and the Forgery so Manifest, and This Place so Proper for the Exposing of the Imposture, I shall here go over with them once again.

Not one Comma, or Point in them All.

(and no more) Men of Business, Learning, and Intrigue, at the same Time, and in the same Case, was never heard of perhaps in the World before. There is ('tis True) in White's Letter, after the Word [Ducs,] a Mark that has some Resemblance of a Semicolon: But seems to be rather the Dab of a Pen by Chance.

They are All Spell'd False the same way.

2ly, There are several Gross Mis-Spellings, White Writes Lord [BRUNAL,] for Brudenell: Blundell has [HARCOT,] for Harcourt: All Five Write [BENNYFIELD,] for Bedingfield. Ireland writes himself [IRLAND,] Blundell Spells the Kingdom, [IRLAND,] too. Fogarty Spells his own Name [FOGOTY,] and White Writes it [FOGOITY,] also. Business by Three of the Five, (and as often as the Word Occurs) is Spelled [BUISNES.] The Words Roe, Doe, Dot, are Spell'd in All Five with an E.

3ly, The Resemblance of the Matter of These Letters is very Extraordinary.

All of a Cast for Style & Matter.

[Our Affairs in [IRLAND] stand in a Good Condition,] says White. Our Affairs in the Kingdom of IRLAND stand Well, says Fenwick. IRLAND

*IRLAND is now in an Excellent Posture, says Blundell. His Grace of Dublin is not only Kind to us, but Industrious, says Fenwick. His Grace of Dublin is very Industrious ; says Blundel.*

Aud so Fenwick and Fogarty agree upon't, that Ormond is quite lost with the Catholiques.

*You are Desired to be kind to four Worthy Persons of the Irish Nation that are Vigilant, Good Men, and will do Service for us in Those Parts, says Fenwick. I Pray be kind to those four Country-Men of Mine, who are Good Men I assure you and will do the Business, says Fogoty.*

44, There's something Further Plain Treason to Remarkable in the Contrivance, and no manner of Congruity of these Papers. The St.

*Omers-Letters have Nothing at all in them but what's Dangerous, and Impertinent. White is for Encouraging Fogoty and the rest. Irland is for Misspatching 48. What Needed This over again, when Otes Swears they were Under Sacraments already to go on thorough-stitch without any more to do ? So that These Letters were only Written to be Intercepted. White gives Bennyfield an Account from St. Omers to Windsor, of Proceedings in Irland and Scotland : Most Ridiculously sure, when the Jesuits in London might have done it better, and much more securely, nearer Hand. And so for News ; White writes from St. Omers to Windsor, that Ashby is ready to come from the Bath.*

Now to put All together ; For Five Men of Letters, to Write without any Point, Comma, or Mark of Distinction ; To write their Own, and one Another's Names, False, the Same Way ; To write False English, and the Same False English : To agree in the Same Ayre of Foppery, and Affectation ; All the Marks of Fraud upon them

tion ; Nay, in the *Same Words, Solcisms, Style, Nonsense* ; Nothing less than an *Inspiration* could have wrought the *Miracle of This Agreement*. Infomuch, that whoever Compares the *Confusion of Periods*, the *Blunders*, both of *Thought*, and of *Expression* ; Nay, the very *Strokes of the Pen*, with *Tong's* and *Otes's Papers* ; ( for I have the *Originals*, and abundantly of Both their *Hand-writing* to Confront them with;) will Inevitably find them to be *Counterfeits*, only *Otes* assisted *Tonge* as an *Ammanuensis*, in Transcribing some of the *Copies*. But *Otes* will needs persuade the King and Council, that it was the Art of the *Jesuits* to *Mis-spell Harcot*, and *Binnysfield*, for a *Disguise*, if Letters should be found ; and so to write *Feign'd Hands*, to Prevent *Discovery*. Were there ever such *Buzzards* as These men of *Art*, to make *Harcot* a *Cypher* for *Harcourt* ; or *Bennysfield* for *Bedingfield*? when the *Persons* would be as well known by the *False spelling*, as by the *True* ! How came it They had not a *Disguise*, for *White*, *Fenwick*, and *Blundel*, as well as for the *Other Two*? But Those Poor Men were left with their *Right Names* to take their Fortunes. *Bynal* for *Brudenal* was *Another* piece of *Art* too ; And so was *Ioland* the *Place*, as well as *Ioland* the *Father*, for fear they should know what *Kingdom* he meant. They all of them write *Business* with an *I*, in the First Syllable : and so they do All their *Ote's Ote's Ote's*, with an *E* at the End ; which is still *Tong's* way of writing. But *Otes* Deposes, over and above, that he is able to Swear to the *Feigned Names*, and *Hands*, not only of *These*, but of about *Eighty* more of the *Society*.

And there are Things very *Remarkable* also, even about the *Paper* it self. The *Two* *Hamfsts* are of a *French Flower-de-luce Mark'd Paper* ; the very *Same Size*, and *Mark* ; The *Other Three* are of a *Cut Genoa Paper* ;

Paper; All of the *Same Mark*; And of the *Same Size* too, to a *Hair*. I Observe again; That the *Two Flamsteds*, ( or *St Omers-Letters* ) are Written in a *Thick Paper*; And the *Other Three* ( Suppos'd from *London to Windsor* ) in a *Thin Paper*; Contrary to the *Usage of Both Places*. These *Letters* are *Two, Whole-Sheets*, and the *Third*, a *Half One*; ~~All Cut~~, and *Match'd*, as if they came out of the *Same Quire*. If they were *All Together* when they *Wrote*, & Used the *Same Paper*; why the *Something Over and Over*, to the *Same Person*: When *One Letter* would have done as *Well*? If at ~~Several~~ *Places*; 'tis Odd, they should *All chop upon the Same Paper*.

Was not This a likely Foolery to Impose upon Sr. *William Jones* now? It is much indeed, that *Ores*, should, without any Hesitation, upon the sight of a few Lines without the *Name*, say, *This is such a ones Hand* (as is set forth in the Report) But it was a great deal *More* for him to *Swear* to the *Character*, further then Another Man could Discern the *Ink*: Especially for an *Owl-Ey'd Fellow*, that could not see *Coleman by Candle-Light*, when he was just at his *Nose End*. In a word; Sr. *William Jones* had the *Originals*, and the *Matter whole before him*, and what Thoughts he had of the Truth of *Ores'es Deposition*, and the *Probity of the Witness*, cannot but be obvious certainly to any Man of Sense, that does but Consider the *Inconsistencies of the Story*; The *Extravagant Improbabilities of the Evidence*; The *Character of the Deponent*, and the *Difficulty of Putting a Cheat upon him* that was to make the Scrutiny. There is not so much as one of the Instances above-mentioned, that does not Carry *Fraud, Folly, and Conspiracy*, in the *Face on't*; and the *Imposture lay so Open*, that it was a *Miracle*, how Mr. *Attorney* came to *Miss it*. He does,

does, in General Terms, Acknowledge [ many Objections, both from the Prisoners ; The Letters themselves, and the Way ( he says ) of their Coming to Light ; ] but remits the Particulars to his Majesties Judgment and Memory, without Naming, or so much as Pointing at them. Though he very well knew that the Late King Pronounced them Counterfeits, as soon as he saw them ; and that both Tonge and Otes were Concern'd in the Practice.

The Design of the Windsor Pacquet spoil'd. The Design of This Pacquet was to have it snapt-up at the Letter-Office, and so made use of in Evidence against Bedingfield, as a Wonderfull Discovery ; but Bedingfield, by good hap, taking up his own Letters, That Bout, ( which he never did Before ) smelt out a Contrivance, Himself, and was the First Man that Complain'd of it. So that He that was Marked out for the Trayor, by That Providence, became the Discoverer.

The Manner of the Disappointment.

The short of the Busines was This. Father Bedingfield was going to Monsieur De Puy, and seeing the Maile, ask'd if they had any Letters for him. They look'd, and there being a great Pacquet they quickly found it and gave it him. Upon Perusal of the Papers, he observed the Subscriptions not to be the Hands of the Pretended Subscribers ; suspected some Villany in the Bottom ; and so Carry'd the Papers Immediately to His Royal Highness, and Deliver'd his Own Thoughts upon them. The Duke shew'd the Letters to His Late Majesty ; and what opinion the King Himself had of This Discovery, we shall see by and by. Monsieur De Puy, in This Interim, went to the Post-Office, and, for a Countenance, asked if they had any Letters for Him ? They said, No ; and that if there had been any, they should have

have been sent him. He Demanded Then, if they had any Letters for one Mr. Bedingfield ; They told him what a Mighty Do there had been about that same Mr. Bedingfield, and they knew not how many People to ask for Letters for Him.

Before I proceed any further upon This Story, it should be known by the way, that among Other Particulars that were deliver'd in Charge to Sr. William Jones to advise upon, there were Articles against John Grove, under the Name of Honest William, and against one Pickering, as two of the Assassins that were in a Conspiracy to Murder the King. I Pitch upon These Two by Name, because I find Their Part, and the Transaction about the Windsor Letters, very Clearly, and Orderly set forth, in a Discourse call'd [ *An Impartial State of the Case of the Earl of Danby, &c.* ] It was Printed in 1679. and Speaks very Expressly to the Points here in hand. Mr. Christopher Kirkby, and Dr. Tonge Presented his Late Majesty, Aug. 13. 1678. with Forty Three Articles of Otes' es True Narrative ( falsely so called ) in the Hand-writing of Tonge ; which the King ( going to Windsor the Day following ) sent to the Earl of Danby ; Appointing them to Attend his Lordship the Next Morning. Upon Tonge's Application to the Earl of Danby about the Pretended Popish Plot, his Lordship put several Questions to him, and Received his Answers, in Manner following.

Quest. Whether the Dr. knew Those Men who were Called Honest William and Pickering, who were Named in Those Papers ( the Narrative ) as Men Design'd to Assassinate the King.

Tonge Examin'd  
by the E. of Dan-  
by about Grove,  
and Pickering.

Answ. That they us'd to walk frequently in St. James's-Park, and if any Body were appointed to keep

keep him (the Dr.) Company, it was Two to One but he should have an opportunity of letting that Person see One or Both of them in a Little Time.

*Quest. If he knew where they Liv'd? for that it would be Necessary to Secure Those Men forthwith.*

*Answ. He knew not at That time, but would Inform himself, and let his Lordship know very Speedily.*

*Herupon his Lordship went Immediately to Windsor, and Acquainted the King, That Dr Tong had been with him according to his Majesties Directions; And Inform'd his Majesty of All that had Pass'd, (shewing also the Additional Paper to those which had been sent his Lordship by his Majesty) and that he had left a Servant at London, purposely to get a sight of Honest William, and Pickering, in order to the Apprehending of them if his Majesty thought fit.*

The E. of D's Proceeding upon the Matter.

*At This time his Lordship desired the King, That one of the Secretaries might send a Warrant for the Apprehending them; and that, the matter being of such Danger to his Majesties Person, some more of the Council might be acquainted with it: But his Majesty would Neither let the Men be Apprehended, 'till he were more Inform'd of the Design, nor would he suffer the Earl to speak One Word to any Body of it, but on the Contrary Commanded the Earl should not speak of it, so much as to the Duke of York; only said, he would be very Carefull of himself, 'till he heard more.*

*The Earl went from Windsor to his House at Wimbledon, directing, that if the Dr. had any thing more to say unto him of That Matter, he should come to him thither, or send away That Gentleman the Earl had left to stay with him, to see the Men, and Learn their Lodgings; and to be Diligent in bringing any Intelligence which Required Haste.*

Accordingly

Accordingly That Gentleman did go from London to Wimbleton every Day, and back to the Doctor at Night; and did sometimes bring Additional Papers to the Former, and brought Enformation of the Dwellings of Honest William, and Pickering, and brought word also from the Doctor, that he should be able to give his Lordship Certain Notice before-hand, when any of them were to go to Windsor: Of All which the Earl never failed to give his Majesty an Account, from time to time.

Among other Enformations, the Dr. went one Night to Wimbleton himself, and told his Lordship that some of the Intended Assassins were to go the next morning to Windsor, but that he could order it so that the Earls Gentleman should go in the same Coach with them, or if the Coach should be Full, he might go on Horse-back in their Company, and watch them so as to give Notice of their Arrival, and take them more Conveniently that way, upon the Place, where they would not be able to give any account what they had to do there.

Tong Sham of  
the Russians go-  
ing to Windsor.

Hereupon the Earl order'd this Gentleman to Observe the Drs. Directions, and went immediately himself to Windsor: where he acquainted his Majesty with All This, and order was taken for seizing These Men at their Arrival at Windsor: But instead of That, the Gentleman brought word from the Dr. that Something had Prevented their going that Day; but that they intended their Journey the day Following, or within Two Days at farthest, but then also News was brought that they were again Prevented, by one of their Horses being flipt in the Shoulder; or some such Accident.

Wherenpon his Majesty (who before would not give Credit to it) did then take The King be- it, for so Meer a Fiction, that Not- liev'd Nothing at withstanding all the Earl could say to all of the Story. get the Business Communicated to Others, besides him- self,

self, the King was more Positive not to Permit it, saying, He should Allarm all England, and put thoughts of Killing him, into Peoples Heads, who had no such thoughts before.

The Earl having done All that lay in his Power, and having Business into Oxfordshire, askt leave of his Majesty to go thither ( being but Twenty Two Miles from Windsor, whither he could return in half a day ) and left Order at Wimbleton, to have anything Dispatch'd to him, that should come from Dr. Tonge.

Accordingly, in Three days after, The Sham of Bedingfields came a Letter from the Doctor to the Earl, giving Notice of a Pacquet of Pacquet.

Letters from Jesuits Concern'd in the Plot, which were to go to the Post-House in Windsor. Directed to one Bedingfield a Priest: Whereupon the Earl returned immediately to Windsor, and Inform'd his Majesty, shewing the Doctors Letter, and his Majesty reply'd, that there was such a Pacquet had been Deliver'd some Few hours before by the said Bedingfield, to the Duke of York; and that Bedingfield had told the Duke, he fear'd some Ill was intended him by the said Pacquet, because the Letters therein seem'd to be of a Dangerous Nature, and that he was sure they were not the Hand-writing of the Persons whose Names were Subscribed to the Letters.

This still begot Less Belief in his The Pacquet Majesty that there was any Real Plot, Confirm'd to Infomuch, that I have heard the Earl be a Cheat. say, he doubted whether ever he had

been permitted to produce These Papers, and Intelligence he had Received from Dr. Tonge, if his Royal Highness had not been Earnest to have the Truth of Those Letters Examin'd, which had been brought to him by Mr Bedingfield; by which means he got leave at the same time to produce the said Papers, and Letters to the Councill,

Council, and from Thence, they have all been Trans-mitted to both Houses of Parliament, in one of which they remain at This Day.

When they were first Produced to the Council, & Dr Tonge brought thither to Arrest them, the Dr. then said, He was Sorry they had been Disclos'd so soon, and that it would have been much better, and more would have been Discovered, if the Bus'ness had been kept Conceal'd some time longer. *Fol. 14. 15. 16.*

The Letters Pro-  
duc'd to the  
Council.

This Narrative-Part of the Story could not be well Omitted. But to return now to my First Matter.

The Attorney-General was Mani-festly Privy to Every Step of this Proceeding; and saw the Sham Thorough and Thorough, in the very Act of Disclosing it. But upon the Winding-up of his Report, he comes a Little Homer to the Point.

Sr W. Jones  
Privy to All.

Some Objections have been made (says he) as to the Credit of Mr. Otes, against Some Particulars of his Testimony, which Relate to the General Design: Wherein he is Suppos'd to be mistaken. But because those Objections are Many, and Some of them not made by These Prisoners, nor perhaps, will be; and because I am not Certain what Answer he can make to them, when they shall be Objected against him; I think it fit not to Mention them in Particular; but shall only Conclude, by making Two Questions, which, I Conceive, do properly belong to This Matter.

And Convinc'd  
that Otes was an  
Impostor.

1. Whether the Evidence of One Witness be Sufficient, either to Indict, or Convict a Man of High-Treason of This Nature?

2. If it be Not; Whether here be any Evidence against These Particular Persons, besides the Single Testimony of Mr Otes?

*18. Oct. 1678.* All which is Humbly Submitted,  
C. J. or W. Jones.

Notes upon Sir  
W. Jones's Final  
Report.

With these Words, Sir W. Jones Closes his Report : Where, it is Remarkable, that he was Conscious of Objections made, both General, and

Particular ; wherein Otes is, in a Soft way, [ Supposed ] to be Mistaken. ( Only [ Supposed ] That is, and only [ Mistaken. ] ) But in the Next Line, Those some Objections are grown to be Many ; Though for the Comfort of the Cause, the Prisoners have not hit upon some of 'em as Yet, and perhaps never Will. And because a body does not know what Otes Can be able to say for himself, if those Objections should come to be laid Home to him ; Therefore, 'twere better to say Nothing of 'em, and e'en take the Rogues on the Blind-side, and Hang-'em-up for want of Means to make the Best of their Defence.

Let any Man lay These Matters together now : i. e. The Ridiculous Incongruities of the Enformations, and of These Letters. The Presence of Mind, and the Wonderfull Sagacity of the Attorney General, to Discern, to Sift, and to find-out the Truth, and Bottom of such a Case as This : with the Tendency, and Bias of his Report, and there will need no more to satisfy any Reasonable Man, whether Sr William Jones believed This Narrative-Plot to be a Real Conspiracy, or a Counterfeit. But if it shall appear, that he Suspected it at First, and gave Credit to it afterwards, it is the only Instance that ever I met withall, of a Case whereiu the Reputation of This Plot, Mended upon any Mans Hands. But the Best way of Expounding this Great Man of Law, will be to Compare what he Thought of it at First, with what he Did in it Afterward. Not but that we have already, in sight, abundantly enough to satisfy any Man with Eyes in his Head, how far Otes was to be Credited upon his Veracity ; and what Stress the Attorney General Himself lay'd upon his Evidence, which stood at That Time without a Second to Support it.

C H A P.

## C H A P. II.

*An Extract of some Passages out of the Manage of Ores'es Evidence, in the Prosecution of it, Compard with Sir W. Jones'es Opinion, and Report, as to the Credit of his Testimony at the Time of Stating it.*

If a Man would set himself to make a Reasonable Estimate, in some Modest Degree of Proportion betwixt the Believers, and the Disbelievers of the Pretended Popish Plot ; a body, in my Conscience, might Compute upon at least Nine and Thirty, of Forty parts of the Nation, that in some Measure or other gave it Credit, for One that saw the Imposture of it, from the very beginning. That is to say, thorough all the Blinds, Pretexts, and Disguises, that were put upon us, from the Barr, the Pulpit, Caballs, Coffee-Houses, Committees, &c. in favour of the Design. But the Attorney General was not a Person to be thus Impos'd upon ; and to a Man that had Seen, Observ'd, and kept in his Memory, the Practices, and the Methods of the Scottish and English Rebellions, under Charles the First, the Story of Tong, and Ores, was no more then a Tale the Second Time Told, and the Common People, that neither Understood the Reason, nor Consider'd the Issue of things,

Ignorance and Credulity gave the Plot Credit.

hung by the *Chopps* like *Griggs* upon the Bait of Religion and Property, though the next remove, was to be Effectually, from the Worm to the Frying-Pan. Briefly, where there was neither Experience, nor Consideration; but Damned Perjuries on the One side, to work upon Good Nature, and Credulity, on the Other; and neither the Faculty of Distinguishing, nor the Means of Disproving; what Remedy but Patience! till the Scales should fall from the Peoples Eyes; and till Time, and Misery, should bring them to their Wits and their Duties again, and so to a Sight of their Sins, by a Sense of their Punishment. The Wisdom of the Multitude does not lye so much in their Heads, as in their Skins, and their Pockets; Their Feeling, is their Understanding; and Evil Consequences, are Little more with Them, then that which they commonly call, the Luck on't. I have taken up This Digression, to the End that there may be no Place Left for the Drawing of any Malevolent Inferences from the Head that I am now upon.

There are Three Things here, wherein a Man may be Positive, with Honesty, Discretion, and Good Manners. 1. That *Ores* in his Narrative, and Enformations, was directly *Felo de se*, as any Man may Unquestionably satisfy himself upon the Reading of 'em. To say nothing of his Rank Absurdities, and Palpable Contradictions, as they are Expos'd from one End to the other of the Second Volume of Observators. 2ly. That Sir W. Jones Himself, upon the Stating of the Evidence does more then Tacitly Presume, and Acknowledge, the Great Unlikelyhood, at least, if not the Downright Incredibility of his Testimony. 3ly. That it is very Hard to Reconcile the Progress of his Prosecution, to the Tenor of his First Report. And this Third, is the Point that I am in

in This Place to Pursue, with a Charity for All Errors, and Compliances, upon Misenformation, or Mistake.

It would have been Morally Impossible, for the Conspirators of One and Forty, ever to have Gain'd their Point upon Charles the First, without a Protestation, or Covenant, to Unite them: (as I have Hinted already) And the Doctrine of Co-ordination, to Head them, under the Colour of a Quorum of the Three Estates; They could never have brought their Ends about, I say, without This: Beside, that after These Two Steps Advanced, with Impunity, and Success, the Work was more then Half-done: And over and above the Proportion betwixt the Means, and the End, the very Attempt of These Encroachments upon their Prince, did Manifestly Import a Design of taking the Sovereignty into their own Hands. This They Attempted upon Charles the Second, in the Association, and in the Bill of Exclusion. The Former, was to Unite, and Strengthen the Confederacy; and the Other was to Invade, and to Usurp upon the Prerogative Royal: And what had they more to do, after Assuming Absolute Power to Themselves, and Translating the Allegiance of the People, from their King to their Fellow-Subjects, (which was Expressly the Case of their Association, and, in Consequence, That of the Bill of Exclusion too) then to Kill, and take Possession? Or, in a word, what could They Propose Less to Themselves, by setting These Practices afoot, then the Subversion of the State? Only for the better Face of the Business, Religion is made a Cloak to their Ambition, and the Crown to be Secur'd in the Peoples Hands, for fear of Papery. But let it be either the One way or the Other, The Thing was to be

The Methods of  
a Faction.

done however, and whether by an *Ambitious Zeal*, or a *Holy Ambition*, it Comes all to a Case.

There came out an Octavo in Eighty One, under the Title of [ *An Exact Collection of the most Considerable Debates in the Honourable House of Commons, at the Parliament held at Westminster the one and Twentieth of October, 1680.* ] The several Speeches therein, are Introduc'd with the Two First Letters, as the Publisher Intends them, of the Speakers Name. I take the matter as I find it. There are many Lew'd things, 'tis True, reported in the Book, according to the License of the Times they were said to be Spoken in; but I have not, as yet met with any Exception to it, of Falsity, for the matters therein Deliver'd.

I do not here Propose the Strictnesses of a *Methodical Division*, in a Case where I have Scarce room barely to Name some Few General Heads, before I Leave them. Herc's a Plot Suppos'd; The Be-ing of it, Presum'd; and the Danger of it taken for Granted: Together with a Formal Contemplation of the Rise of it, the Operations, and the Remedies. I find Several Passages in this Book, under the Title of [ Sir W. J. ] Referring to all these Particulars. As for Instance.

UPON a Report maid by Coll. Birch of the Informations relating to the Irish Plot, &c. Jan. 6. 1681. Sir W. J. is represented Speaking in These Words.

Mr. Speaker.

Sir,

The Irish groun-  
ded upon Ottes'es  
English Plot.

The Evidence which you have heard  
at the Bar, and the Report which hath  
been Read, as to the Popish Plot in  
Ireland, is not only a Plain Discov-  
ry

ry of the Dangerous, and Deplorable Condition of the Protestants in Ireland, but a Great Confirmation of what Dr. Otes, and the rest of the Witnesses, have said, as to the Plot Here: So that Now [ No Man can have any Excuse for not Believing it; but such as are Misled by Others, who Know it too well, because they are In it. I Cannot but observe what a Coherence and Agreement there is, in the Carrying on the Two Plots. Collections. p. 230.]

In Seventy Five, and Seventy Six, all the Clergy in Ireland said, (as Fitzgerald Deposeth) that the Duke of York should be King in 1678. &c. And doth it not appear by the Witnesses here, that they Intended about That Time to Cut-off the King; Massacre most of the Protestants, and to Conquer Others, &c. And doth not This Agree, not only with Dr Otes's Discovery, but Prances too? p. 231. And so he goes on, Descanting upon Parallels and Resemblances, 'till at last, finding, that All the Plots Center in the Duke of York; he advises a Declaration to This Purpose.

That the Duke of York's being a Papist, and the Expectation which That Party have of his coming such to the Crown, have given the Greatest Encouragement to the Popish Plot in Ireland as well as Here. p. 233.

This Resolve leads to a Bill of Exclusion, without any more ado; and Sr W. J. is no less Earnest for an Association-Bill; Provided, he says, it might be made as it should be. p. 183.

For This Bill (says he) must be much stronger then That in Queen Elizabeth's Days; That was for an Association only, after her Death, but I

The Duke of York made the Head of Both Plots.

Sr W. J. proposes a Declaration to That Effect.

And a strong Bill of Association.

cannot

cannot tell if such a Bill will Secure us Safe; the Circumstances we are under, being very Different. In Queen Elizabeths days the Privy Councillors were All for the Queens Interest, and Now for the Successor's; Now, Most of the Privy Councillors are for the Successor, and Few for the King. Then the Ministers Unanimously agreed to keep-out Popery, now we have too much reason to fear there are many that are for Bringing-it-In. In Those days, they All agreed to keep the Popish Successor in Scotland; Now, the Major part agreed to keep the Successor Here: All which must be consider'd, in drawing up the Bill. p. 184.

He takes a great deal of pains, in Another place, to shew the Danger and Necessity of Things; and it is Observable, in the Heat of his Course; how he does, Effectually, Drop the Bus'ness of the Plot, and Transferr the Ground of the Exclusion to a Scruple of Religion.

The Danger  
Transferr'd  
from the Popish  
Plot to the Reli-  
gion.

*As to the Danger, (Sr W. J. says)*  
It cannot be imagin'd that the Great Body of Protestants which are in This Nation, will tamely submit to the Popish Yoke; which they will in Time see, must be the Consequence of Submitting to a Popish King; without some Struggling. p. 91. ] The Safety of the King and Kingdom depend upon it. p. 92. And so again: [ By assisting the Popish Faction, his Majesty is reduced to Great Difficulties and Trouble in the Administration of his Regal Authority, and the Credit, Peace, and Tranquility of the Nation, almost Irrecoverably Lost, As to All which, the Art of Man cannot find out any Remedy, as long as there is a Popish Successor, and the Fears of a Popish King; And Therefore I humbly Move you This Bill may Pass. p. 94. ] That is to say the Bill of Exclusion.

[ Videome

[Without the Exclusion-Bill, there can be no Expedient. p. 192. ] All other Acts of Grace will but serve to Fatten us for the Slaughter of our Enemies. p. 193. ]

No Safety will  
but a Bill of Ex-  
clusion.

I am against the Vote that was Propos'd, That the Duke being a Papist hath rendered him Uncapable of the Crown; for that were to take on us a Legislative Power; but let your Question be, That it is the Opinion of This House that the King's Person, not Protestant Religion Cannot be Secure without That Bill. p. 248. ]

In the First Suggestion, there is not only a Sedition Predicted, but Tacitly Encourag'd, and the Question is no longer a Popish Conspiracy; but a Popish Successor: the Apprehension being now remov'd, from the Plot, to the Religion: So that the Cause was not the Same, in the Political Agitation of it, that it was in Westminster-Hall before a Court of Justice: For in the One Case, the Duke was to be Disinherited for being the Presumptive Head of the Conspiracy; And in the Other, he was to be Precluded, for being of the Communion of the Church of Rome. And it is very Notable Likewise, quite thorough, that there was not One Argument against the Successor, that was not Levell'd at the King in Possession too; And the Doctrine of Excluding his Royal Highness, did not only Authorize the Deposing of his Late Majesty, but had, many Years before, Actually Cut-off, the Head of his Blessed Father.

Notes upon the  
Westminster De-  
bates.

We have had Sir W. Jones's Thoughts already, upon Otes and his Plot, in his State of the Evidence: It comes now to be Enquired into, what Opinion the same Sir William Jones had, of the Credit of the same Otes, and the same Plot, at the King's Bench at Westminster, upon

upon the Tryals of *Green, Berry, and Hill*. Feb. 10.  
1672. And afterward, at the Tryal of *William Viscount Stafford, &c.* upon [ *an Impeachment of the Commons of England, in November and December 1680.*] Upon a matter of *Four Months Consideration in the Former Tryal*, ( Computing from his *State of the Evidence Oct. 18. 1678.*) And above *Two Years time to advise with his Second thoughts afterward; in the Latter*; wherein he acted as one of the Committee appointed to *Anage the Evidence.*

I was saying somewhat e'en now, The Credit of that upon the First starting of this. the Plot lessen'd *Mysterious Sham, the Topique was so dayly Popular, and the People so prepar'd to be Cozen'd, that there was not One Man of Forty, but Believ'd, more or less of that Romance: though from that time to this, the Credit of it ( God be Thanked,) has gone on, Lessening and Lessening still, 'till in the Conclusion, there's not One Man of a Thousand, that does not look upon it, in his Conscience, and in his Judgment, to have been a *Bloudy and a Scandalous Cheat;* Now if Sir William Jones gave it more Reputation, after Two Years Time for Scrutiny and Recollection, and where the Lives of so many Men of Honour, Faith, and Integrity to their Prince, were at Stake upon the Issue of the Cause, then ever he thought it*

Only it Mended upon Sir William Jones's Hand. Worthy of, upon the First Summing-up of the Depositions, he was the Only Man certainly, of the three Kingdoms, of whom it may be said, that the Longer he Consider'd of it, the Better he Lik'd it. For it is Naturally, and Reasonably to be Presum'd, that he had all the Informations, and Suggestions, Pro and Con, under his Eye; and that if there were any Considerable Number of Gross Contradictions, and Inconsistencies in the Evidence, he was Undoubtedly so much

much Master of his Bus'ness as to Retrieve, and to Discover the Intrigue. So that taking for Granted, that he wanted neither Means, nor Brains, nor Industry; to Carry him the nearest way to his Journeys End: it must be Concluded, that he Saw as much of the matter as was to be Seen; and that he knew as much of it as was to be known: But how far he Emprov'd those Advantages to the Delivering of the Innocent, is Submitted to an Impartial Censure, and Consideration, in that which Follows: And First, upon the Tryals about Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

The Cause of Green, Berry, and Hill, 'tis True, was not so Properly Otes's Plot; in Strictnes, as a Superstructure Rais'd upon it: Though all the Pretended Proofs of the General Plot, Involve a Justification of Otes's, as the Foundation of the Whole Project: Beside that Otes could have done no more; without his Corroborating Fellow-Swearers, then They Could have done without His Scheme of Articles to Swear by. So that though the Story of Godfrey does not Affect Otes (to Borrow his own Word) Yet Bedloe, and Prance do mighty affect him; in Lending him an Affidavit or two, toward the Crutching up of an Impotent Plot, that by this time was Lame of all Four. Nay take the matter Aright, and according to the Just Reason of the Thing; Green, Berry, and Hill, were not Hang'd so much for Godfrey, as for Otes; for it was for the Plots sake, that the Murder was brought-on; They wanted Seconds to the Conspiracy, and so made use of a fresh Brace of Miscreants, to Kill Two Birds with One Stone. They that would Swear False to a Plot, would Swear false to a Murder; And they that would Swear False to a Murder, would Swear False to a Plot: So that begin where you will, T'other comes-on, in Course, and it breaks no Squares betwixt the Devil, and

and the Client, whether he Pawns his Soul for One Perjury, or for Two, or which goes First.

In the Tryals of Green, Berry, and Hill, Mr. Attorney General has these Words.

Sir W. J. upon Godfreys Mur-  
der. *My Lord, As Murder is always a  
very Great Crime; So the Murder  
which is now to be Tryed before your  
Lordship, is, it may be, the Most Hei-  
nous and Barbarous that ever was Committed. The  
Murder was Committed upon a Gentleman and upon a  
Magistrate; And I wish he had not Therefore been  
Murder'd, because he was a Protestant Magistrate.*

*Greens Tryal. fol. 6.7.*

If Sir William Jones had been Minded of Another Murder, wherein both the Gentleman, the Magistrate, and the Protestant, were Maliciously, and Rebelliously brought to the Scaffold, in the Person of a Most Gracious, a Pious, and a Lawfull Prince, he would not, I hope, have accounted the Murder there in Question, to have been the most Heinous and Barbarous, that ever was Committed: Especially Valuing himself, as he does, some Three or Four Lines after, upon the Pains he had taken for the Perfect Understanding of This Affair.

I (says he) that have made a Strict Examination into this Matter, do find that I shall better spend my Time in making Observations, and shewing how the Witnesses do Agree, After the Evidence given, then Before. *Ibid.*

This Declaration of Mr Attorney, reaches as well to Ores's Plot, as to Godfreys Murder; and it is already Granted, that he was as fully Possess'd of the Whole Extent of the Matter there in Question, as it was Possible for any Man to be, upon Study, Search, and Enformation. As to any thing purely relating to the Matter of Sr Edmund-bury Godfrey, I shall Remit my self upon that Particular, to the Third Part of

This

*This Brief History*, which I have Expressly Reserv'd for a Discourse upon That Subject.

In Fol. 7. of *Greens Tryal*, Mr. Attorney Grafts the *Murder of Godfrey* upon the *Discovery of the Late Horrid Plot*; and sets forth how Industrious Sr Edmund was in finding out the Principal Actors in That Plot; and how Mortal an Enemy to Priests and Jesuits; Whereas it is Notoriously known, that he call'd Otes a *Rogue*, and a *Cheat*, from the very *Beginning*; and that he did many Good Offices to Known Priests, when he found them in Distress, to the Extreme hazard, both of his *Person* and *Estate*. Let it Suffice, that I do here *Affirm* This to be *True*, and Oblige my self to *Prove* it so, upon *Authorities Unquestionable*, hereafter.

It is but matter of Course, for *Mules* ( according to the *Adage* ) to *Knab one another*; and so there's no Love Lost betwixt *Otes*, *Prance*, and *Bedloe*: The Two Latter put their Shoulders to the helping of *Otes's Plot* out at a *Dead Lift*; And *Thankfull Otes* does as much toward the Helping out of *Bedloe* and *Prance*, in *Sr Edmund-bury Godfreys Murder*. *Godfrey* told *Otes* a Tale, it seems, how the *Popish Lords* had Threaten'd him, and what a Fright he was in for fear of his *Life*, from the *Popish Party*; and how they had been several days *Dogging* of him. *Tryal. Fol. 12.* So that *Otes's Testimony* some way or other, was the Life of the Cause all this while; and take away That *Pillar*, the whole *Building* sinks into *Rubbish*: But to see now, at the Clofe of the *Tryal*, and of the Day, how Mr. Attorney *Blesses* himself, to find Every thing made out so *Clear*, even to *Admiration*.

*Otes, Bedloe,  
and Prance Help  
out one another.*

I intended (says he) when I began A Gross Partia- to open the Evidence, to have made lity. some Observations after the Evidence Ended; to shew how Each Part of it did Agree, and how the Main was Strengthen'd by Concurring Circumstances: But in Truth, the Kings Evidence did fall out much better then I could Expect: And the Defence of the Prisoners much Weaker then I could foresee: So that I think the Proof against the Prisoners is so Strong; and so Little has been Alleged by them in their Defence, that it would be but loss of Time to do what I at first Intended. fol. 71.] As to the Strength of the Evidence, and the Weakness of the Defence; the Tryal is Extant, and let the Cause speak for it self. But Thus however, he goes on Haranguing upon the Harmony of the Witnesses, 'till at last he Crowns the Exploit, with an Addres to the Jury in These Words.

I shall say no more, but Conclude to the Jury with That Saying that I remember in the Book of Judges, (in the Case of a Murder too, though of another Nature.) Judges 19. 30. The People said there was no such Deed done, nor seen, from the Day that the Children of Israel came out of Egypt.] And I may say there was never such a Barbarous Murther Committed in England, since the People of England were Freed from the Yoke of the Popes Tyranny, and as 'tis said There, so say I now; Consider of it, Take advice, and speak your Miuds, fol. 72.

The Barbarous Murder of Charles the First is forgotten, here once again: But now we are upon the Subject of Innocent Blood; let any Man set the Blood that was Drawn upon This Authority, and Encouragement, against That, which was There in Question, and then lay his Hand upon his Heart. To say nothing of the Lives that were Afterwards Sacrificed, under

the

the Countenance, and in Consequence  
of That President. It Cannot be too  
often Repeated, that Mr. Attorney  
had all the Papers at his Command,  
that might give him Light to a Distinct and Perfect  
Understanding of the Main Cause, and Every Part of  
it : As the Journals of Both Houses ; The Council-Mi-  
nutes ; and Other Publique, and Attest'd Informa-  
tions : that he had the Whole Cause before him, as in a  
Breviat, and the Means, Consequently, of Comparing  
every Several Witness with Himself, and every Wit-  
ness Respectively, One with Another, to see how far  
their Oaths upon the Lords Journals agreed with what  
they Swore in Court ; and how far their Depositions  
before the King and Council, or before so many of  
his Majesties Justices of the Peace, Squar'd with Both,  
or Either of the Other. By Virtue of These Advan-  
tages, Sr. William Jones was upon so great a Certainty of  
Knowledge in All he Said, or Did, upon this Matter,  
that it was hardly possible for any Practice of Con-  
federacy ; any Doubling or Shuffling ; any Flaw, Con-  
tradiction, or Equivocation in the Evidence to Scape  
him. Beside that he wanted neither Wisdom, nor In-  
dustry to make the best of his Materials. And yet up-  
on laying Things together, It is a little hard to  
Imagine, how this Learned Gentleman should come  
to Phansy so Admirable a Concurrence of Circum-  
stances. The Strength of the Kings Evidences so much  
beyond Expectation, and the Defence of the Prisoners  
so short of it ; in a Case which to all other Mens Eyes  
appears a meer Huddle, and Mish-mash, of Unacoun-  
table Confusions : which I do here Oblige my self to  
make as Manifest as the Light of the Sun, in the Con-  
tinuation of This Story, if I live but a very little while  
longer, to Finish it. The most Favourable Construc-  
tion that can be offer'd in Excuse of the Proceeding,

The Whole In-  
trigue was  
known to Sr W. J.

will be This ; that though Mr. Attorney had the Care of the Cause, and the Command of all Papers and Enformations Concerning it, Multiplicity of other Thoughts, and Bus'ness, might yet Divert him perhaps, from attending All the Critical Minutes of the Case, so Nicely as he Ought to have done.

Sir W. J. a Manager against the Lord Stafford.

Sir William Jones proceeded Thus far, in the Quality of Attorney General ; We shall see now what Part he sustained in the Tryal of my Lord Stafford ; as a Manager of the Evidence, upon an Impeachment in the Names of the Commons of England.

*My Lords ( says Sr William Jones) I think I may take leave to say, that the Plot in General, hath been now Sufficiently Prov'd. And if we Consider what has been Prov'd at Former Tryals ; ( upon which, many of the Offenders, and Traytors have been Executed ) what hath been Published in Print, and above All, Colemans Letters, written all with his own Hand, and for That Reason Impossible to be Falsify'd, we may Justly Conclude, that there is not a Man in England, of Any Under-standing, but must be fully Convinc'd of the Truth of*

*the Plot in General, &c. p. 169.] So that I think now None Remain, that do Pretend, Not to Believe it, but Two Sorts of Persons ; The One, Those that were Conspirators In it ; and the Other, Those that Wish'd it had Succeeded, and Desire it May so Still. p. 170.*

This was a Shot at Random, I hope, The Disbelievers without considering where it would Vindicated. fall : for it makes All Men whatsoever, without any Exception of Persons, to be either Fools, or Knowes, that were not of the Managers intended

tended Opinion. I call it [ Pretended, ] because I look upon it as a Flight of his *Rhetorique*, rather then a Motion of his *Conscience*; And that it was Design'd to work upon the *Passions* of those that heard him, rather then upon their *Judgments*. This *Liberty* does not only give every Honest Thinking Man an *Honourable Right*, but puts him upon a *Defensive Necessity* of Throwing-off that *Infamous Character*, let it Light where it Will, and of Rangeing the *Fools*, and the *Knaves* on the Other side. But This is a Sentence however, with Two Edges: One way he makes People *Conspirators*, and *Abettors*, for not Believing the Plot, at a Clenture, whether the Supposed Fact be True, or False; The Other way, he makes a *General Plot on't*, by taking All Into't that do not Believe it. But as to the Proof now, of a *General Plot*, If Otes' es Plot falls, there Remains No *General Plot* to Prove upon.

*Colemans Letters* are a Particular Matter, of a Personal Practice, and Undertaking, And His Crime, at the

Mr. Coleman's  
Cafe.

Uttermost Stretch of it, amounted to no more, then a Forward Intermeddling with State-Matters without a Commission. I could never find out the least Colour in that whole Proceeding, to Imagine any sort of Affinity, that *Colemans Letter-Plot* had with Sir Will. Jones' es pretended *Narrative Plot*. He had a Plot undoubtedly, upon the Fing'ring of French Mony: But without any Malice, in my Conscience, against Either King, or Government.

Sir William Jones draws Inferences from the Jesuits Several Meetings. Their Raising of Arms, and Gathering of Moneys, toward the Execution of their Design, fol. 169.

Sir W. J. Found  
the whole Plot  
upon Otes' es  
Bottom.

Certain Imaginary Commissions, to Popish Lords; Seditions, Scandals, and Discourses. Ibid. All which is upon

Otes' es Bottom, still : And so thy Lord Staffords being at Fenwicks Chamber, and his Bolting-out Treasbous Words in Otes' es Hearing, against the King, fol. 170. The Pages 178. & 179. are spent in Justifying Otes ; wherein Sir William does not only admit Otes' es Change of Religion, but even blesses Providence for't, in these Words.

He blesses God for Otes' es being a Papist, when he himself swears he was noue. *I am sure it is happy for us that he Did Change his Religion. Without That, we had not had the First Knowledge of the Plot, nor of many Particulars, which he could not come to know,*

*but by Occasion of that Change fol. 179.*

This was a Mighty Mistake, for we had the First Knowledge of the Plot, from Tonge : And then for so great a Man, there was as unlucky an Oversight. Sir William Jones, upon the Summing-up of the Evidence, makes Otes to be a Papist ; though He Himself Swore he was None, in the Tryall. Nay and he raises Arguments from his Being the Thing, that he Swore he was Not ; and Emproves His Forswearing Himself, to the Advantage of his Evidence. [ I desire to know (says my Lord Stafford) whether Mr Otes was Really a Papist, or did but Pretend. [ Otes. ] I did only Pretend ; I was not Really One, I Declare it. fol. 123. ]

He makes All Papists to be Traytors. *The Evidence ( says Sr W. in another Place ) is so Strong, that I think it admits of No Doubt ; and the Offences prov'd against My Lord, and*

*the Rest of his Party, are so Foul, that they need no Aggravation. The Offences are against the King, against his Sacred Life, against the Protestant Religion, nay against All Protestants ; for it was for the Extirpation of All Protestants out of These Three Nations. I mean not of Every one that is Now so, but of Every one that would have Continu'd so ; Every one amongst us ( if*

(if These Designs had been Accomplish'd) must either have Turn'd his Religion, or turn'd out of his Country, or have been Burn'd in it. fol. 186.

Here's a Charge of Treason against every Papist in the Three Kingdoms; to a Single Man; Every Protestant Throat to be Cut, or to fly his Country, or to Turn, or to Burn, Taking away the King's Life, and the Extirpating of the Protestant Religion by Violence, were the Points of the Conspiracy: what could be more Incentive toward an Universal Tumult? What more Repugnant to Christian Charity, and to Common Sense, then to Build such Conclusions upon the Testimony of Abandon'd Cheats, and the Visionary Extravagances of Dreamers of Dreams; (for such was Tonge, most Superstitiously, according to the Letter) But to carry it further yet: All These Pretences have been Detected for a Forgery, and a Counter-Plot Prov'd on the Other side, to Answer Every Malicious Point of This. What Atonement is the whole World able to make, for the Affronts that have been put upon Gods Providence, Truth, and Justice; upon the Honour of the King, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Reputation of the Oppress'd, and Injur'd Party. But to return to my Point,

It will deserve one word more now, after Ores'es Passing Muster for a Competent, and a Credible Witness, according to Sr William Jones'es Qualifications, and Measures, to take a little notice on the other side; what it is that he makes to be an Incapacity, for a Warrantable, and a Creditable Discharge of that Duty. 'Tis no great Wonder, where a Profligate Sodomite, and a Common Knight-of-the-Post passes for a Testis Probus: to See a Man of Honour, upon the File, for an Infamous Rascal.

Sir William Jones makes his Exceptions to Mr. Lyddon's Evidence, which he gave Concerning My Lord

*Castlemain. Lord Staffords Tryal*, pag. 113. &c. I refer the Reader to the Tryal it self; and he will find no need of a *Gloss* upon the *Text*, to shew him how that Worthy Honest Gentleman was handled in Court by the *Manager*: But He that would more Particularly Enform himself in the Ground of *Sir Williams Exceptions*, must look for his *Crime*, fol. 177. upon *Summing-up the Evidence*.

Scandalous Exceptions to Mr Lyd-cots Evidence for Common Justice done to the E. of Castlemain.

*A Man*, (says Sir W. Jones) that owns himself the Continual Companion and Secretary, of one so Famous in the Popish Party, as my Lord Castlemaine is: *A Man that Pretends he was never out of his Company*;

*And a Man that owns that two Years*

*since he was Taking of Notes at a Trial for This Plot: Not only for his Curiosity, but for his Lord, who was Concern'd in the Accusation. That This Man should be a Fellow of Kings College, seems Strange, and 'till it be better Prov'd will hardly be Believ'd, Nor will be deserve any Credit.*

The whole Stress lies upon Otes'es Probity. From one End to the other of *This History of the Pretended Popish Conspiracy*, the Weight of the Proof still rests upon Otes'es Probity and

Reputation: and the Whole Frame has nothing more to Support it, then *Flourish and Noise*. The Proof and Character of a *Licentious, and Habitual Dissolution of Manners*, through the Entire Course of Otes'es Conversation, is still Blown-off with one of These Two Banters, *Set a Rogue to Catch a Rogue*; That is to say, He must be a *Party to the Treason*, to *Qualify him for a Testimony*. The other is This: Let him be Detected of a Thousand Falsities, A man is Pop't in the Mouth with this Answer, [*Where's your Record?*] Why [*You might have Indicted him*] If you can Pro-  
duce

*duce a Record, you say Something.]* when yet to my Certain Knowledge, Means have been made by Application, and Petition, for Leave to Prosecute him for Perjury, according to the Ordinary Methods of Common Justice, and there was no Obtaining of it. This, in one Instance for All, was the Case of Mr Cox a Linnen-Draper in Covent Garden, who Frankly and Honestly made the Attempt, and he was only Brown-Beaten, Repuls'd, and Baffled for his Pains. I would fain get over This Topic, but the Nature, the Reason, and the Importance of the Subject in hand forces me to be yet a little more at Large.

It will now come in Course, to see what Quarrel it is that Sr William Jones had to the Testimony of Mr. Lydcot. First, as he was Secretary to the Earle of Castlemain, he was True to his Lord. 2ly. In the Honour and Freedom of a Companion to Him, He was Just to his Noble Friend. 3ly. In taking Notes for my Lords Service, who was himself Concern'd in Ores'es Accusation; He did no more, then what in Generosity, Good Faith, Common Humanity, Tenderness, and Prudence, he was Bound to do: He took Notes, that he might be able upon any occasion in the Future to bear Witness to a Truth; which Truth would have been as much Against my Lord, if he were Guilty, as For him, if he were Innocent: and the Service he Intended my Lord by These Notes, was only the Attesting of a Truth on his Behalf, in Confidence of his Integrity. The Want of an Evidence in This Case, would have been Just as Mortal as the want of a Record in the Other before Spoken of; and mens Lives were Lost both ways, in This Controversy, for want of a Legal Proof of an Indubitable Truth. So that here's a short Result of the Stres of the Exception. First, Block-up the way to an Enformation of

Notes upon the  
Exceptions to M.  
Lydcot.

*Perjury against a Forsworn Varlet, and Then Hang-up an Honest Man, for Want of one. Make it a Misdeemeanor, and a Scandal, High enough to Incapacitate any man for a Witness, that shall Presume to take Notes in a Popish Cause, and then Tryss-up the Pretended Traytor, though never so Innocent, for want of an Evidence to Prove, what was Said or Sworn upon such a Tryall. Why This looks like Lying in Wait for Bloud; when they find they Cannot reach a Man upon a Guilt of Fact, to Ty-him-up by Surprize for either Ignorance, or Neglect, upon a Formality of Proof.*

But in One Syllable now; From a General Contemplation, or Supposition of the Case, to the Real Condition, and Quality of that Case as it was found afterwards before a Court of Justice, in Truth, and in Effect.

The Injustice of the Exceptions laid open in the Honourable Defence, and Acquittal of the E. of Castlemain.

No man was More Preſ'd, or Harder put to't, and no man put himself more Franckly upon his Jufification then my Lord Castlemaine: I remember what Pains was taken upon his Lordships Tryal, to make a Witness of Dangerfield; A Wretch of a Character, to bring an Infamy upon a Common Jayl: And I remember an Oath of Otes' es there, in a Flat Contradiction to what he Swore in my Lord Staffords Tryal. [I have a Charge of High Treason (says Otes) against That Man (one Mr. Hutchifon, an Evidence against him) for Seducing me from my Religion. My Lord, I will Swear he Turn'd me to the Church of Rome; and I desire it may be Recorded. Lord Castlemain's Tryal. fol. 51.] Upon the whole Matter, his Lordship was acquitted with Honour, and to the Confusion of his Enemies; and it is but a Bare Justice, Abstracted from All other Considerations, to say, that

*no Man living, perhaps, has given a more Uncontested Proof of his Faith, and Affections to the Crown, than Himself.* And as to Mr Lydcot ( now Sr John Lydcor, and Worthily advanc'd to a more Honourable Station). It is beyond Question, that he Behav'd himself in This Office, toward both the Government, and my Lord Castlemaine, with a Resolution and Integrity, Answerable to the Character of a *Man of Honour*.

There have been so many Hares Started in my way, and the Change of Subject has Carry'd me into so many Digressions, that I had almost forgot one Passage, which, though formerly Cited, Cannot be well Pass'd over in this Place.

There were Certain *Queries* offer'd to the House of Commons, by the *Sheriffs* of London and *Midl. Dec. 23. 1680.* about the Kings Prerogative, in Dispensing with any part of the Sentence upon *My Lord Stafford*; upon which occasion, Sir W. J. Deliver'd his *Opinion*, and *Advice*, in These Words.

[*It is probable, that the Royal Power hath always Dispensed with such Sentences formerly; and if so, This House Lyeth not under any Obligation, to offer at any Opposition, nor Concern themselves herein: Especially at This Time, when such a Dispute may End in Preventing the Execution of the said Lord Stafford. And Therefore I humbly Conceive, you may do well to give your Consent, that the said writ be Executed according to its Tenure.* Collections. p. 215.]

Sir W. J.'s care to Secure the Execution of my Lord Stafford.

Here's an *Indubitable Prerogative* subjected to a *Question*. The [*Resolution*] given, is, that [*It is Probable &c.*] *Mr Attorneys Advice* is, [*Not to Offer at any Unseasonable Opposition*] for fear *My Lord Stafford's Life* might be *Sav'd by't*. [*Therefore*] says he, ~~For~~ Give your *Consent*.

For

For the Avoiding of Confusion, I have Interjected, (where there was Room Convenient for't,) Some *Remarques*, and *Reflexions*, upon the Attorney Generals *State of the Evidence*, and upon the Progres of his *Animadversions*, in the Further Prosecution of that *Pretended Popish Cause*; as well in the Quality of a *Kings Council*, upon the *Tryals of Green, Berry, and Hill*, as in That afterward of a *Principal Manager of the Evidence* against my Lord *Stafford*. This did not yet Hinder the Saving to my self, the *Liberty of a Word or Two more upon the Whole Matter, at Last.*

There are *Three General Points* that fall Naturally under Consideration in This Place. *First*, Did the *Kings Witnesses* (as the Law Terms them) *Agree* in their *Evidence*, or *Not*? *2ly*. If they did *Not Agree*, *Where* and *How* does That appear? Did they *Swear One Thing*, at *One Time*, and *Another Thing at Another*? Was not their *Evidence in Court*, the *Same* with that before the *King and Council*? The *Kings Justices of the Peace*; the *Two Houses*, and the *Committees*? *3ly*. Was Sir W. J. Sufficiently *Arm'd*, and *Instructed*, with *All Necessary Powers*, and *Papers*, for the *Perfect Understanding* of the *Matter*, both in the *Whole*, and in *Every Part*?

The Witnesses Clash.

To These Three *Questions*, I return These Three *Answers*. *First*, That there are *Disagreements*, and *Inconsistencies*, in the *Evidence*, both *Joyntly* and *Severally*, that are Utterly *Impossible* to be *Reconcil'd*.

*2ly*. I appeal for the Proof of This, to the *Council-Books*; The *Lords Journal*, and the *Printed Tryals*; (even under All their *Partialities*) where their *Depositions*, many times, are no more *One to Another*, than *Chalk* is to *Cheese*. But not to Clogg the *Business* with Unnecessary Recitals, the *Second Volume of Observators* has Instances in abundance of this Kind:

and

and particularly, Num. 61. 62. 72. Upon *Other Veracities*: and Number. 141. 142. 186. &c. upon the Harmony betwixt *Prance*, and *Bedloe*.

3ly. As it stands Clear, from the *Nature* of the *Case*, and according to *Common Reason*, and *Usage*, that *Sir William Jones* must of Necessity have *All Those Enformations* either *Before him*, or at *Command*, out of which he was to Extract a *State of the Evidence*, and without which, it was not *Possible* for him to do it: So does he likewise Acknowledge in his *Report*, the Recet of Those Papers, whereupon he was to Ground his *Opinion*, and to Deliver his *Judgment*.

Sir W. J. had all their Contradictions before him.

Now to Stop the Mouths of a Certain *Republican Caball*, that at That Time made such a Noise about the *Providential Discovery* of This *Plot*; and call'd for *Humiliation in Sack-Cloth and Ashes*, to Appease the Divine *Wrath*, and, if Possible, to Avert This *Mock-Judgment* from us; The Greatest *Providence* that ever appear'd in favour of This *Conspiracy* was, That a Person so *Quick-Sighted* to All Other Purposes, as to find out the *Invisible Religion* of This *Cheat*, should Overlook so many *Gross Frauds*, and *Notorious Contradictions*, that lay in so Great *Numbers*, and in so many Several *Shapes*, under his *Eye*, without taking any Notice of them at all. Now in Truth, the [Judgment] was not the *Reality* of a *Popish Plot*, but the *Belief* of such a *Plot* where there was *None*; Assisted with a *Blind Infatuation*, that Hindred men from seeing a *True Conspiracy* thorough the *Cover* of a *False one*.

But to say no more of the *Miracle* of These Over-fights, there is *One Slip* yet behind, which the Wit of Man shall never be able to *Excuse*; No, nor so much as to *Palliate*, with the least Colour of a *Defence*.

That

That is to say; the Bus'ness of the Five Windsor Letters; with which I intend to Close This Chapter.

Tong and Otes's Narrative look'd upon as a Cheat.

Before I come to Touch This Matter to the Quick, it is Previously to be Noted, and made Known, that Tong's, or Otes's *Narrative of Articles*, was already as good as Hung upon the Hedge, for want of Collateral Evidence. The Story of Pickering, & Grove, made Little or no Impression upon his Majesty; And then the Disappointment of the Ruffians going to Windsor, made the Story yet More Suspicious; 'till, in the Conclusion, Bedingfields *Pacquet of Letters Confirm'd the King*, that there was No Plot at all, and that the Whole was a Forgery; according to the Account already given in [*The Impartial State of the Case of the Earl of Danby.*] The Gradation of the Proceeding lies Thus. First, The Truth of the Narrative was Suspected. 2ly. The Bus'ness of Grove and Pickering, (that were brought in, to Support One Capital Branch of the Narrative) made it yet More Suspected. 3ly. The Slurr that was put upon the Earl of Danby, in the Sham of the Windsor Ruffians, in pursuance of Groves, and Pickerings Design, render'd Matters still Worse and Worse. And, 4ly. The Invention of the Jesuits Letters, that were Trump'd-up, in hopes of Gaining Credit, both General, and Particular, to the Entire Train of the Reformation; put a Final End to the Reputation of All that had been Said, or Done Before.

There is enough said already in it's Proper Place, to the Marks of Practice and Confederacy, In and Upon These Letters [*The way, of their coming to Light.*] (as Sr William Jones well Observes) is somewhat Extraordinary.

traordinary: Tong and Ores could not be Believ'd, and so they Remitted themselves to the more Certain, and Infallible Proofs that would Arise, they said, upon the Intercepting of Some Jesuites Letters at the Post-Office in Windsor, according to their Directions. The Letters, as is formerly said, fell into the Wrong Hand; for though they were Address'd to Bedingfield, it was never Intended that he should have the Opening of them: But as Providence Order'd the Matter, so it Prov'd; and the Pretended Conspirator was, Himself, the Discoverer, Against Himself. This was only Introductive, but the Main Stress lies upon the Design, and Subject-Matter of These Letters; whether they were Believ'd, or Not Believ'd. If they were Not Believ'd; why did not the Credit of the Letters, and of the Plot Vanish Together? if they Were Believed, how came it, that thorough the Whole Series of the Prosecution, they were never made Use of; No, not so much as Nam'd toward Supporting the Belief of This Conspiracy? How came it, I say, that These Letters, that were only Exhibited to keep the Sinking Reputation of the Narrative, above Water, should fall to the Ground Themselves, and the Narrative yet Stand Firm, without a Foundation? As for Example.

According to the Project of the Plot, and the Pretext of the Narrative, the King was to be Murder'd, They were the very Contents of the Plot.  
**FORTY EIGHT** was the Cypher  
 for the King: Grove (under the Name of Honest William) and Pickering, were to be Two of the Assassins. Four Irish Ruffians, over and above. Catholique Religion to be Settled. Ireland and Scotland Engag'd in the Plot: Bedingfield, Ireland, White, Fentick, Fogarty, Blundel, were All in the Black List of the Conspirators. It is Worthy of a Consideration now, to see how These Blundering Buzzards, brought their Five Letters

Letters (for Theirs they were) to Square with These Particular Heads, though so Awkardly put together, that the Fool play'd Booby against the Knave, and gave the Sign out of his hand. The Five Pretended Writers, are Five of the Conspirators, and they Direct to Beding-field, who makes up the Sixth. 'Tis a Wonderfull Thing now, that These Letters were never Charg'd upon Ireland, White, nor Fenwick, at their Tryals: And, in Truth, that the Pris'ners Themselves never Call'd for 'em. Either they were Genuine, and Authentique, and so Believ'd, and Reputed; or they were Not so. If the Former; they were, without All Controversy, the Best Foot the Plot had to Stand upon; but if Spurious, and Counterfeit, and so Deemed, and Taken to be, the Plot and the Letters ought to have run the Same Fate, and no Credit to be given, for the Future, either to the One, or to the Other. For the very Plot it self was Wrapt-up in these Letters, and the Pretence of the Indubitable Authority of the Latter, was made use of to Patch-up the Broken Reputation of the Former. Three of them Undertake for the Good Inclinations of Ireland, to the Plot. Two, for Scotland: Four of them are, over and over for Dispatching, and doing the Bus'ness of 48. Two Recommendations of the Four Irish Ruffians: One for the Encouragement of W. and P. (That is to say, Grove and Pickering) G. W. for Sir George Wakeman, is not forgotten neither; Nor [the Enjoying of Cath. Religion in a way more Publicke then now they do.]

They were fo  
Rank a Cheat,  
they durst never  
bring them in  
Evidence.

In a Word; The Plot, and the Letters had both the Same Vouchers; and I cannot find an Argument in Nature for the Belief of the One, after the Disbelief of the Other. If the Plot-Masters had not been Conscicious

scious, and thoroughly Satisfy'd that the *Five Letters* were a *Downright Cheat*, they would Undoubtedly have Serv'd them up, in *Evidence*; but the *Forgery* was so *Gross*, that the very *Producing* of them, would have broke the Neck of the *Whole Design*; for the *Practice* lay as Open as the *Sun*, and out of the *Power, Reach*, nay and *Possibility* of any *False Oath to Cover it*. The *Party*, I say, would have Insisted upon 'em, if they *Durst*. So that they *Suppress'd* them *Wilfully*, and upon *Prepense Purpose*, and *Deliberation*; and whenever any man living shall furnish but the Least Shadow of any other Reason for the *Suppressing* of them, then an *Inhumane Thirst of Bloud*; or a *Manifest Partiality*, to one of the most *Impious Practices* that ever was under the Cope of Heaven, I will Submit to have [ *Here lies a Fool, and a Knave.* ] Written upon my *Grave-Stone*. [ *These Letters* ( says Sir *William Jones* in his *Report* ) if they can be so Prov'd as to be Believ'd to be the Hands of the Several Persons by whom they are said to be Written, do fully make out the Guilt of the Writers. Sir *W. Jones* in his *Report* upon *These Letters*, with the Rest of the *Evidence* does yet Want a *Second Testimony* to *Back Otes'es*. If he had given *Credit* to these Letters, the *Proof* would have been *Full*. If he had but *Doubted* the *Forgery*, he would have made some *Essay* upon *Proving the Hand*: But out of all Dispute it is, that he *Desponded* of them at *First Sight*, and so they were let fall, never to *Rise again*.

In One Syllable more now, to Expound my self upon This *Matter*, I speak only of those that *Officially* had the whole Affair under that *Care*, and *Consideration*: without Expecting that Other men should *Divine* upon Things that they were *Strangers to, and that lay out of their Province*.

Here

Here is as much said as is Needfull, upon the Subject Matter of These Two Chapters. That is to say; concerning Sir William Jones's Opinion, both of the Plot, and the Plot-makers, from the Stating of the Evidence in October 1678, to the Death of my Lord Stafford in December, 1680. And there is as much done as is Needfull too, Since That Time, to the Proving of the Whole History of That pretended Popish Conspiracy, that Cost so many Innocent Lives, and wrought so much Mischief, both to King, and People; to have been only a Scandalous Imposture, Bolster'd-up with Perjury, and Subornation: But How That Sham came to be Started, What it Was, and Who was the Founder of it, is to be the Subject of the Next Chapter.

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C H A P.

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## C H A P. III.

*The Pretended Popish Conspiracy, was  
a New Plot made of an Old One ;  
and Dr. Tong (not Otes) was the  
Founder and Contriver of it.*

**I**T Fell-out that some short Time after the Broaching of the *Pretended Popish Plot*, One *Boulter*, a Bookseller, brought me *Tong's Royal Martyr*, for a License. I could not Pass it, and the Bookseller went Mumbling away with a kind of Menace betwixt his Teeth, for the Refusal. Upon This, I went and told Tong at Whitehall, that I could not give it an *Imprimatur*, and so Pointed him out, (over and above Certain *Scandalous Reflexions*, and *Historical Mistakes*) to some Unlucky Hints in the Preface; that, People, I said, would be apt to take Offence at:

You tell the World, said I, that you have with Great Care Drawn-up the History of the Old Popish Plot, (meaning the Bus'ness of *Andreas ab Habernfeld*) and that shewing it to Dr. Otes, who very much Approv'd of the Draught, You did as Good as tell him, [ Titus, it were worth the while to know if This Plot does not go on still : Wherefore do you go, and put your self among the Jesuites, and see whether it does or No.] You say further, that Dr Otes

How the Pretended Popish Plot, came to be Started.

Tong was the Projector of it, and put Otes upon it.

Did go among them, pretending to be One of them, and that when he came back, he told you that the Bus'ness went-on, and that it was no New Plot, but the Old One Continued. [ Well, ( says Dr. Tong) All This is True, and where's the Offence? ] So I up and told him, that it might be look'd upon as a Strange Councell, either to Give, or to Take. The Advice Given, said I, is This; [ Titus, do you go over, and pretend to be a Papist, Take All their Oaths and Tests, Joyn with them in an Idolatrous Worship; (for so Tong Reputed it), and Swear your self to the Devil through Thick and Thin, only to see whether it be Cross or Pile. This seems to Me, to be the Advice Given, and the Following of This Advice upon Fore-thought, and Consideration, may be taken for as Extraordinary a Resolution. The Doctors Answer was to This Purpose: God Almighty will do his Work by his Own Way, and Method.

This Account was Printed in 1681. in [The Summer Shrewsbury. p. 8.] together with several Letters, and Papers of Young Tong's, Confirming every Particular; and though they were Publish'd in the very Heat of the Republican Conspiracy, and my Name at Length to the Edition, there was not One Syllable Objected to the Truth of it. There was as little said too, in Exception to an Advertisement of May. 15. 1682. Obs. 138. Vol. I. Wherein was Notify'd, that Simpson Tong Endeavour'd to Destroy the Credit of Otis, and of his Evidence; and that if any Man would Prosecue him, I my self would find Materials to Proceed upon.

There are Five, or Six Passages in the Matter above, that upon the Tacking of them together, will Naturally lead us into the Train of the Story that I am now upon.

First, It was an Odd kind of Bus'ness, Tong's Stumbling upon the Old Popish Plot of Habernfeld; which was only the finding out of a Modell to make Another Plot by.

2ly, What did he shew the Draught of it to Otes for, but to set him his Lesson?

3ly, There's Otes's Approbation of it. As who should say; I'm of your Mind whatever it is.

4ly, Tong's sending Otes away among the Jesuits, to see if the Old Plot (of almost Forty Year standing) went on still or Not. Now This was not so much to Tell him what he was to Look for, as what he was to find.

5ly, Consider Otes's Adventure upon That Errand. The Blockhead went first for Spain, and after a while came back again, not One jot the Wiser. Tong finding that he was not Thoroughly possest of the Hint, was forc'd to be a little Plainer with him; and not only Advis'd him to go Over-Sea again; but gave him the very Reason, and his Business. i. e. [If he could but get the Names of the Jesuits; Learn their Ways; and make Acquaintance among them, the People might be Easily stirr'd up to Fear Popery, and it would be the Making of him for ever.] Now This Making of him, Tong call'd putting him in a way. This shall be Expounded by and by.

6ly. 'Tis Remarkable how Otes Edify'd upon the Second Handling, by the Discovery he made to Tong at his Next Return. i. e. [That the Prefent Plot was No New Plot, but the Old One Continu'd.] So that by This Reck'ning, Habernfelds Plot Sunk in 1640. and Came up again, in 1677. and 1678; after it had run under-ground the Better Part of Two King's Reigns.

These Circumstances are the very Links of the Chain. Tong's Head is set upon a Plot : He pitches upon Habernfeld's for an Example ; shews Otes it for a Fas Simile ; Otes Cons his Lesson ; Runs Over-Sea among the Jesuites ; Finds the Old Plot at Work Still ; Brings back Word on't : And Then, Out comes the Counterpart, in a Narrative to make All Good. It is here further to be Noted, that Tong was the Dominus Fac-Torum all this while ; and Otes but the Tool that he wrought withall. In Plain English, there was an Imposture Projected from the Beginning, and it pass'd through the whole Train, and Conduct of the History, from One End to the Other. Tong Manag'd it ; Otes Smo're to't ; and the Lines of the Design were drawn from Habernfeld's Modell. It rests upon Me now, to Prove what I have said ; That is to say, that Tong was all the way a-gog upon a Plot ; The Master Operator in the Late Pretended Popish Plot ; That Habernfeld's was the Original, from whence he took his Copy ; and that Otes's Office in't, was only That of Lurg's in the Alchymist, to Blow the Bellows.

I find under Tong's Own Hand, in the Copy of an Enformation Given by Him to the House of Commons, as follows.

I have in my Wandring, fall'n into How the Maggot some Acquaintance with Dr Beal of of it came into Yeovel in Somersetshire ; a Man Tong's Head, known to many of This House. He Strongly Alarm'd me, and from his Experience of the Troubles the Jesuits and Other Papal Emillaries gave the Wise Senators of Venice, whilst he Resided there with Sr H. W. in the Interdict of That State : He Concluded, that though Both Honourable Houses, and his Majesty should Unanimously Concurr, and put out all your Force,

Tong

You cannot prevent their Plot, &c. At my Parting from Him, and by his Advice, (as All a man of my Rank could do) I resolved to Oppose, Yearly and Quarterly, if possible, some Small Treatises in Print, to Alarum, and Awaken his Majesty, and These Houses, &c.

He tells afterward, in the Same His Stickling to Paper, of an Enformation he had Advance it from *De la Marche*, a French Minister; for whom he drew a Petition; and [how upon a Conference with him about what Bloud had discover'd to him, he came to Apprehend the Fire of London to be Papal; French, and Lovestein Plots, United or Confounded: In This London-Fire-Plot, (says he) Major General Lambert, (as he hath usually been call'd) was Design'd to Draw Forces together; in appearance Fanatique, but in the Bottom, Papal, to Divert, and Distract us, whilst the French should have Seiz'd, or Destroy'd our Naval, and Other Military Provisions in the Tower, River, and Carcasses of the City, when her Citizens are Massacred, and Scar'd into the Country to their Relations. Now the Story of This same *De la Marche*, and *Lambert* was altogether News to Gates, and yet Trusty Titus, to Second his Principal; Tells the King in his Epistle to his Narrative, that *Lambert* was a Papist of above Thirty Years Standing.

He has it in Another of his Papers, that One Edward Price of Kempton in Herefordshire, a Sadler, had for some Months, or Years, made Holsters and Saddles for the Popish Gentry of those Parts, and for some Persons such a Proportion, as gave him suspicion that they were about to Raise some Troops of Horse, for some Disloyal, and Wicked Design. And so he goes-on Inferring the Likelyhood of a Plot because the Protestant Gentry did not buy Saddles, and Holsters too, as well as the Popish Gentry.

The Paper above bears the Title of [Dr Tong's Short Narrative and Apology for his Book call'd the Massacre,] which Pamphlet of his, is Dedicated To the Honourable the Committee of the House of Commons appointed for the Examination of the Popish Conspiracies. And it is Entitled [Dr. Tong's Relation of the General Massacre Intended and Plotted by the Papists, and brought into Parliament by his Direction, and Assistance. fol. 1.] He calls This Paper, in his Epistle, [A Plain Relation of the First Discovery of the Popish Plotted-Conspiracy for Subverting the Government and Religion, and Massacrizing the People of England, and Other his Majesties Dominions; and the Assassinating of his Royal Person, &c.] Now the short of the Bus'ness was This. One Mr Boyer of Herefordshire, Arrests Green, a Weaver of the same County, and Green Swears a Plot against him. Tong meets Green, with a Complaint in his Mouth, in the Court of Requests. Advises him to Present it to the Committee for Suppressing of Popery; Takes his Enformation; Draws him up a Petition, with Articles; and puts it into the Hand of a Zealous Member of the House to Promote it. This was it which Tong calls Laying the Foundation of the Discovery of This Plot, and the bringing of it into Parliament, with One Witness Present to Attest it. fol. 7.

The Enformation was so Trivial, that Green Himself Complains, [he was never yet Examin'd upon Oath, though he attended the Secret Committee Several Times. fol. 8.] And so Tong got Green to Swear his Depositions afterward, May. 12. 1679. before a Master of Chancery; to remain in Testimony for a Perpetual Memorial. Now This was no other then a Tacit Charge, of either Negligence, or Disaffection upon the Committee: In whose Vindication I shall adventure to say; that if the Weaver had not been

Curs'd

*Curs'd in his Mother's Belly, he could never have liv'd, at That Time of the Day, of getting himself Adopted into the Order of the Kings Witneffes, when, perchance, he was the Only Candidate for That Honour, that ever receiv'd a Repulse; ] Even Eustace Commins Himself not Excepted.*

The Doctor sets forth in Another Paper of his, call'd [ Dr Tong's Case and Request ] the Same Thing over again, and withall, [ that he had been at Extraordinary, and to Him Great Charges, in Searching-out Evidences of This Plot before it's Full Discovery; but more Especially, before Mr Ottes's Discovery, in Attending, Solliciting, Promoting, and Expediting it, &c. ]

I am gotten here into so Copious, and Tiresome a Subject, that a man must e'en Write in his Sleep to go thorough with it: But there needs no more to lay open the Doctor's Weak side, than to Consider the Fire he took upon This Freak. Who but He, to set-up for a Discoverer, both Out of Parliament, and In Parliament? Dr Beale sets Tong a Scribbling: Tong puts it about, and sets De la Marche, Green and Others, a Petitioning; and who but He again, in fine, to Pen their Narratives, Enformations, and Articles; and to do the Office of Sollicitor General to the Whole Party! Who, I say, but Dr Tong, still, to make-out the Popish Conspiracy! The Fires of London, Wapping, South-wark, &c. The Murder of Godfrey, and All sorts of Popish Assassinations, Massacres and Invasions; Past, Present, and to Come! Nothing, in short, came Affairs to him.

Order'd that Dr. Tong and Mr. Ottes be Summon'd to Attend the Bar of This House, at Four a Clock in the Afternoon, to give an Account touching

Tong's Credit  
with the House  
of Commons.

the Plot; and the Conspiracy, &c. Commons Journal, Oct. 25. 1678.

Order'd that Dr. Tong do Attend again to morrow Morning, to give an Account concerning the Fire of the City of London. Ib.

Here's a Manifestation, sufficient of the Hand, Interest, and Design, that Dr Tong had in the Plot: and the Encouragement he met withall, on the One side, was, in All Respects, Answerable to the Zeal he Express'd for the Promoting of it, on the Other; As will be further seen hereafter.

But yet the Wisdom of the Nation was, Certainly, never more over-shot, than in laying any sort of Stress upon the Credit of His Report. For, over and above the

Absurdity of his Reasons, the Impotence of his Passions, and the Scandal of his Authorities, that lye Open for All the World to Judge of; he Cuts his Own Throat with his Own Hand, in a Petition to That very House of Commons that seem'd to Believe him; by laying Reasons Unanswerable before them, why they Ought not to Believe him, wherein he Declares, and Affirms, [ that he had no Knowledge of any Person Charg'd, or Suspected to be in the Confederacy; Hardly of any One Popish Gentleman in England. ] So that here's a Popish Plot Undertaken to be Prov'd against so many Persons by Name; And That Proof Accepted for Current; when the very Accuser himself, Confesses, and Declares, that he knows not so much as any One Conspirator. But an Infallible Vote Solves Impossibilities, and Reconciles Contradictions. A Plot is Welsolv'd upon: A Plot there is, and a Plot there Must be, though they fetch it out of the Grave

*Grave again, after so many Years Dead and  
Bur'y'd.*

This is a Story so *Silly, Flat, and Nauseous*, that I should hold my self Oblig'd to beg a Publique Pardon for *Exposing* it, if it were not for *These Two Uses of Application*. First, to shew the *Senseless Ground, and Foundation of All our Late Troubles, and Distresses*: And, Secondly, That there is *No Tale, or Fable so Monstrous, or Incredibile, that Prejudice, and Credulity shall not make to Pass for Gospel.* This Plot, in fine, such as it is, was *Tongs Plot*; The Project of it, Copy'd-out from That of *Habernfeld*; and no more upon the Whole, then *One Forgery Grafted upon Another*. But This will be Best Clear'd, by Confronting the Two Narratives, The Parallel will be somewhat Large; but my hand is now In: 'tis a Matter of Moment that Depends upon't, and so the Case will the Better Bear it.

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CHAP.

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## C H A P. IV

The Pretended Popish Plot of 1678.  
was only a Copy drawn from Habern-  
feld's Original, of 1643.

Habernfeld's dis-  
covery Published  
by Prynne. 1643.

**T**HE History of Habernfeld's Discovery, was first Published in Forty Three, by Prynne in his *Romes Master-Piece*; having been seiz'd by him, (as he sets it forth in his Preface) in the Arch-Bishop's Chamber in the Tower, by Warrant from the Close Committee. May. 31. 1643. His Introduction is a kind of Synopsis of the Whole Relation; which Prynne Pronounces for so Indubitable a Truth, that [Whoever deems it an Imposture, may well be Repaired an Infidel, (he says,) if not a Monster of Incredulity.] To which I may Interpose, that I have Known many of Mr Prynne's Infidels, and Monsters, that have been very Good Christians, and very Honest Men.

Upon the Coming-forth of Otes'es Popish-Plot-Narrative, in 1678. The Old Story of Habernfeld was Reprinted, under This Title. [The Grand Designs of the Papists in the Reign of our Late Sovereign Charles the 1st; And now Carry'd on against his Present Majesty, his Government, and the Protestant Religion.] The Prefacer seems to be Absolutely of Tong's and Otes'es Opinion, upon the Matter in Question about the Two Blots, only with This Difference, That the One Illustrates

strates the Old Plot by the New one : and the Other Illustrates the New Plot by the Old one : and so there's an Inference, Interchangeably drawn, from the Reversal of the Counterfeit to the Authority of the Story. But over and above These Considerations, it seems to Me not unlikely, that Tonge had some hand in the Publication : For it came out just after my Refusal to License his Royal Martyr, where the Stress was laid upon That Point ; And the Conspiracy being, at That Time, Hot from the Forge ; Tonge could not do better, than by Matching the President, to make One Sham Touch for Another.

*It is not the Design of These Papers* (says the Publisher) *to give an Account of the Discovery of the Late Plot,* Resemblance of the Two Plots, *but only to Present the Reader with the Narrative of Another against his Majesties Royal Father of Blessed Memory ; So Exactly resembling This, which now lies under Examination, that it can hardly be call'd Another ; Being nothing else, but the Same thing Acted over again, only with the Necessary Alteration of Circumstances of Time, Places, and Persons.* Preface.

After this Preface, follows a Paper, Entitl'd: [Sir William Boswell's First Letter to the Arch-Bishop concerning the Plot. Dated Hague. Sep. 9. 1640.] which he dispatch'd away to the Arch-Bishop, with one from Habernfeld Enclosed, under the Title of [Andreas ab Habernfeld's Letter to the Arch-Bishop, concerning the Plot Revealed to him.]

Papers and Letters about Habernfeld's Plot.

This is Accompany'd, with Another Paper, Entitl'd [The General Overture, and Discovery of the Plot.] And there is likewise a Third Paper of Habernfelds, which he calls, [The Large, and Particular Discovery of the Plot, and Treason against the King, Kingdom, and Protestant Religion ; and to raise the Scottish Wars.]

The

The Story is Heavy, and there's too Much on't, to be Inserted at Length; but my Bus'ness being only to set forth the Resemblance betwixt the Two Plots, and to run the Parallel; the Heads of the Relation, in Abstract, will abundantly Answer My End: And when I shall have gotten over This part of the Proceeding, a Man may properly enough Enquire into the Merits of the Whole Matter, and see what Opinion the King Himself, the Arch-Bishop, and Sr William Boswell, had of This Discovery.

To take the Particulars as they Rise, and to Apply the Parallel to Those Points, in the Same Order as I find them in the Original, I shall begin with the Preface, and run thorough both the Abstract of Hibernfeld, and Tong's Counter-Part, in as Few Words as Possible.

### The Parallel of the Two Plots.

The Discoverer ( he says ) was a Plot. Chief Actor in This Plot, sent hither from Rome, by Cardinal Barbarini, to Assist Con the Popes Legat, in the Pursuit of it; and Privy to All the Particulars therein Discovered. ] Preface.

And was not Our Prime Discoverer, Oates, a Chief Actor too? Sent hither from St Omers, to Assist the Plot; and about the Jesuits Affairs? Lord Staffords Tryal, fol. 28. Intrusted with Commissions? Jesuits Tryal, fol. 13. Tempted to Kill the King? Narrative, Ar. 60. Dispatched with Proposals to the Carmelites about it? fol. 61. Order'd to Manage the Fire at the Hermitage? 74. To carry the White-Horse Consuls from Company to Company? fol. 18. And was not Our Discoverer,

verer, *Pishy to Wakemans Poyson, Conyers's Dagger, Pickering's Screw'd-Gun, and the Silver Bullets : The History of the Black-Bills, the Pilgrims, Ruffians, and the Levies of Men and Money ? &c.* Was not Otes Privy to a matter of Eighteen Commissions, Military, and Civil : under the Hand of Joannes Paulus De Oliva, by Virtue of a Brief from the Pope ? (as he Swore before the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs) One of them to John Lambert to be Adjutant-General to the Army ; and Nine or Ten of them Deliver'd with his Own Hand ? Was he not Privy, in fine, to the Price of the Whole Villany, to a Single Six-Pence ? So that as to the matter of Popishy ; the Privity of Habernfeld, and his Principal, is quite Out-done, by the Privity of Tong, and Otes ; who, according to their Narrative, and Pretensions were Undoubtedly Privy, to Fifty times more then ever any Two men upon the face of the Earth were Privy to, before them.

The Discoverer ( says the Preface : again ) was Troubled in Conscience, and Therefore Disclosed the Conspiracy ; Renounc'd That Bloody Church, and Religion ; though Promised Greater Advancements for his Diligence in This Design. Ib.

And what was it but Horror of Conscience too, (if we may believe Oaths, either Judicial, or Extrajudicial ) that made our Converted Discoverers, whether Papists Bred-up, or Proselyted, to Disclose This Popish Treason, and to Renounce That Bloody Religion, in Defiance of All Offers of Rewards, and Advancement ? Was not Dugdale to have 500l. Lord Staffords Tryal. p. 43. And to be Sainted ? Ib. 44. Was not Bedloe to have 4000l. in the Case of Godfrey ? Greens Tryal. p. 30. And might not Otes, and all his Fellows, have come in for Their Snips to, if their Consciences would have forb'd ? But

But This Plot was Discover'd under  
an Oath of Secrecy (says the Pre-  
face) and the Discoverer Offer'd his  
Own Oath too; in Confirmation of the Particulars. Ib.

What was Beddoes Sacrament of the  
Parallel? Altar Twice a Week, to Conceal the  
Plot; (Greens Tryal. fol. 33.) but an  
Oath of Secrecy? Dugdale took at least Ten Sacra-  
ments of Secrecy. Sr George Wakemans Tryal. p. 10. Otes,  
an Oath of Secrecy, at Weld-House-Chappel. Irelands  
Tryal. p. 28. And then there was Another Oath of  
Secrecy taken at Fox-Hall too. And so for the  
Rest; Our Discoverers did not only Offer, but  
Deliver their Own Oaths, in Confirmation of Every  
Article.

Habernfeld Discovers, Persons, Places,  
Plot, and Times of Meeting too. Ib.

And does not Otes Discover the  
Parallel. : Lords in the Tower; and such Others  
of the Nobility and Gentry, as are in  
the Conspiracy. See his Narrative from fol. 61. to  
the End. Their Priests, Jesuits, and Papists, of All  
Sorts? The Times, and Places of their Meetings,  
Even to the Year Week, Day, Nay, and sometimes  
to the very Hour? One while at the Savoy, Another  
while at the White-Horse, Russel-Street, Weld-Street,  
and the like!

Well! But Habernfeld's Principal  
Plot. Cohespiators are [known to be Fit  
Instruments for such a Design. Ib.]

And are not Otes'es, as Fit Instru-  
ments as Habernfelds? The Principals  
are, most of them, Men of Quality,  
Brains, Interest, and Estate: and Consequently, bet-  
ter Qualify'd then other People for the Execution of  
any Mischief they have a Mind to. Beside, that as 'tis

a Popish Plot, they are; not only to be All, Roman Catholiques; but All made Principals too; without leaving so much as One Soul of them to Witness for another. Now as there's no Means of Clearing them, on the One hand, saving by Palpable Blunders, and Contradictions, on the Part of the Accusers; So if any of 'em will Swear to the Hanging-up of his Fellows, on the Other Hand, he is presently made Sacred, under the Character of a King's Evidence; and [Touch not his Majesties Ministers,] carries more Authority along with it, then [Touch not the Lords Anointed.]

The Preface says further; that [Sir W. Bofwell, and the Arch-Bishop, if the King Himself, were fully Satisfy'd, that the Plot was Real]. Ib. ] Men may be Satisfy'd in the Reality of a Thing, and yet Mistaken about it; As we have found many Men in Both Plots that have Seem'd to be Satisfy'd, and yet afterward abundantly Convinc'd that they were Abus'd. So that the Belief of a Thing does not Necessarily Inferr the Truth of it; but it must be the Work of Time, and Scrutiny, to Perfect the Discovery. Neither do I find, Effectually, that there was so much Credit given to Habernfelds Plot, as is here Suggested. A [Nemine Contradicente,] is No Article of my Faith; Though it says, that [There Is, and Hath been, a Damnable and Heinous Plot, Contriv'd, and Carry'd on, by Popish Recusants, for Assassinating, and Murdering the King, for Subverting the Government, and Roaring-one, and Destroying the Protestant Religion. Commons Journal. Oct. 31. 1678.] Though I must confess they had One Powerfull way of Convincing Men, by the Argument of Swearing them out of their Reputation, Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes, if they would Not Believe it.

The  
self.

The Parallel holds thus far Exactly, and we'll see now, how it Suites with the Minutes of Habernfelds Letter to the Arch-Bishop, which I have made as short as I can, for the Readers Ease, and for my Own.

### To you The Minutes of Habernfelds Letter.

Plot.

Beside Expectation, This Good Man (says Habernfeld ( speaking of the First Discoverer ) became Known unto me. p. i.

Parallel.

By the same Providence it was, that Otes, Bedloe, Prance, and Twenty more of our Plot-Merchant-Adventurers came Acquainted. Bedloe Swore to the Lords that [ he did not know Otes, ] 'till it came out, by Providence, that [ he knew him as Ambrose, but not as Otes? ] And so, Otes, to requite his Kindness, [ knew Williams, though he did not know Bedloe. ] 'Twas such another Wonderfull Providence, Bedloe knowing Prance over a Pot of Ale, at Heaven, after he had Enquired, and been Told, which was Prance, in the Commons-Lobby. [ Damme (says Bedloe) That's one of the Rogues that Murder'd Sr Edmundbury Godfrey. ]

Plot.

As to the [ Scottish Stirs, ] he speaks of. p. i.

Parallel.

Otes's Missionaries Answer Habernfelds Scotch Lords; of whom hereafter. [ The Factions of the Jesuits thorough England and Scotland, p. 2. ] and the Discoverers Descant; we have in Dr. Beale's Readings to Tong upon them.

Plot and Parallel.

Otes's Narrative hits the [ Adjacent Writing there spoken of. Ib.]

Plot and Parallel.

[ Habernfeld got Free Liberty to Treat. Ib. ] And so did Tong.

There

There must be [ No Delay, ] says Plot.  
*Habernfeld. Ib.*

*Make Otes's Enformation a Record, Parallel.*  
Immediately, says Tong ; And so away goes the One, to Sr William Boswell, *Ib.*  
& the Other to Sr Edmund-bury Godfrey.

*And now forward. As Some Principal Heads ( in Habernfeld's Relation ) were purposely Pretermitted. p. 3.*

So Bedloe shorten'd his Evidence against Whitebread, and Fenwick, in the Jesuits Tryal, and Swore further, after he had Sworn All, Before : And so did Otes and the rest, [ Purposely Pretermit ] many things, and keep themselves upon the Reserve.

*Habernfeld Propounds the Intercepting Plot of a Pacquet at Bruxelles.*

*Our Jesuits Five Letters to be Intercepted at the Post-House at Windsor.*  
p. 3. are the very same Project.

*Habernfeld's Letters are [ Characteristically Written. Ib. ]*

And so are the Letters in Tong's Plot-Hand.

*Reade is to Uncypher them. p. 4.*

*As Otes Uncyphers Forty Eight, Sixty Six, Ciocolatti, Mum, and Mustard-Balls ; as Reade is to do the same Office for Habernfeld, ( P. 4. ) Or if it falls out, that Reade, upon the Question, will rather Hang then Discover more than he Knows ; 'tis but Allowing him Thirty Thousand Masses for the Health of his Soul, and All's well again.*

The Searching of Reades House for a Congregation, *Ibid.*, was so much Out-done by Our Discoverers, that for Habernfeld's One Reade, and One Congregation, they have shew'd us forty.

- Plot. Habernfeld takes Great Care, for fear of trusting Popish Parſuants. Ib.
- Parallel. For which Reason, the Searching of our Houses, for Priests, and Popish Trin-kets, was Committed to Otes, Bedloe, Dangerfield, &c. instead of Constables, and Ordinary Messengers.
- Plot. Habernfield Advises the Abolishing of All Bitternes of mind, that the Intefine Enemy may be Invaded on Both Parts. p.4.
- Parallel. Which Tong's Friends in the Westmin-ster Parliament, Translated into the Uni-ring of Protestants against the Common Enemy.

We shall come now to [the General Overture and Discovery of the Plot:] Bearing date, Hague, Sept. 6. 1640. sent with Sir W. Boswells First Letter. p. 6. and see how the Counterpart Answers it, Head by Head, as it lies.

### The General Overture, and Discovery of the Plot, &c.

- Plot. 1. That the Kings Majesty, and the Lord Arch-Bishop are Both of them in Great Danger of their Lives, p. 6.
- Parallel. So says, Otes' es Consult.
- Plot. 2ly, That the Whole Common-Wealth is by This Means Endanger'd, unless the Mischief be Speedily Prevented. Ibid.
- Parallel. A most Natural Consequence: and so says the Consult, too.
- Plot. 3ly, That These Scottish Troubles are Raised to the End, that under This Pre-text, the King and Arch-Bishop might be Destroyed. Ibid.

Father

Parallel.

Father Alford, and Father Saunders  
sent into Scotland to This very End.

Ores's Narrative. Ar. 43.

4ty, That there is a Means to be Pre-  
sorib'd, to hereby Both of them in This Case,  
may be Preserved; and This Tumult Spe-  
cify Compos'd. Ibid.

Plot.

This was the very Proposal on the  
Other side too; and the Means found  
out to Save All, were Swearing, Fayling,  
Drawing, Hanging, and Quarreling.

Parallel.

sly, That although these Scottish Tu-  
mults be Speedily Compos'd, Yet that the  
King is Endangered, & that there are many ways, by which  
Destruction is Plotted to the King, and Lord Arch-  
Bishop. Ibid.

Plot.

And All is not Safe neither, though  
England were Quitered; for there are  
many other ways Plotted to Destroy the King: As  
Pickering's Gun, Conyers's Dagger, Wakemans Poyson,  
Invasions, Insurrections, Assassinations, &c.

Parallel.

sly, That a Certain Society harb Con-  
spired, which Attempts the Death of the  
King, and Lord Arch-Bishop, and Convulsion of the  
Whole Realm. Ibid.

Plot.

This same Certain Society may be  
heard of at St Omers, Wild-House, The  
White-Horse-Tavern, and the like.

Parallel.

7ly, That the same Society Every Week  
Deposites with the President of the Socie-  
ty, what Intelligence Every of them hath purchased in  
Eight Days search; and then Confer all into One Pac-  
quet, which is Weekly sent to the Director of the Bus-  
ness; p. 7.

Plot.

Pacquets for the Provincial, and Let-  
ters of Intelligence are a Great Part of  
the Narrative Intrigue.

Parallel.

E 2 8ly,

*Plot.* S<sub>o</sub>ly, That All the Confederates in the said Conspiracy, may verily be Named by the Poll: But because they may be made known by Other Means; it is thought Meet to Deferr it till hereafter. *Ib.*

Ores could have Poll'd All the Conspirators, Man by Man, if he had thought fit; but some New Men and Things must be left for Bedloe, to Discover, some for Prance, some for Dugdale; with an Allowance to Ores, for a Roll of Conspirators, [Whose Names do Not Occur at Present,] as well as for those whose Names Do Occurr at Present. *Narrative* fol. 61.

*Plot.* S<sub>o</sub>ly, That there is a Ready Means whereby the Villany may be Discover'd, in One Moment; The Chief Conspirators Circumvented, and the Primary Members of the Conjurati<sup>n</sup>on, apprehended in the very Act. *Ibid.*

Ores has his Ready Means, too, for the Ordering of the whole Work in an Instant; Grove and Pickering, we know, were to be Taken in St. James's-Park; and the Ruffians had been Degg'd to Windsor (as Tong Assur'd the Earl of Danby) if One of the Horses had not got a Slip in the Shoulder. Or at worst; 'twas but Picking-up Priests, Papists, and All Suspected Persons; Plundering their Baggs, and their Houses; Rifting their Papers; Cooping-up the Popish Lords in the Tower; and then Swearing them All into the Treason.

*Plot.* S<sub>o</sub>ly, [That very many about the King, who are Accounted most Faithfull, and Intimate, to whom likewise the most Secret Things are Entrusted, Are Traytors to the King, Corrupted with a Foreign Pension, who Communicate All Secrets of Greater or Lesser Moment, to a Forreign Power.]

*Ibid.*

To meet 3<sup>rd</sup> D<sub>ec</sub> 1691  
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This

This was Otes's Method too; to make Traitors of Thoſe that the King Accounted his Best Friends; and Conſequently, to make Loyal Subjects of Traitors: And then the Old Westminster Parliament Supply'd the Pensioners.

11ly, These, and other moſt Secret Things, which ſhall be Necessaſy to be Known, for the Security of the King, may be Revealed, if These Things ſhall be Acceptable to the Lord Arch-Biſhop. p. 7.

This Article is an Explētive; and Signifies juſt nothing; for how many of theſe ſecrets did the King's Wiſeſſes Promiſe to Reveal, that never came to Light: and, in Truth, never had any Beeing in the Nature of Things! But the very Noiſe, and Amuſement was enough to do the Work.

12ly. In the Mean Time; if his Royal Maſteſty and the Lord Arch-Biſhop, deſire to Coiſult well to Theirolfes, they ſhall Keep Theſe Things only Superficiall Communicated unto them, moſt Secretly under Deep Silence, Not Communicating them ſo much as to thoſe whom they Judge moſt Faithfull to them, before they ſhall receive by Name, in whom they may Conſide; for elle they are ſafe on No ſide. p. 8.

I Juſt at This rate were the Superficial Communications, and the Injunctions of Silence, in the Case of Tong, and Otes; and what was the Condition at laſt too, but that the King ſhould Trust No Other, then ſuch as the Discoverers or (which is all one) the Conſpirators ſhould Name: As Otes Excepeted to ſuch and ſuch Persons by Name, out of the Committee that was to Examine him.

13ly. Likewise they may be Assured, that whatſoever Things are here Propoſed, are No Eigments, nor Fables, nor Vain Dreams;

but such Real Verities, which may be Demonstrated in every small Title : For Those who thrust themselves into This Bus'nes, are such men, who mind no [ Gain ; ] but the very Zeal of Christian Charity suffers them not to Conceal These Things : Yet, both from his Majesty, and the Lord Arch-Bishop, some Small Exemplar of Gratitude will be Expected. p. 8,

These are the very Reasonings, and Parallel.

*Fretences of Ezret Tong, put into the Mouth of Titus Ores : No Figments, So help me God ; No Thought of Gain ; but Pure Zeal, and Christian Charity, to work upon the Discoverers. But yet some Small Exemplar of Gratitude will be Expected ; as a matter of Ten, or Twelve Pound a Week-Pension for Ores ; and the Value, perhaps, of Four or Five times as much more, in Presents, and Veils : A Deanery, or some such Trifle, for Tong. What is All This, but a Flat Contradiction, thrown in the very Face of the Pretext ?*

It is as Clear as Day, that Tong and Habernfeld, in All Things Material, Walk Hand in Hand through the Whole Story : But to avoid Idle Repetitions as much as may be, I shall in the Next Place make a Short Abstract of Habernfeld's *Left*, and Long Paper of *Intelligence* ; and so Finish my Parallel. It bears This Following Title ; And from thence I shall Proceed to the Heads of it.

[The Large, and Particular Discovery of the Plot against the King, Kingdom, and Protestant Religion, and to raise the Scottish Wars. p. 13.]

Plot.

The [ A ] King is in Danger of his Life and Crown, [ B ] England and Scotland to be Subverted. The Discoverer of This was Born and Bred in the [ C ] Popish Religion ; being [ D ]

[D] Fit for the Design. p. 13. He was [E] sent over by Cardinal Barbarini [F] Troubled in Conscience, and [G] came over to the Orthodox Religion. [H] Reveale'd the Treason to a Friend, [I] Put the Particulars in Writing, out of which were drawn [K] Articles. p. 14. He falls upon the [L] Jesuitical Offspring of Cham. p. 15. The [M] Society are the Conspirators. The [N] Popes Legat is their Chief Patron. They hold their [O] Weekly Intelligences. p. 16. Caneus, the Instrument of the [P] Gardiner's Society. He Presents the King with Roman Curiosities: Promises, but Means it not, to Espouse the Cause of the Palatinate. p. 17. Offers the Bishop a Cardinals Cap; makes use of Court-Instruments and Medicines. p. 18. But finding All in Vain; [Q] Ambuscade were to be Prepar'd, wherewith the Lord Arch-Bishop, together with the King, should be Taken. p. 19. They pass [R] Sentence against the King, and lay hold of the Indignities put upon Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, and the Scotch Service-Book; to stir up the Prairies to a Revenge. Some Scottish Popish Lords, are sent to Enflame [S] Scotland; by which, the [T] Hurtfull Disturber of the Scottish Liberty might be stain. [U] An Indian Nut provided by the Society, and shew'd to the Discoverer, in a [W] Boasting Manner; To Poyson the [X] King, after the Example of his Father. p. 21. Hamilton's Chaplain Private with Caneus: A Captain of Richelieu's sent over to Assist the Conspiracy: A Character given of Sr Toby Matthews. p. 22. And an Account of his Intelligences, Haunts, and Meetings. p. 23. The Story of Reade over again. p. 24. Jesuits Letters, and Meetings, And [Y] All the Papists of England Contributing to the Design. p. 25. One Widow Gave Forty Thousand Pound English, toward it, And Others, beyond their Ability in Proportion. He follows This, with a Ramble

upon Several Persons by Name, that were dipt in the Conspiracy; And further with This Remarkable Discovery.

The President of the aforesaid Society, was my Lord Gage, a Jesuit Priest, Dead above Three Years since. He had a Palace Adorn'd with Lascivious Pictures, which Counterfeited Prophaneness in the House; but with them was Palliated a Monastery, wherein Forty Nuns were Maintained, hid in so Great a Palace. It is Situated in Queen Street, which the Statue of a Golden Queen Adorns. The Secular Jesuits have bought All This Street, and have Reduced it into a Quadrangle, where a Jesuitical College is Tacitly built, with the Hope that it might be Openly firs't as soon as the Universal Reformation was begun. p. 29. ]

To pass a Short Note now upon Parallel to the Large Discovery. the Whole; The Design upon the [A] King, and [B] England and Scotland, is the General Scope of Otes's Plot. He pretends to come over from [C] the Popish Religion. No man Fitter for the [D] Design: [E] sent over, [F] Troubled in Conscience, and [G] Converted. The General of the Jesuits at Rome, and the Provincial Here, did the Parts of Cardinal Barbarini, and the Popes Legat. Otes, [H] Revealed the Treason to Tong, and [I] put the Particulars in Writing; out of which, Tong Extracted [K] Articles. Otes makes [M] the Society the Conspirators. The Provincial serves for [N] The Popes Legat. The [O] Weekly Intelligences Grove took an Account of; and for Instruments of the [P] Conjur'd Society. Otes's Narrative has them in abundance. The [Q] Ambushes were laid in St. James's, and at Windsor. The [R] Sentence pass'd at several Consults. The Rebellion in [S] Scotland, by Irritating the Puritans was Manag'd by Otes's Missionaries; and the King to be Murder'd,

as the [T] Harffull Disturber of their Liberties. Wakes  
mans Poyson was [U] the Indian Nut ; and Carew's  
Boasting of it, Answers Coryer's shewing Otes the  
Dagger, in Grays-Inn-Walks. Habernfelds Talk of Royz  
soning the [X] King, after the Example of his Fa-  
ther, was Match'd, both in the Narrative of Otes's  
Plot, and Expressly in his Epistle before that Nar-  
rative : to the Eternal Infamy of the Reporters of it.  
And as Habernfeld [Y] makes All the Papists of Eng-  
land to be Concern'd in This Conspiracy, so Otes in his  
Epistle, and Narrative, has made an Universal Pipe-  
on't : Only we want a Forty-Thousand-Pound Wisdom  
to Perfect the Parallel : But That Defect is Amply  
Supply'd in Irish Contributions, and Other Secret  
Services.

As to the Foolery of the Last Paragraph, the Man  
must be a Great Stranger to London, as well as to  
Common Sense, that can look upon it as any other  
than a most Extravagant Foppery ; and without any  
Colour, or Coherence.

After This Large Discovery, as the Enformer Pret-  
ends, comes a Summary, in Eleven Heads, of the  
Whole Matter, which is only the same over again ;  
and is Answer'd over again by the same Parallel :  
Only the 10th Clause has an Expression in it Wor-  
thy of Remarque.

Some ( says he ) of the Principal, Unfaithful ones of  
the Kings Party, are Notify'd by Name. Many of whose  
Names [ Occur ] Not yet their Habitations are  
Known. p. 31.

Now in Otes's Muster of the Conspirators, it runs  
[ Whose Names [ Occur ] at Present. Nar. fol. 61.] One would have thought they might have Vary'd  
the Phrase a little : But our Modern Discoverers have  
been much better at Copying than at Inventing ; Wit-  
ness This Whole Parallel ; and the Five Jesuits Letters.

It

It must not be Omitted neither, that [the Order of Politicians] which Hibernfeld speaks of, p. 15. is Learnedly Furn'd, forsooth, into the Order of [POLITIANI,] by Ores, in his Narrative. Art. 53.

In Conclusion, here's a Plat Copy'd-out to the Life, and the Transcript, a most Scandalous, and Impious Cheat, beyond all Controversy, whatever the Original was. But in regard the Publisher Affairs, that the King's Minister, and the Arch-Bishop, if not the King Himself, were fully Satisfy'd in the Reality of it; we shall first Examine upon what Grounds the Publisher speaks; And after That, come to a Fair Reasoning upon the Main Matter in Issue; which cannot be so well done, as by Delivering the Several Letters at Large, and then making a Judgment upon the Whole Proceeding. We are got thus far Onward of our way now thorough the Parallel; And the Next Question will be This.

C H A P.

## CHAP. V.

*Was Habernfelds Modell it self, and Historical Truth, or a Fiction?*

Whoever looks narrowly into *Habernfeld's Plot*, and the several Parts of it, will find it to be rather a *Lesson*, than a *Project*; then the *True Account* of an *Historical Truth*. The Bus'ness of *Conscience*, *Oaths*, *Secrecy*, *Information*, and the Circumstances of *Who*, *What*, *Where*, *When*, *How*, &c. are only matters of Course; for there must be *Persons*, *Things*, *Places*, *Time*, and *Manner* Assign'd, even to the most Extravagant Fiction that ever was in Nature. This was the Composition, First, of *Habernfeld's Discovery*, and afterwards of *Tong's Counter-part* of it: He furnishes Ores with *Lights*, and *Instruc-tions*; Gives the Contrivance the Name of a *Conspiracy*; Two Plucks up a Good Heart, and Swears to't, and so there's a New Plot made of an Old one.

It must be Observ'd that This Intelligence of *Habernfeld* was set afoot, when *Charles the First*, was at York, in September, 1640. to Advise with his Great Council of Peers about the Scottish Rebellion. The Kings Affairs were upon a Blach, and there never was more need of a Fomory to Cast the Scottish Insurreiction upon the Papists, and to turn the Peoples Hearts, From, and Against his Majesty, then upon that Juncture: Especially, for a Preparatory to the Work of the Next Parliament,

Parliament, that was to Meet Novem. 3. following. Upon this Occasion, Sir W. Boswell, (the Kings Minister at the Hague) wrote to the Arch-Bishop about This Plot. The Letter is Long, and so are the Other Papers upon This Subject: but to satisfy the Readers Curiosity they may be seen at Large in the Pamphlet heretofore mention'd, or in the First Volume of Dr. Nelsons Collections. fol. 467. So that a short Abstract will be enough for my Bus'ness: And I shall begin with Sir W. Boswells First Letter. He sends Enclos'd in this Letter, a Copy of Habernfeld's Enformation concerning the Plot, wherein the Points that I shall Remarque upon, are Principally These:

An Abstract of [The Discovery was First, made to Sir W. Boswell, him self, [Second-hand,] and [in First Letter,] in Speech.] The Matter was soon after put into [Dinner,] Avow'd by the [Principal Party;] and Deliver'd him in Writing by [Both Together;] Upon Promise and Oath, to Reveal it, only to his Grace, and by him to his Majesty.

Habernfeld remitts himself to the Arch-Bishop, with a most Earnest Charge of Silence; and that No Person be By, or within Hearing, at the Communicating of it to his Majesty; and No Mortal else to know of it.

There must be no Asking of Names, nor of Further Discoveries, nor Advertisements; nor the Discoverer, upon any Terms, to be somuch as Pointed-at, for fear of spoiling the Whole Bus'ness: For the [King, Government, and Religion,] are All at Stake, and the Enformer will run Extreme Hazard of his Person, and Life. No; it must not be so much as Enquir'd How, or by What Means the Discoverer came to Know All This.

As to Sr. William Boswells Opinion of the Matter; he has

has these words, [ *As I may believe These Overtures are Verifyable in the Way they will be laid ; and that the Parties will not shrink, &c.* ] And again [ *If These Overtures happily sort with his Majesties, and your Graces Mind, &c.* ]

The Rest is only Praying of Instructions ; Proposing a Cypher ; and so with a suitable Decency of Respect, in such a Case, he Concludes his Letter.  
*Hague. September. 9. 1640. Sti. Loci.*

There was never less perhaps of Surprise, or Astonishment (the weight of the matter Consider'd) then was Express'd upon This Occasion : which shew's Sufficiently What Opinion the Kings Minister Entertain'd of the Truth of the Story. He was Sworn to Secrecy, Himself ; and he Presses it to the Archbishop under the Conscience of That Obligation. The Caution is Habernfelds ; Sr William Boswells Confidence goes no farther then I [ *MAY* ] Believe. And then [ *IF* ] These Overtures happily sort with his Majesties, and your Graces Mind, and shall accordingly prove Effectual in their Operation ] &c. Here's [ *No Contracting of Bowels ; No Loins trembling with Horror*, in the Stile of *Habernfeld.* p. 4. and yet I persuade my self, that the Kings Resident had as much Tendernels for the Kings Life, as *Andreas ab Habernfeld.* ]

But here's the Train of my Parallel still, even through This Letter it self. Otes's pretended Discovery was [ by a ~~Second hand~~ ] by Tong ; And at First, in [ *Spe. ch* ] too ; which was the Case of Tong again to Mr Kirkby. It was likewise [ *Order'd* ] by Tong, and [ soon after Approved by the Principal, ] (which was Otes) and [ *Deliver'd in Writing also, by Both Together.* ] And so was Otes's True Narrative. [ Upon Promise and Oath of Secrecy : ] which Agrees with Young Tong's Paper

The Parallel of  
Tongs Plot, and  
Habernfelds goes  
on still.

of

of Jan: 5. 1681. [When my Father and Otes came to Fox-Hall (says he) Mr Kirkby was taken in at an Assizes after he had been Sworn to Secrecy:] And This is Effectually Confirm'd again by Mr Kirkby's Own Narrative, which says that Tong Earnestly requested him not to Acquaint any Other Person with it then the King.] Nay Habernfeld takes upon him, in some sort, to Tutor his Majesty, by Prescribing to him the very Measures of Faith, Justice, and Prudence, that he was to Walk by. He must not Shew, nor Trust, nor be Over-heard, nor Ask Questions; but lay it home to the King, as he will Answer it to God in a Case of Conscience, &c. So that not only Tong's Model, but Otes's Sawcyness was Copy'd, after the President of Habernfeld. Upon the Whole Matter, here are so many Amusements, Generalities, and Restrictions; and the Danger Spun out so far at length, that Charles the First might have been Murder'd Fifty times over, in the very Time of Habernfeld's telling his Tale; And Charles the Second, in the Parallel, ran the very same Risque in the Discovery of Otes.

The Arch-Bishop writes Intmed.  
away to the King. Upon the Receipt of Habernfeld's  
from Sr William Boswell, his Grace  
of Canterbury Dispatch'd an Express  
away immediately to the King, and  
received his own Letter again with his Majesties  
Directions in the Margin. The Marginals are only  
Affiance of Secrecy; Notes of Respect; and Directions  
What to do, without laying any Stress upon the  
Danger of the Conspiracy. The Only Passages in the  
Arch-Bishop's Letter, for my present purpose, are  
These Following.

An Abstract of  
his Graces Letter.

[The Danger it seems is Intimated,  
and laid by God knows whom, but to  
be Executed by them that are nider  
than you.]

Now

Now may it please your Majesty, This Enformation is either True, or there is some Mistake in it. If it be True, the Persons that make the Discovery will deserve Thanks, and Reward. If there should be Any Mistake in it, your Majesty can lose nothing but a little Silence.

The Bus'ness ( If it be ) is Extreme Foul ; The Discovery thus by God's Providence offer'd, seems Fair. I do hereby humbly beg it upon my Knees of your Majesty, that you would Conceal This Bus'ness from Every Creature, and His Name that Sends This to me.

Sr, For Gods sake, and your Own Safety, Secrecy in This Bus'ness : And I beseech you send me back This Letter, and All that comes with it, speedily, and Secretly, and trust not your Own Pockets with them. I shall not Eat, nor Sleep in Quiet, 'till I receive them.

Once again, Secrecy, for Gods sake and your Own.

So far am I now from finding the King, and the Archbishop so [ Fully Satisfy'd ] of the Reality of this Plot, ( as Mr. Prynne affirms they were ) that the Matter seems to Me to be left rather in Ballance, with an [ If it be True ; ] And [ the Bus'ness, If it be, is Extreme Foul : ] Beside that the Expression of [ By no body knows whom, ] seems to Intimate from That Generality, that the Enformation is either *Fruitless*, or *False* : For it Infinuates a *Treachery* in some about the King ; It Labours to make his Majesty *Felous* of his *Servants*, without giving him any *Means* to A-void the *Danger*. The Main Stress of the Letter lies upon the Point of [ Secrecy ] wherein the Archbishop did but Comply with the Injunctions that were laid upon him ; nor is there any thing more sayd in This Case upon the Hazzard of the Kings Person, then by that *Dutyfull, Wise, Zelous, and Faithfull Prelie*, world have been said, upon the *Odds* of *Ten Thousand Worlds* to a *Nus-sell*, against the *Truth* of the Enformation. And Those Words

[S. 3]

[*Sr, For Gods sake, and your Own Safety, [Secrecy] in This Bus'ness, ]* Amount to no more then such a Caution as would have been given against the most Unlikely of Possibilities.

There are Two Letters more of Sr William Boswells to the Arch-Bishop, of Later Date, which have little more in them then Secrecy, and Circumspection, over and over again; and the Discoverers Oath Offer'd [*E to what he hath already Declar'd, or shall hereafter Declar in the Bus'nes.*] [*His Name must be still Conceal'd, though he thinks his Majesty, by the Character he gives of Himself, will easily Imagine who he is, having been known so Generally through Court, and City for Three or Four Year in the Quality, and Employment he Acknowledgeth by his Declaration Himself to have held.*]

As to Habernfelds Readyness to Swear; That has been Otes's Part too; and for his [Secrecy, and Circumspetion,] Tong and Otes have kept themselves upon the Same Guard. Habernfeld was afraid of being Discover'd; while Tong and Otes Refine upon his Fears, and Demonstrate the Ill Consequences of Blabbing; As in the Case of his being Can'd, and Buffer'd by Whitebread, and almost Murder'd in Cock-Pit-Alley by a Drunken Fellow that took him for a Bawd; which Affront, Otes Files to the Popish Account; for Stratford, he says, (the Drunken Fellows Name) was Employ'd by the Jesuits to do him a Mischief. Narrative Article 80.] I am to Mark once again, that after All Habernfelds Importunities to be kept Private, he Discovers Himself: which is but Tong and Otes, all along still.

Otes known to his Majesty by a Certain Token.

Upon Dr. Tong's First Appearance before the King and Council, Sept. 28. 1678. he was desir'd (as I have the

the Story under his own Hand) to give some Character of Mr Otes's Person : [ In that, he referr'd himself to his Majesty, & the Bord, to whom Mr Otes was Well known, he said, by Several Affairs, which he had Manag'd before them with Various Success, as he had heard ; and particularly in an Affair of the Navy, wherein he was Employ'd under Sir Richard Ruth's Command. ] His Majesty thereupon ( says Dr. Tong's Paper ) call'd him to Mind, and said he knew him. ] Here's the Parallel of Otes'es Incognito too : And what was Otes'es Bus'ness before the King and Council at last, but briefly This.

One Parker of Hastings in 1675, upon very Good Reasons, kept Otes out of the Pulpit ; Otes, in Requital, Swore Sodomy upon him : Parker thereupon was Clapt-up, Indicted, Try'd, and Acquitted, upon Manifest Proof of the Impossiblity of Otes'es Accusation to be True : for, by Good Luck, Parker Prov'd himself to have been at a Publique Meeting, at the time laid in the Indictment. While Parker was in Prison, Otes, Accus'd This Parkers Father, for very Scandalous Words against some of the Lords of the Council ; The Matter was brought to a Hearing ; Parker Discharg'd, and the Whole Bus'ness found to be a False and Malicious Prosecution. This was the Affair that made Otes Known to the King, and Councell : And then for his Employment under Sr. Richard Ruth ; If his Coat had not Pleaded for his Neck, he might have Stretch'd, for Buggery, while he was under his Command ; And never any Creature certainly was Valu'd upon his being known to a Privy Council, by Lewder Tokens. But now to the Story of Habernfeld again.

Habernfelds Plot  
had less Credit  
every day then  
Other.

The *Intelligence* began Sep. 6. 1640.  
and from thence, to the following  
October. 15. it was Every day less  
Heeded then Other : Insomuch, that

*Sr. William Boswells Two Last Letters,*

had little more in them then a *Ministerial Respect* to  
his Majesties *Order and Command*; and *There it was*,  
( for ought I could ever hear to the Contrary ) that  
the *Discovery Sunk* too, without any further Tydings  
of the *Sentence*, or of the *Ambushes* in *Habernfelds Decleration*. Neither do I find, after all his Instances for  
*Concealment*, and his *Promises of Discovery*, so much  
as *One Proveable Point* in the *Whole Relation*; but it  
runs altogether upon *Generalities*, and *Political Reflexions*, and from thence it was, that *Tong* drew the  
Lines of *Otes's Narrative*. Any man that has Eyes  
in his Head may see, that the *Plot* of 1678. was taken  
out of That of 1640. And truly I look upon *Habernfelds Plot* to have been as much a *Sham* in the *Original*, as *Tong's* was in the *Copy*. It was Started in  
1640. when the *Scotts* were up to the Ears in the  
*Rebellion*. The Peoples Heads were set upon *Plots* at  
That Time, and the *Faction* had need of them; for  
they had no better way in the World to *Palliate* the  
*Treason*, then to make the *Papists* the *Authors* of it;  
and by a kind of *Revulsion*, to draw the Ill Humour  
from the *Puritans* to the *Roman Catholiques*: Beside,  
the *Dilemma* they put upon the King, either to be  
*Ruin'd*, by the *Envy* of *Joyning Interests* with the *Papists*, or by the want of Those Hands which might  
have Contributed to his *Preservation*. The *Discoverer*  
pretends himself a *Convert* too, in *Abhorrence* of the  
*Malicious Practices* of the *Blondy Romanists*. So that he  
Dates his *Conversion* from before the *Scottish Tumults*,  
which began in 1637. and brings in his *Discovery*,  
betwixt Two and Three Year after. So that either the

*Story*

Story was a *Cheat*, or the *Penitent* was a *Cheat*; and it is just as Broad as 'tis Long, as to the Kings Interest, whether of the Two.

And it is not All neither, that the *Manage* of it was *Cold*, and *Dilatory*; The *Progres* *Slow*, and the *Enformation* *Extremely Short*, and *Trivial*; but the *Narrative* it self is *Inconsistent*, One Part of it with Another, and as *Coursly Contriv'd*, as it is *Incongruously put together*.

*Cardinal Richelieu*, he says, was the *First Mover* of the *Scottish Troubles*, and yet *Lowden* was *Committed* to the *Tower* for Signing an *Address* for *Relief*, and *Protection*, to *That very Cardinal*. So that the *Scots* rather dealt with the *French*, then the *French* with *Them*; And how *Great-Good-Will* soever the *Cardinal* might have for our *Divisions*, we do not reade of any *Visible Succours* yet they received from *That Quarter*.

If the *Five Members* were *Papists*, Well and Good; for [ *their Treating with Forreign Power to Assist them*, was One Article of their Charge. *Exatt Coll. p. 544.* ] And then the Great Act of *Indemnity*, upon the *Late Kings Restoration*, is a Thousand Proofs against *them*; for they had the Wit to carry the *Retrospect* of *That Pardon* up to 1637. That is to say, to the Opening of the *Scotch Tumults*; which was a matter of *Three Year* beyond the Date of the *English Rebellion*: and shews what sort of *Papists* they were, that Mov'd the *Scottish Broils*. There never was perhaps such a Jumble of *Nonsense* put upon a *Nation*, for *Politiques*, as in *These Two Pretended Plots*, the King was at the same time to be *Murder'd* by the *Protestants*, as a *Papist*, and by the *Papists*, as a *Puritan*; and his *Roman Catholique Subjects* in *Flesh and Bloud*, to have their Brains beat out in his *Defence*, by *Another Army of Papists in the Air*, that sought his *Confusion*.

The Papists, it seems, Dis-affected the People; Instructed the Faction, Manag'd the Rebellion; Laid Ambushes (says Habernfeld, and Otes after him) for the King: Pass'd Sentence upon him, and in the End, were Sequester'd, Plunder'd, Fayl'd, Hang'd-up, or Cut to pieces, by the Puritans for their Pains.

But to draw to an End, Dr Heylin in his *Cyprianus Anglicus*, and the Author of the *Popes Nuncio*, are both Agreed upon't, that the Commission of Cuneus respected only to the Queen, and her Devotion. It appears likewise, that there were some Overtures toward a Better Understanding betwixt the Members of the Two Churches, by Certain Abatements and Approches, on the One side, and on the Other; but not One Syllable of a Plot upon his Majesties Person, 'till This Bohemians Revelation. The Publisher of Whitlocks Memorials, makes no more of Habernfelds Long Letter, then [a Fancy which Prynne hath Published in Print, upon Trust, (as he useth to do) as well as Others. fol. 31.]

It is further to be Consider'd, that for This Plot, (such as it was) the King knew of it, and never Minded it farther; Though Prynne makes it the Root of all our Following Calamities; and Tong brings it down to Otes'es Discovery, and the Lord knows how long after: So that Charles the First, Fought, and Acted against himself, all the while, and came to be Murder'd in the Conclusion, by the One side because he Would not be a Papist, and by the Other, because he Was One. Just as Tong brought the Late King into Otes'es Plot, against his Own Life, Crown, and Dignity.

## C H A P. VI.

*If Tong's, or Otes'es Plot, was an Imposture, whether or no was it so Design'd from the Beginning; or were the Impostors Themselves, Impos'd upon.*

**T**HAT *This Plot* was a *Cheat*, is no longer a *Doubt*, nor, at Present, the *Question*; but whether it was *Originally Meant* for One, or *Afterward Employ'd* into One, will be the Point in This Place. Now I am perswaded, that it was *Both*; for it is no less Clear, that *Tong Unkennel'd the Fox*, then it is that *Shaftsbury, the Master of the Blood-Hounds, Govern'd the Chace*. I shall be very carefull of Delivering any thing upon This Subject but on as Good Authorities as the Testimony of *Authentique Papers, Reasonable Inferences, and Notoriety of Fact* can furnish me withall: And I doubt not of making Good the *Truth of my Evidences, or the Force, and Equity of my Conclusions*, upon as *Pregnant Proofs, and Presumptions*, as the Law it self requires for the Fair Gaining of a Cause in *Westminster-Hall*.

In One of *Dr. Tong's Papers*, I find These Words [*To Discover the Tongs Plot. Plot against the King and his Family, I wrote the Royal Martyr in the Year*

1672.] Or, as he has it in several Other Places [About the Year Seventy One and Two.] So that here is a Plot Presum'd, and a Book Written, purposely to Discover it; but No Plot as yet in Sight, more then the Design of Setting up One Plot under the Apprehension of Another. 'Tis but first putting it in the Peoples heads, that there Is a Popish Conspiracy. 2ly, Asking them what they would do, if the Papists should Rise? 3ly, Beginning a Fire, a Massacre, or an Insurrection, Themselves, and calling it a Popish one, and here's the Work Carry'd-on in a Direct Line from Tong's Royal Martyr to the Battle at Sedgmore.

According to Tong's Computation Habernfeld's and Tong's Plot, much we are to believe Habernfeld's Plot, and Otes'es to be One and the same; though well nigh Forty Years betwixt

'em: An Eight Years Rebellion; A Twelve Years Interregnum; (as to the Kings Exercise of his Power.) Another Dozen of Years from the Restoring of the Late King, Intervening; The Managers of the Old Plot, in their Graves; Not so much as One of Habernfeld's Patrons, or Instruments, in Being, to Promote it: And yet after so many Turns, Changes, and Wonderfull Revolutions of State, (never Stranger perhaps) in Two Kings Reigns, we are set upon the Hunt, in Seventy Eight, for a Plot Antecedent to the Scottish Tumults in Thirry Seven; and to take Tong's, and Otes'es Word for't, that Their Narrative is, in Effect, but the True History of Habernfeld's, and the Old Plot Continu'd. If it should be said that it is only the Same Influence Continu'd, they will be put to Prove the Descending of it, in a Regular, and an Uninterrupted Process, and Operation, which is a thing as Impossible to be made-out, as it is Ridiculous to Imagine: Beside, that All the Old Actors are either out of the World, out of the Case, or out

of Play ; and an Inference would hold as well from the History of Noahs Flood to the Last Sea-breach, as from One Conspiracy to the Other : Over and above that, This Fancy puts All Otes'es Intelligences, Dispatches, Commissions, and Consults, quite out of Doors. To talk of a Plot of Reformation going on, signifies Nothing, where the King-Killing Plot is the Question. The Plot of Persuading Other People to be of Our Religion, ever Did, and Does, and Will go on, no doubt on't, 'till People are all of a Mind ; and it is but a Charitable Duty, for a Man that thinks Himself in a Safe way to Heaven, to wish that his Brother would go along with him for Company. Beside, that This is a Design to Date from Edward the Sixth, or Henry the Eighth, rather then from Cuneus, or Habernfeld. But Tong talks of Habernfelds Plot, as if it were to serve to the end of the World, like a Perpetual Almanack. [ The Son ( says Tong after Cuneus ) was to follow the Fate of his Father. ] Why did they not Dispatch him then in his Exile ; when they had him in their Power ? Why did they put it off so long after his Return ? How came This Malicious Determination to Sleep all this while ? Or where did it Rest ? The Most, in fine, that can be made on't, is, that Tong might perchance Imagine a Plot, and That Plot to be Everlasting too, where in Truth there was None at all ; and a man may lye under a Mistake, without Incurring the Scandal of an Impostor : To which, This is my Answer : that I lay no Stress upon bare Likelihoods, Possibilities, or Peradventures : But I shall Prove from his own Pen, and Practice, that he Meditated an Imposture from the Beginning, and Assisted it with all his Might.

But why the History of *Habernfelds Plot* of Forty, in the Year Seaventy Two? Saving only to Frame a *New Plot* by it that should Answer the Features of the *Old One*? At this rate, he Made the Plot that he Pretended only to *Rivire*, or *Foreset*: And instead of Tracing *Habernfelds Plot* down to *Otes'es*, he *Carry'd-up Otes'es Narrative* to fit for the Picture of *Habernfelds*. He did, in short, like your *Propheticall Incendiaries*; That First *Foretell Fires*, and then *Kindle them*.

Tong an Agent for Popery. It is well known among the Prisoners of St. Mary Staynings London, that for some Years before the Alarum of the *Pretended Popish Plot*, Tong was perpetually Calculating, what Wonderfull Things they should soon See & Hear from the Papists: Insomuch, that an Enformation of *August 1681.* was Deliver'd upon That Subject, to *Sr Leoline Jenkins*, in these Following Words.

A Remarkable Practice.

These are to Certify whom it may Concern, That the Parties Subscribed, do Acknowledge and Declare, that Dr Otes and Dr Tong were very well acquainted together in our Parish of St. Mary-Staynings, London, before Dr Otes went to St. Omers, and afterward. And further we do declare, that we have heard Dr Tong say at a Puplic Table to several of our Neighbours, that if any Person or Persons would turn to the Roman Religion, the said Dr Tonge would have them to a Place, where the Persons so Turn'd should receive Fourteen shillings a Week; or Words to the same Purpose; which, he said, would be Paid, without Loss of Time, or Hindrance of Bus'ness.

Aug. 26.  
1681.

Christopher Kemble,  
James Morton.

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It was well enough Judg'd of Tong, that the *Dread of Popery* in *Vision*, was the ready way to Introduce the *Belief of a Popish Plot* in *Fact*; and that the *Presage* would Naturally Usher-in the *Imposture*. He took his Text still out of *Habernfeld*; made a *New Narrative* of an *Old One*; Cut it out into *Articles*; Got them *Home Sworn*; ( which he calls making a *Record* of them ) and so brought his *Own Predictions to Pass*. That this was his *Aim, Prospect, and Intent*, no Mortal will be able to Doubt, that takes along with him the *Circumstances*, and the *Manage* of That Affair. He had *Otes* all this while in his *Eye*, and at his *Elbow*, and *Command*: So that he was his *Tool*, his *Witness*, and his *Pensioner*, All in One; A Fellow that had neither *Brains, Money, Friends, Credit*, nor *Conscience*; but a *Shameless Hardness of Heart*, and *Forshead*, to Qualify him for a *Confident* to This *Execrable*, and *Diabolical Secret*. Tong's Offer of *Fourteen Shillings a Week* to any man that should turn *Papist*, was only a more Artificial way of *Fishing for Witnesses*: For He that would go over, or Pretend to go over, for *Fourteen Shillings*, would probably come back again for *Four and Twenty*. This was the Course he took afterward with *Otes*; And so the Project Advanc'd from Step to Step, as Naturally as One Point of a Line runs into Another. 'Tis True, that he Cross'd Shins a little with himself, in First *Frighting* People with the *Fear of Popery*, and Then, playing the Part of a *Popish Agent* for the *Promoting* of it; but he wanted *Mercenaries* to Assist him in his *Design*, and This was his way of *Angling*, to *Hook them In*. Briefly, Tong's *Heart* was set upon a *Plot*, and for want of *Invention* to *Make a New one*, he Contents himself with the *Counterfeit* of an *Old one*. He sets it afoot; Otes Kisses the Book upon't; Collateral Evidences are Ferreted out; and so soon as ever

ever the Brat was in Condition to endure the Air, who but Tong to lay it at the Door of St Stephens Chappel, where he knew it would never want Fathers to Own it; And from That time it was Adopted, in Common Fame, the Parliaments Plot; and, to follow the Allegory, it was put out to the Kingdom to see it Nurs'd, and Brought-up at the Charge of the Publique.

So soon as ever Dr. Tong found that his Neighbours were not to be Caught with That Bait, he bethought himself of a Surer Chard, yet nearer hand to Trust to; Meaning Titus Otes. But before I proceed to the Merits of the Cause, and to Consider how far Joynly and Severally they were Both Concern'd in the Manage of That Intrigue, it will do well to enquire, First, where Otes Was at That time? And, 2ly, How Tong and He came to be Acquainted?

The Dr. in One of his Papers has These Words [ Mr Otes ( says he ) had Hired a Lodging in the Barbican near Sr Richard Barker's House, the more conveniently to Discourse with the Dr about their [Common Purpose : ] Which [Common Purpose ] was no Other then an Agreement of Confederacy in the Common Cheat.

The Occasion of their First Acquaintance was This. [ Sr Richard Otes came Acquainted. Barker Presented Otes'es Father to a Church in Hastings. This brought Titus Otes to Sr Richards, and There it was that Tong came first acquainted with him; and shew'd him several Treatises that he had fitted for the Press.] This I have under Tong's Own Hand in a Paper Entituled [ a Narrative Preface.]

The

The same Paper says likewise, that in 1673,  
Sr R. B. took the Dr into his House, where he Con-  
tinu'd [ 'till Mr Otes Returned from St Omers,  
in July. 1678. ]

And now we have Brought them together, it will  
do well to see a little what they Did together, and  
how they Concerted their Matters from One Im-  
pature, to Another.

The Preface above-mentioned  
says; that [ the Dr shewed to Mr  
Otes (thea desstraus of Employment)  
several Treatises in pursuance of the  
*Advice he had taken with the Reverend Dr Beale, &c.*] Their Practices  
together.

And he says in Another Paper, That [ his Royal  
Martyr, was, if not the Only, nor Chief, yet not the  
Least Incentive to Otes'es Adventure among the Jesuits.

He says again, [ that the Jesuits  
had kept Otes so Close during his Abode  
in London, in Attendance on Their  
Consultations, in the Months of April,  
and May, that he by Providence only found Testimony of  
his being here; and did Watch, and Keep him so Strictly  
at the College in St Omers 'till June, 1678. Old Style,  
that they thereon most Confidently Built their Lately Dis-  
proved Assertion, That he never stirr'd thence.] Tong's Plea for  
Otes'es Perjury!

Upon the Clause above, lies the Main Stress  
of the Cheat; and it needs to be very parti-  
cularly Expounded. Otes was hard put to't to  
Prove himself in London, at the Consul in April, and  
May, 1678. His Pretext for want of Winesses, was;  
that [ he was Charg'd to lye Close, and keep Private,]  
but he made a shift however to bring Four Persons  
at his Tryal to speak to That Point. Two of them  
Contradicted a Third, and a 4th Swore to the Wrong  
Year.

Year. See Otes'es Tryal, fol. 91. A Perjury, in fine, was Prov'd against him upon the Oaths of Two and Twenty Witnesses. fol. 87. And what does Tong now, but Knowingly, and Wickedly, upon this Pinch, Cover, and Support a Perjury? He Imputes his want of Evidence, to his Lying so Close: (Inferring, that if He could see No body, No body could see Him) And Suggests, that he was Here, in April, or May, 1678. Went over to St Omers soon after; and then came back again, in June or July, as was set forth in his Defensee. Thus far, Tong on Otes'es Behalf, though his Soul, and Conscience Knew to the Contrary.

The Pinch of the Question is Briefly This. Was Otes in England, April. 24. as he Swears he Was, and did Tong know Certainly, whether he Was Here or No? 'Tis a strange Thing, that Otes should go to Sir Richard Barkers, where Tong Lodg'd; Be seen there by some of his Servants, and Moreover Ask of them for Tong, (as they Swear all This at the Tryal) and Tong not so much as Hear any thing all this while of Otes'es being in England. Nay, Tong is Positive on the Other hand, that he did Not Return, till June or July; according to the Computation of the Style.

[ Till Mr Otes Return'd from St Omers in JULY. 1678.] says the Narrative Preface above-mentioned.

And so in Another Paper, Entituled, [ Tongs Case and Request.] [ The Dr. (says he) did Actually Produce to Light a Narrative Testimony of the Hellish Plot of the General Massacre, in JUNE, 1678. [ Before Mr Otes Returned from St Omers. ]

And he sets forth likewise in a Petition to the House of Commons, that [ he Presented them with a Discovery of the Popish Massacre, in JUNE 1678 : [ Before Mr Otes,

Otes, or Any other Discoverer appeared.] And he has the same thing over and over in Divers Papers, with an Emphatical Note still, that it was [ Before Otes came over, in JUNE, or JULY. 1678.]

Simpson Tong says, in Effect, the same Thing in his Petition to his Majesty. i. e. [ Your Petitioner doth Protest in the Presence of Almighty God, That it is very True, that the Plot was Contrived by my Father and Titus Otes, when he Returned the Second Time from beyond the Seas, &c.] And so in a Letter to Me of Jan. 5. 1681. [The Contrivance was Thus, That under the Pretence of a Popish Plot (which my Father First Imagin'd was afoot, and afterwards Otes, at his Second Return from beyond the Seas Swore to be True, &c.)] And so in Another Letter also, [That Otes went Over Sea a Second Time, and Returned about June, 1678.]

From hence it is Manifest that the Plot was a Contrivance; A Popish Plot the Pretext; Otes Swore to't at his Second Return, which was JUNE 1678. It had been his THIRD Return if he had come over in April; for he gave no Evidence upon Oath, 'till September Following.

These are Proofs not to be Contested: But now to Reason a little upon the Matter. Otes went abroad upon Tong's Errand, and had Tong still for his Confidant, his Councillor, and his Friend. Can it be Thought now, that if Otes had come back in April; Flush'd with Intelligence; Big with a Discovery; and full Freighted with the Commodity he went over for; That Tong, I say, should hear no News of him 'till the Latter End of June, or July; and the world hear no News of the Plot neither, 'till the Latter End of August? Why Tong was the very Soul of Otes's Clay;

*Clay*; The Other only His Instrument, His Factor; but it was Tong that set him at Work, and Tong that paid him his Wings. Tong sends him abroad to Discover a Plot; Nay and he tells him what kind of Plot he Is to Discover too. Otes makes a Step over the Water; lays his Nose to the Train; Follows the Scent, and comes back again with a Duck in his Mouth; but without his Masters Blessing, and Assistance, the Silly Curr knows not what in the world to do with it. In This Posture, we must Imagine Otes to stand for a matter of Two Months, Wagging his Tail, and Waiting with a Conspiracy betwixt his Teeth, 'till at length the Doctor comes, and takes it of him, and so Dresses it up into a Narrative. Otes Furnishes Names, Dates, Places; Tong finds Master to them; Ranges so many Particulars into so many Treasons, Dissects the Whole into so many Articles; Otes Kisses the Four Evangelists upon 'em; And This is the very History of the Pretended Plot. Now These Trusts, and Privacies duly Consider'd, a man can very hardly believe that Otes should Go and Come; and be Himself Present here at a Treasonous Consult in April; and Tong know nothing of it.

It far'd, in fine, with These Two Sparks in the Bus'ness of the Plot, as it falls out many times in a *Freakish Amour*. There may Pass Hard Words, perchance; Jealousies, Disputes, Humours of going off and on betwixt the Two Lovers, as the Maggot bites, and yet Both Parties at last, as true as Steel to the Common Cause. This wasthe Very Very Case of Our Two Worthies. The Plot had never been Thought-of, Found-out, Digested, Lick'd into Shape, Recommended, and brought upon the Stage, if it had not been for Tong. But though Tong, all this while, under Hibernfeld, was the First Founder of it, and the Main Agitator.

*Agitator* that gave it *Life and Motion*: *Otes* had the Good Fortune yet, to run away with the Title of the *Saviour of the Nation*, and with the *Profit* as well as the Reputation of the *Discovery*. In Little, From the First Blowing of That Bubble in the *Barbican*, to the Enthroning of *Otes* in *Whitehall*, *Hand and Glove* were never Better together; then These Two *Brethren*; and *Otes* Quietly Enjoy'd all the Trophies of his Atchievements; the *Blessings* of the *Committees*, and the *Hosannahs* of the *Mobile*, without either *Envy*, or *Opposition*. Thus far in short, it was *Hony-Moon* betwixt them. Nothing too *Great* for *Otes*, in *Tongs* Opinion; Nor any thing too *Much* for *Tong*, in *Otes'es*. But it was with *Otes* as with Many Men of Dignity that I have known in the World, that when they are once *Mounted Themselves*, Forget Those that Heav'd them into the Saddle.

To Pursue my Digression yet a little further; What with the Dread of *Otes'es* Commission to *Murder Tong*; And the Frightfull *Assault* and *Battery* of Old Bully *Whitebread*, upon the *Body* of *Titus Otes*, for Betraying the Plot to the King; [According to the Honourable and Reverend Advice] (as *Tong* has it) they took *Sanctuary* at the House of One *Lambert a Bell-Founder* over the Water, where they staid not long, before they had Quarters Allotted 'em at *Whitehall*; that they might with more *Safety*, and *Convenience*, lay their Heads together, and *Conferr Notes*. *Exrek* and *Titus* were thus far *Simeon* and *Levi*, 'till there came a *Bone of Dissention*, upon a Puntillo of Honour, to be Unluckily cast in betwixt them. The Dr, it seems, had let fall some Words, as if He Himself had been the *First Discoverer* of the *Plot*; And was within a Trifle of Printing a Book too, with That very *Claim* in the Title-

Tong sets up for  
the First Discov-  
erer.

*Title: Page;* but upon the Refusal of an *Imprimatur*, it Stopt there, and went no further. The Case came to a Squabble, and was very fairly decided in the *Concell-Lobby* by Half a dozen of the *Kings Witnesses*, where, upon a Full Hearing of Both Parties, it went for the *Defendent*. This bred Ill Bloud, and the Next News I heard, was, that *Otes* had shut *Tong* out of his Lodgings at *Whitehall*; and, as 'tis in the Proverb, *When Thieves fall out, Honest men come by their Goods*. *Tong*, upon This, sets up for the *First Discoverer*, and most Unhappily Shoots a Bolt, that, instead of Proving him to be the *First Discoverer*, Prov'd him to be *No Discoverer*; and by leaving *No Plot at all*, left *No Ground for any Discovery at all*: Infomuch, that *Tong's Single Testimony* did the Plot more Mischief, than the whole Band of *St Omers Witnesses*: For to make himself a *Prior Evidence*, he Overthrows *Otes'es* Pretence of being here at the *Consult* in *April*: For [ *This was* ( says he ) *in June, or July. 1678.* Before *Otes*, or any *Other Discoverer appear'd.* ] Now if *Otes* was not here before *June*, the *Narrative*, and All that's Built upon't falls into a Thousand Pieces; For the Doctor has broken the Neck of *Otes'es Evidence*, and *Tript up the Heels of his Own Plot*, both at once; and the *Babel of That Sham* is laid in the *Dust* by the very *Hand* that *Rais'd* it.

A Short Word or Two now to *Otes'es Contradictions.* *Tong's Excuse on Otes'es Behalf* for want of *Witnesses*. [ *My Lord* ( says *Otes* ) *when I came to London, I was Order'd to keep very Close.* *Irelands Tryal.* fol. 36. ] But then in the *Jesuits Tryal* he tells quite Another Story. [ *When I came away from St Omers* ( says he ) *I was to Attend the Motions of the Fathers at your Chamber* ( speaking to *Whitebread* ) *where the Fathers were Respectively Met.* fol. 19. ] In pursuance of this Order,

der, he went from Place to Place, from Lodging to Lodging, to get it Sign'd. He was at the *White-Horse-Tavern*, and *Particular Chambers*, I know not how Many, and how Often. He saw *Pickering* and *Grove*, several times Walking together in the *Park*, with their *Screw'd-Pistols*: And he saw their *Silver-Bullets* in the Month of *May*. *Ireland's Tryal*. p. 23. 24. He was up and down in *Arundel-Buildings*, and several other Parts of the Town. He Swore he Din'd at *Islington*, &c. So that he was Oblig'd, by the Fathers, it seems, to be both *Publique*, and *Private*. His very Part in this *Tragedy* of a *Farce*, was only That of a *Common Messenger*, and a *Thames-street Porter* might have made the same Pretence of lying Close, that *Otes* did, (first for *Himself*, and *Tong* afterwards for him) with as good a Grace. But the Dr does him the Good Office to throw a Cloak over the *Subornation*, and call'd it [*A Testimony found by Providence*,] and so to Cover the *Perjury*, though with a *Falsity* as Transparent as *Chryſtal*. Now there never was any thing Plainier, then that *Tong* was all this while, as well a *Party*, and a *Confederate* to the *Cheat* in the *Execution* of it, as he was the *Principal* in the *Design*. He was *Privy* to't; and *Approver* of it; and an *Advocate* for it; and not only in *This Particular*; but he went *Snips* with *Otes*, in the *Guile* of Every *Walk*, and *Turn* of the *Imposture*; and, for my Own Part, (without the *Grace* of a *Distinguishing Repentance*) I had e'en as live stand in *Otes's Coat*, at the Day of Judgment, as in *Tongs*.

The Dr follows his Point, in his *Narrative Preface* before-mention'd; Tong a Confederate quite thorough. with this Addition to his *Excuse* for *Otes*. [*They Watch'd him so Strictly* at St. Omers, he says, that he had no other hopes left him of Escaping their Hands, when by Deceiving their Malice, and Shift

and Undertaking to Poyson, or otherwise destroy the Author of those Books; (The Jesuits Morals, &c.) nor did their Important Malice suffer him to Return to his Native Country on That Errand, till they had Loaden his Soul, & Conscience with an Oath to Poyson, or Otherwise Destroy him, Sealed with their Abominable Sacrament of the Mass.

This Foppery would not be Worth one Stroke of a Pen upon't, if it were not that it has had the Honour to Fool, and almost to Ruine Three Kingdoms. The Dr, methinks, when his Zeal was In, upon Ores's [Abominable Sacrament] (as he calls it) might have found Hell and Damnation on the Taking side, as well as on the Giving: And it would have been never the Worse, neither, if he had mingled a little Remorse of Conscience, with the Colour of the Burden, toward the bringing of him Back: But it is no Wonder for the First Contriver, & Designer of the Abuse, to go on to Countenance, and Support it; and briefly, to do the Best Service he could toward the Reputation, and Success, of his Own Project. This was the Doctors Case thorough All the Mazes, and Windings of the Intrigue; And I do not know any One Instance, either so Wicked, so Gross, or so Notoriously False, that he does not set-up to Undertake for, and to Defend.

The Matter Briefly stands Thus: The Plot was a Sham: Tong the Founder, and Promoter of it. It was Meant for a Cheat; It was Carry'd-on by Confederacy, Forgery, and Subornation; and Tong still a Voucher for Every Considerable Article of the Villany. There's enough said already in the Third Chapter, how Tong's Heart was set upon a Popish Plot; How Zelous he was to Propagate the Fear, and the Belief of it, and how Industrious, if he could not find a Plot, to make One. He could have no Thought of Gaining his Point, without Master to Work upon; Instruments to Work With, and some Proper Means of bringing Those

Those Instruments over to serve his Purpose. The Matter, was the Traduction of Habernfelds Relation; His Instrument was Otes, and the Supplying of Otes's Barking Necessaries was a sure way for the Engaging of so Profligate a Wretch. It was not for Nothing, that he shew'd Otes, his Royal Martyr, with the Draught of Habernfelds Story in't: Or that he gave him his Lesson, and sent him Beyond Sea upon't.

[*Mr Otes went from Barbican, (says Dr Tong in a Paper of Feb. 2. 1674,) in Pursuit of his Design to Discover the Jesuits Plot, as Discoursed in Tong's Royal Martyr, &c.]* This Agrees, as to Time, & Place, with his Own Evidence in the Lord Staffords Tryal. fol. 25. 26.

Dr Tong says in Another Paper; that [Otes Pro-  
tested unto him, that he went among the Jesuits to find whether the Plot Dr Tong Charged upon them in his Royal  
Martyr, were True, and went-on or Not.] And then  
says Young Tong further, in a Letter under his Hand.

[*My Father persuaded Otes to get Acquainted among the Papists, and told him there had been many Plots in England, to bring in Popery, and if he would go over among the Jesuits, and Observe their Ways, it was Possible it might be one now.*] Nay, it is Remarkable thorough the Tract of the whole Story, that Tong Values himself at Every Turn upon his Good Offices toward the Discovery and the Credit of the Plot. He has it in his Papers at least Thirteen times over, how it was His Royal Martyr, that set the Wheel a going; And His Recommendation of Habernfelds Modell in't, that sent Otes abroad among the Jesuits, to see if he could March it: And, Effectually, his Project was not the Tracing of One Plot, but the Bating, and Swearing of Anorke; which is a Case so Clear, and so Indubitable, that it were but holding a Candle to the Sun, through so Manifest a Course and Practice, of Deliberate, and Palpable Frauds, and Subversions, to spend Time,

Time, and Paper upon the *Proving* of it. For, most Certain it is, that Otes never spake a *Killing Word* in the *Quality* of a *Kings Evidence*, ( that is to say, 'till he came at last to set-up for *Himself* ) but he had *Tongs Benediction* along with it.

His First Adventure was to *Spain*; but the *Society* and Otes could not Cotten; and so he came back again to the *Touring*, just as Wife as he went over.

[ *My Father*, ( says Young Tong again ) furnish'd Otes with some *Mony*, who then Pretended himself a *Papist* and often frequented a *Popish Club*, and was very great with one *Berry*, a *Secular Priest*, and by his Assistance got over-*Sea* to the *Jesuits*; and staid there a while, and then returned, but my *Father* found he knew Nothing of them, and persuaded him to go again. He did so, and [ returned about JUNE 78. ] Continued among the *Papists* here a little while, to Try what he could Get or Learn amongst them. ]

The short Sum of the bus'ness is This; Otes had *Habernfelds Matter* to Work upon; a *Commission*, and *Instructions* by a *Side-Wind*, how to make the *Best* on't. His *Manage* of it was according to the *Hints* and *Dictates* he receiv'd from Tong; and they Both, Acted with the same *Common End*, and *Design*. Tong had a *Plot* in *Vision*, long before Otes Swore it in his *Narrative*; and he saw All the *Motions*, and *Effects* of it, in the very Belly of the *First Causes*. What was the Tampering of his *Parishioners* for; His *Paraphrasing* upon the Old Project of *Habernfeld*? What was the Meaning of All his *Searches*, *Solicitations*, *Attendances*, *Narratives*, *Cases*, and *Petitions*, by way of *Anticipation*; but to serve as a *Preparatory*, toward the *Fitting* of a *Plot* to Otes' *Mouth*? and the *Adjusting* of a *Present Invention* to so many *Imaginary Articles* of a *Discovery* that was yet to Come? Nay, the very *Subversion*, and *Perjury*, that

that follow'd upon't, was little better then a Bargain struck-up betwixt them. The Dr. tells us in his *Narrative-Preface*, that Otes was [ *Discours of Employment.*] And in another Paper, of his Hiring a Lodging in the Barbican near Sir Richard Barkers House, the more Conveniently to Converse with the Dr. in their Common Purpose; which Common Purpose, is as Legible a Cypher for a Conspiracy, as the Dispatching of Forty Eight, in the Windsor Letters: But in the Barbican they were it seems, and wherever they were the Cheat went forward.

[ *When I came from the University (says Young Tong) in the Year 1677. I found Otes with my Father, in a very Poor Condition, who Complain'd, he knew not what to do to get Bread, who went under the Name of Ambrose. My Father took him Home, and gave him Cloaths, Lodging, and Diet, saying that he would put him in a Way.* ]

Now the Design of the One, and the Condition and Character of the Other, reasonably Consider'd: Never was there a Fitter Master for such a Man, nor ever a Fitter Man for such a Master. A Fellow under Starving Necessities, and past the Sense, of either Shame, or Conscience: So that if the Dr. had Rak'd Hell for a Factor, the Devil Himself could not have Furnish'd him with an Instrument that was more Made for his Purpose. There was Swearing to be had for Bread, on the One side, and Bread for Swearing, on the Other: And a Crust, for a False Oath was as Arrant a Subornation, as a False Oath for That Crust was a Perjury; though to the Best of Tong's Ability, and Interest, Money or Moneys Worth was not Wanting neither; as is made Appear already. The One did as good as Ask. [ what Course he should take to get Bread, ] the Other [ takes him to him, and

He Swears for  
Bread.

to go among the Jesuits, and Observe if there were not a Plot among them to bring in Popery; Adding, in the Words of his Son.

Tong gives him his Lesson and sends him a broad.

[That if he could make it out, it would be his Preferment for ever. But however; if he could get their Names, and a little Acquaintance from the Papists, it would be an easy matter to Stir up the People to fear Popery.] Now says Young Tong, in Another Letter. [Their Main, and Principal Design was, under the Pretence of a Popish Plot, to Disinherit his Royal Highness, and when they had brought an Odium upon the Duke, Then Proposalls were made by Otes and my Father, &c. Their next Bus'nes must be to Ingratiate Themselves with severall — (Eminent Men) which was Effected, &c. ]

So that here was Present Supply, and the Hopes of Preferment, on the One side, upon Condition of either Finding, or Forging a Popish Plot, on the Other. Otes took his Tutors Jouncil; Gets over among the Jesuits, and after a while comes back again, as Arrant a Noddy as he went. He made a little Stay here, for the better Conning of his Instructions, and was then persuaded to go over again, by the Same Hand, and upon the Same Commission. His Second Ramble was to St Omers, where they grew quickly as Sick of him, as he had made them before at Valladolid. He went thicker about Christmas, 1677. And Return'd, toward the Latter End of June following. 1678. Old Style. According to the Concurring Testimony of the Two Tong's, (Father and Son,) over and above

Two

*Two and Twenty Witnesses more that gave Evidence at his Tryal.*

The Doctor and his Pupil were, by This Time, past all the Ceremonies of Caution, Form, and Scruple ; and the Perfect Knowledge they had of one another's Minds, had Created so Entire, and ~~All Ceremony~~ equal a Confidence, that from hence-forward their Hearts were as Open to one another, as their Faces ; and the Confederate Guilt of Perjury, and Murther, with the Varnish of Religion put upon it, was no longer a Secret betwixt them.

After Otes's Return, in June, or July from St Omers, he lay Lurching up, and down the Town : One while in Drury-Lane ; Another while with Tong at the Flying-Horse in Kings-Street Westminster ; Kick'd-off by the Jesuits, and at his Wits End what to do with himself, 'till, in the Conclusion, he betook himself to his Old Councillor again in the Barbican ; and there they fell to the Hammering of their First Project over again. The Doctor in one of his Diary-Papers gives this Short Account of the Matter.

[*About the First of August, 1678.*]

Mr. Otes brought and read unto Dr Tong at his Chamber in the Barbican, his Discovery of the Plot, Written in a Hand wherewith the Doctor was not then Acquainted, but refused to leave it, or to give a Copy of it to the Doctor. ] Now says Young Tong, [My Father Advis'd Otes to write the Plot in Greek Letters, because that None but Themselves might be Privy to what was done : The Copy which was in Greek Letters was burnt by Otes. When they came to Fox-Hall, Mr Kirkby was taken in for an Assistant, after he had been Sworn to Secrecy. ] The Dr says likewise to This Matter in

A Paper Dated, Aug. 11. [That Mr Otes put the Discovery of the Plot, which he had written in 43 Articles, under the Wainscoat; at the further end of Sr Richard Barkers Gallery, in his House in the Barbican, near Dr Tongs Chamber-Door, according to the Drs Directions, where the Dr took them up; and chusing for Privacy to Correspond rather by Papers with an Unknown Person, then Personally with Any man in the Plot, gave Mr Otes Direction to Write, or Cause his Informations to be Written in the Greek Character, rather then in his Own hand, which he could not Vary, nor Hide from being Known; and gave him Other Directions, both to Abscond his Person and Hand; which notwithstanding he Observed not: That Dr Tong Copy'd the said Articles forthwith, and sought to Communicate them to his Majesty.

Compare This again with a Passage in [The Impartial State of the Case of the Earl of Danby, &c.] concerning Otes's Narrative, which Tong had Presented to his Majesty, and the King had put afterward into the Hands of his Lordship. It gives an Account of my Lords Discourse with the Dr upon This Subject, in Question and Answer,

Q. The Earl shew'd the Papers to the Dr, and Asked if Those were They? which he said they Were.

Q. Whether they were Originals?

Ans. No. They were Copies of His, the Drs Writing.

Q. Who was the Author, and where the Original?

Ans. He did not know the Author, for that the Originals (which he said were in his Custody) had been

been *Thrust under the Door* of his Chamber, but he did not know by *Whom*, only he did fancy it must be One that had some time before held Discourse with him tending to such Matters.

Qu. If he knew where to find That Man?

Ans. No. But he had seen him lately Two or Three times in the Streets, and it was likely not to be Long before he should Meet him again.

What is All This now, but The Whole ~~Sham upon Sham~~? The Articles were ~~by a Sham,~~ not yet brought to bear, and therefore, the Plot did Better in Greek than in English, till, upon Further Thoughts, it might be Lick-over, Corrected, and Amended: This Conjecture is very Expressly seconded with a Passage of Young Tong's in Another Letter, where he says that [ there were several Copies Written of Otes's Narrative ~~different~~ the One from the Other. ] It is again to be Noted, how Slyly Tong tells the Earl of Danby that [ they were Thrust under the Door; but by Whom he did not know, nor where to find the Man: ] When yet the Thing was Done by His Advice; The Doer of it in Tong's Company all this while; and the Man as well known to Tong as ever One Man was to Another.

[ They went (afterward) to Fox-Hall (says Young Tong) by my Fathers Advice, to the end they might be more Private, where Those Papers that they Wrote at St Richard Barkers, were put into Form, and deliver'd in to the Council.

[ After, They All Remov'd from Fox-Hall, and Nail'd up the Chamber-Door, having left Several Papers behind; And my Father Understanding by Mr Lampert, that the Door was broken up by the Landlord, and the

the Papers like to be Seiz'd on, was much Troubled at it, and sent away the Rent that was Due, by his Man Richard — [This House where my Father and Otes Lodg'd, was called by the Neighbours, the Plot-House ; and there Otes's Narrative was Written, whereof several Copies were Written Different the One from the Other, and the Four Jesuits Letters, wherein Otes pretended was the Whole Discovery, were Counterfeits.]

The Four Letters here Mentioned, The Windsor Letters were the Four Letters that the Attorney-General says in his State of the Evidence were All Enclosed in One Cover. But there was likewise a Fifth, Subscribed Nich. Blundel, &c. which Tong Tong, it seems, had no Knowledge of.

There are, in fine, so many Circumstances of Provable, and Open Fact in This Cause, that there's no room Imaginable for so much as the Pretence of a Contradiction : But still the Point at last of the Windsor Letters Clears the Proof of a Conspiracy, if it were possible, even above All the rest. I have the Originals at This Present in my Hand, and there is the Paw of Tong and Otes so manifestly in the very Writing of them ; as if they had not thought it worth the while to Disguise the Cheat. It was an Imposture, that their very Souls, Heads, Hearts, and Hands were All at Work upon ; And the Forgery Undeniable ; only Tong Himself was the Adapter-Hooker. It makes me think of a Story betwixt a Councillor and his Clyent, about an Answer to a Bill in Chancery. You must needs come, and draw up your Answer, says the Lawyer, we shall be under a Curse or else. Why draw it up then, quoth the Clyent. Well ! says the Other ; but what do I know what you can Swear to ? Never Trouble your Head for That (says the Clyent again in a Bawler) Look You to the Lawyers Part, and draw me up a Sufficient Answer, and leave

Leave it to Me to do the Part of a Gentleman, and Swear to't when you have done. This Dialogue in Jeff. was the very Case of Tong and Oes in Earrest; and what the One dictated, the Other Swore to.

## CHAP. VII.

By what means This Imposture came to be Promoted, and the Manner of doing it.

**V**WE have now brought down This Phantome of a Plot, from Forty to Seventy Two; From Seventy Two, to Seventy Eight; From Flaherfeld to Sr William Basmall, and so to Arch-Bishop Laud, to King Charles the First; To Prynnes Romes Master-piece; To Tonge True Narrative; From Valladolid, St Omers, the White Horse in the Strand; The Consul at the Savoy, 'till we have at last Lodg'd it at Fox-Hall, where it lies ready for Projection. Tong says that He and his Pupil went thither for Priory. Oes Swears that it was for Sanctuary; and that they went Back, in fear of their Lives from the Provincial, and the Jesuits. They had been Tossing, Turning, and Contriving, a Long time before they could bring their Matters together; And now it begins to Work for Good and All.

Dr

Tong's Diary of  
their going to  
Whitehall.

Dr Tong's Diary of Sep. 2. 1678. says that [ Mr Jones, and Mr Otes came to Dr Tonge to St Mary Overyes after Sermon time, and so All Three went by Water to Fox-Hall ; but Otes in a Boat by Himself, and following at a Distance for fear of discovery, which was the first time that Otes was made known to Mr Kirkby. Upon This Occasion, Otes was furnish'd with Mony, a Suit and a Gown, with Other Necessaries. ] Tong having made the Way smooth before-hand. The Council-Minutes agree likewise, that Munday the Second of September, was the First Day that ever Mr Kirkby saw Otes.

There is likewise in the Hand-Writing of Dr Tonge, a Paper Entitl'd [ *Mr Christopher Kirkbys Enformacion* ; ] which is very nigh word for word the same with a Printed Paper of 1679. Entitl'd, [ *A Compleat, and True Narrative of the Manner of the Discovery of the Popish Plot to his Majesty, by Mr Christopher Kirkby*. The Abstract of it is This.

That August 12. 1678. About An Abstract of No[n], Tong shew'd Mr Kirkby a Mr Kirkbys Nar- rative. Narrative of the Popish Confederacy in Forty Three Articles. Tong En- joy'd Mr Kirkby Privacy ; and to tell no body of it but the King, to which he Promis'd to do. He could not speak with his Majesty That Day, but the Day following, he put a Paper into the Kings Hand in the Outward Gal- lery going into the Park. His Majesty Ask'd him some Questions, and so Appointed him to Attend 'till he came back ; when Kirkby told the King, that Pickering and Grove were to shoot him, and Sir George Wakeman to Poyson him ; and that he had a friend at hand with Papers to make out the Particulars. Kirkby was then Commanded to bring his Friend in the Evening, to At- tend his Majesty ; And in the Red-Room a Copy of the Narrative

Narrative was Deliver'd to his Majesty in the Doctor's Hand, but with All Caution of Privacy Imaginable. His Majesty told them that he would put the Papers into a sure Hand, and Order'd them to Attend the Earl of Danby, which they did the Next Day; finding his Lordship with the Papers in his Hand, who desired Mr Kirkby to Withdraw whilst he Spake to the Dr. Some Two or Three Days after, the Dr brought More Enformations, which Mr Kirkby seal'd up, and Convey'd to the said Earl. About the 20th of August the Dr Propos'd the seizing of Pickering, and Grove; and on the 23th, Pickering and Keines were to be shew'd, that they might know them again; and Grove should have gone to Windsor, but he fell Sick. On the 26th The Dr. Propos'd the Intercepting of Letters: and on the 31th. Enquiry was made in the Post-Office about such Letters.

Sep. 2. Otes came first to Fox-Hall, and Presently there came out Further Discoveries. Sep. 4. Otes told Kirkby that the Provincial had Beaten him for Telling Tales; Whereupon, Tong got Otes to Swear his Narrative before Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, Sep. 6. Tong Deposing upon Oath, that it had been made known to the King. Sep. 5. Mr Kirkby went to Windsor, but the King took no Notice of him. On the 7th and 8th, he could not speak with the Earl of Danby Neither. Sep. 9. The King took no Notice of Kirkby again; All of them thinking it hard, that the Discovery was so much Negleeted. Sep. 27. Tong was Order'd to Attend the Councill; but coming Late was Order'd to Attend the Next Morning. In the Mean time they Resolu'd to get Copies Sworn; and on the 28th early they got Two Copies of the First Depositions also Sworn; that they might Each of them have an Authentique Copy. Mr Kirkby and Tong went after This, to Whitehall, while Otes went to Fox-Hall. The Councill, in fine, Order'd Tong to bring Otes thither,

whether, whereupon they attended, and had Both their Lodgings Immediately Assign'd them in Whitehall. Thus far Mr. Kirkbys Narrative; To which I shall only add a Word or Two out of a Paper of Dr Tong.

Fritlay, Sep. 27. The Council met about the Plot, and sent for Dr Tong; but rose before he Spake with them. Sir Robert Southwell Order'd Dr Tong to appear before his Majesty and the Council Next Morning. Mr Otes Swore Two Copies before Sir E. B. Godfrey.

Tong with his  
Narrative before  
the Council.

Saturday 28. Dr Tong appear'd, and referred himself to the Papers he had Given, or Transmited to his Ma-

jesty. Being desired to give the like Brief Account to them, as he had done to his Majesty, he referred himself also therein to a Paper-Account, which he had formerly Transmited to his Majesty, which was Read. The Dr was also afterwards desired to put the Papers before the Board into Method; To which he Answered, that they were a Journal, and Ordered, as he Received them, not only by Dates, but by Marginal Numbers.]

After Tong and Otes<sup>s</sup> taking Sanctuary in Whitehall, these Sparks could not fail of being Wellcom'd into the Next House of Commons; for the very Countenance of giving them Credit thus far, was as Good as a Testimonial for a Countenance of Re-pentance in Another Place; And after the Authority of believing it so far in Jeff, it is not to be Wonder'd that it should Gain much a Greater Reputation among the Common People in Environs. There was a Nest-Egg of Old Standing, and that Every body gave over almost for Idle, till in the End it came to Disclose, and by Degrees, to Fluster, and Take Wing. There's One Note in This Place not to be Omitted, which is ; that in several

Pages

Raggs of Scribled Papers of Dr Tong's that pretend to Matter of Fact; there are Divers Passages Manifestly Defac'd, and Alter'd; So that of One Thing they are made quite Another, which could never be by Applying the Truth to the Fact, but by Accommodating the Story to the Imposture.

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## C H A P. VIII.

*By what Mean's the Author of This Little History came by the Papers herein mentioned.*

I Was Charg'd in October, 1680. L'Estrange fally  
for Tampering with Tong to Accus'd by Young  
Invalidate Ores'es Evidence, and up- Tong, and Otes.  
on Two Full Hearings before his Majesty and Coun-  
cell, I was twice Acquitted by the Unanimous Judg-  
ment of the Whole Bord. In December, 1681. there  
came a Person to me from Young Tong, who was at  
That Time a Pris'ner in the Kings-Bench, with an  
Assurance that he was very much Troubled in Con-  
science for a False Oath about the Bus'ness of his Fa-  
ther, and of my self ; Shewing me likewise a Paper  
to That purpose under his Hand, and desiring me  
Forgiveness for the Injury he had done me : Where-  
upon I wrote to him as follows.

Sir,

You will wonder at This Letter per-  
haps, from a Person that has neither  
Directly nor Indirectly had any thing

L'Estranges First  
Letter to Young  
Tong.

to do with you, either by Word, Writing, or Message,  
since October Last was Twelvemonth; when, upon  
your Enformation I was Question'd, and Wrongfully Ac-  
cuse'd, in many Particulars before the King and Councell.

I look upon it as my Duty to Forgive you; and at  
This Good Time to tell you so, and I have the Charity to  
believe, if it had come into your Thoughts, you would  
have found it your Part to have Desired it, &c.  
December. 27. 1681.

In Return to This of mine, I receiv'd an An-  
swer with the Copy of a Petition to his Majesty,  
Enclosed in manner as follows.

Ever Honoured Sir,

Tongs Answer. I humbly thank you for your Chari-  
ty, in forgiving the Wrong I did you in  
October was Twelvemonth; And I Assure you it  
hath been a Great Trouble to me; and if I could have  
hoped for Pardon, I should have begg'd it of you long  
since, but I am Confident if you had known, how I was  
Us'd, by my Uncle First, and afterward by College, and  
Otes, to Force me to Accuse you Falsly, you would  
sooner have Pitied my Weakness, and Forgiven me, what  
I have done against you: But This Generous Charity  
which you have now shewed in giving me the Pardon which  
I durst not Ask for, hath Encouraged me to Intreat you to  
Intercede with his Majesty to Grant me his Gracious Par-  
don for the Great Offences which I have Committed a-  
gainst him; and that he would be pleased to let me be  
brought to my Tryal, and have the Perusal of my Fathers  
Papers, to help to make my Defence; And I hope to make  
out the Truth, to the Satisfaction of All Honest Men,  
and Discharge the Conscience of,

Honoured Sir,

Your veryest Commandable Servt,  
Simpson Tonge.

To

To his Most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Petition of Simpson Tonge, Prisoner  
in the Kings-Bench.

Sheweth,

**T**HAT after your Petitioner had Declared the Truth to your Majesty concerning the Contrivance of his Father and Mr Titus Otes, your Petitioner being in great want of Necessaries, his Uncle, Captain Tonge, having sent for him was compelled to go to him for Relief; and Captain Tonge made your Petitioner Drunk, and then Threaten'd and Forced him to deny the Truth, and to Sign a Paper, which the said Captain Tonge had Written, your Petitioner not knowing what he did; and afterwards when your Petitioner was Committed to Newgate, Colledge came to him, and by Threats and Promises forced your Petitioner to deny the Truth, for the which your Petitioner hath been ever since under great Trouble of Mind for his great Wickedness and Cowardize to deny the Truth: but your Petitioner doth protest in the presence of Almighty God, that it is very true that the Plot was Contrived by my Father and Titus Otes, when he returned the Second time beyond the Seas, my Father and he writ much of it out of Houselife, Queen Elizabeth, and out of the Book writ by Hooper or Hocker that came from Rome, and swore against Campian and the other Jesuits; as will appear both by the said Books, and by my Fathers Papers, if your Majesty please to cause them to be Searched into: They first Writ at Sir Richard Barker's, where the Plot was Written by Otes in Greek Letters, and afterwards went to Fox-Hall, and one of the Jesuits Letters is in my Fathers Hand.

I

Wherfore

Wherefore your Petitioner doth most Humbly Pray, and Beseech your Sacred Majesty, to pity the sad Condition of your Petitioner, and to pardon his great Crime of going from the Truth; and to let him be brought to his Tryal, and to have his Fathers Papers deliver'd to him to make his Defence; and your Petitioner hopes to make what he hath Written so clear, that your Majesty will think him more fit for your Pitty then your Anger; and forgive the great Wickedness of your Petitioner, for the which he is truly Penitent, and will rather perish here in Prison, then ever be Guilty of the like; as he hath shewed to those that have been with him, since his great Poverty, to pervert him further from the Truth; but your Petitioner would not. Therefore your Petitioner doth most Humbly beseech your Majesty to pity the Sad and Miserable Condition of your Petitioner, and not to let him lie here and starve for want of Cloth and Bread.

And your Petitioner [ as in Duty bound ]  
shall ever pray, &c.

Simpson Tonge,

Tong refers himself in the Foregoing Letter and Petition, to Certain Papers that he would make use of for his Defence: Upon which Point he Expounds himself in a Letter of Jan. 2, in these Words,

A Second Letter [ Some of the Papers (says he) of Tong's, which my Father left, were taken at Colleges House, and my Uncle sent one Mr Hill to me in the Kings-Bench, and brought one who was a Stranger to me with a Paper to Administer on my Behalf, and I Sign'd it, and under Pre-

tence of Administ'ring for me, bath seized on the rest  
of my Fathers Papers. ]

This same Hill was a French Man, and his Name  
*De Mont*, and a Pestilent Enemy to the Late King,  
and his Government.

*Tong's Fumbling* in his Petition, at the Names of  
Books he has forgot, is a little better Expounded in  
a Letter to me of Jan. 5. 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ . [ *My Father* ( says  
he) us'd to take Notes out of a Great Book, a Supplement  
after Hollingshead left off, and writ, as I have heard  
him say, by one How, or Howes; and Other little  
Books written by Hocker, or Hopper, that was the  
Witness, and Prosecuted the Jesuits, &c.

Now to the Credit of these Papers, My Cor-  
respondence with Young Tong began December 27.  
1681. and Brake off upon the 11th of January  
following. I Publish'd his Letters in Print, soon af-  
ter the Receiving of them, and with a Provocation  
to any man that would take up Otes's Quirrel, and  
call Simpson Tong to an Account for making the Plot  
to be only a Cheat: and Dr. Tong, and Titus Otes,  
a Brace of Cony-Catching Impostors. This Villany  
was Expos'd Barefac'd, over and over; People  
Invited, nay Press'd, and Challeng'd, to undertake  
the Vindication of them; even at a time when the  
Authority of the Plot was yet Rampant; and when  
it was made Less Criminal, and Dangerous to Con-  
spire against the King, then to Disbelieve Otes. This  
was Certainly the most Desperate Evidence that  
ever was set afoot against the Sham of That Pre-  
tended Conspiracy, 'till the Final Decision of the  
Main Cause that follow'd some years after, at the  
Kings-Bench-Bar, Westminster, on the 8th and 9th  
Days of May, 1685. The Faction was at That

Time *Fleſh'd in Bloud, Bold, Violent, and Successfull*; and yet not ſo much as One Mouth to Open in favour of the *Forgery*; or to call Tonge to an Account for Ridiculing the *Veracity of the Kings Witneſſes*, or Affronting the *Reputative Honour and Wiſdom* of the *Nation*. I ſhould have Scrupled the Use of *Young Tong's Testimony*, after the *Scandal* of his *Saying and Unſaying*; and his going *Off and On* at the Rate that he did; if it were not that I find his *Enformations* strengthen'd, and Supported by other *Concurring Evidences*; and by the very *Tenour of the History of That Season*: and if it were not likewife, that Notwithstanding the *Blaſted Infamy* of his *Charaſſer*, and that his *Credit* was then at *Lowest*, they were Glad yet to make *Fair Weather* with him, without putting him to the *Streſs* of *Proving his Enformations*; which at That time probably might have been made out by *Other Hands*,

How the Author came by Tong's Papers. It may be made a Question per chance, in the Next place, What Warrant I have for the Vouching of These Papers of Old Tong's to be *Authentique*; either as *Originals*, or as *True Copies*? To which I can only ſay, that there was a Trunk of Dr Tong's Papers Seiz'd at Colleges, which was brought to Me, a Long Time after the Taking of them, to be *Open'd*, and *Examin'd*, and ſo they were, and *Atteſted* in the Presence of ſeveral Justices of the Peace, and Other Gentlemen. These were the Papers that *Simpson Tonge* ſays were Taken at Colleges (where the Dr Dy'd:) And it appears from the very Quality of These Papers that there were others of *Greater Conſequence* Convey'd away; which Confirms what *Simpson Tonge* ſays further, about the *Administration*, and the *Conveying away* of the

the Other Writing. The much Greater Part of the Papers in the Trunk, were *Womyses* of Project; Calculations about Anti-Christ, and the Number of the Beast; *Snaps* of Chemistry, Political Speculations, Rough Draughts of Cases, Petitions, and Addresses, Several Copies of a Sort: But among Others, there were Abundance of *Dirty Fragments* of Paper; with a Confusion of Minutes, and Memorials upon them of Times, Dates, Places, and Persons, and Particularly, several Passages according to those Circumstances, that I find in the *Narrative*, which Manifestly shews that they were rather Matters Concerted toward the Making of a *Narrative*, and the Adjusting of Articles that might Hang together, than any Report of Ores'es upon the Point of *Narration*, and *Fact*. In One Word; These Broken Snaps of Writing were undoubtedly *Forgotten*, or *Not Heeded* rather, than laid up in this Trunk; and a man might easily gather from what was Left, that there had been a *Cull* made out of them Before: For there was enough remaining (as I have said already) to give Light to the Subject, and Design of Those that were either *Remov'd*, or *Destroy'd*: But the Doctors Hand is as Distinguishable from any Other Character, that I ever saw, as ever One mans Face was from Anothers. *One of the Jesuits Letters* (says Tonge in his *Petition*) is in my Fathers Hand; And any man that has a mind to Compare That *Jesuits Letter* with the Other Papers of the Doctor's, that I have Cited in These Remarques, will no longer be able to Doubt that they were Both Written by the Same Hand. And This I suppose, may pass for a very Reasonable Account, both of my having These Papers in my Possession, and of the Credit of them.

## C H A P. IX.

*The Design of Tong's Plot was upon the Duke of York.*

**T**HE MAIN, and Principal Design, ( says Young Tong in one of his Letters ) was to Disinherit His Royal Highness. Popery was the Colour ; The Duke of York was brought in Consequently as the Head of the Roman Catholiques ; The Queen not Spar'd ; and the Late King Himself more then Innuendo'd into the Conspiracy. Plain-Dealing Ores gives his Late Majesty a Touch on't in the Preface to his *Narrative* : And if it be True ( as it comes from a very Good Hand, and I believe it ) when Bedloe was Press'd to say Whom he saw about the Murder'd Body of Sr Edmundbury Godfrey, he did Heroically Declare, that he would not Name the Man ; Nay, and though he was Adjur'd to do it by an Eminent Patron of the Cause that is now in the Grave, His Answer was Short, and Resolute, that there was He, and He, and a tall thin Man, but he would go no further. So that the King, and the whole Royal Family were brought into the Toyle, as well as His Royal Highness. For Excluding for Popery, Involves Depositing, and Monarchy it self was to Fall too, with his Majesty. Witness the Association ; that was render'd Inseparable from the Exclusion, and Carry'd in the Project of it, the very Line, and Method of a Common Wealth. Simpson Tong follows the Blow at His Royal Highness, ( with some Particular Names, which, out of

of Decency, and Respect, I shall forbear) making Mention of the Lord Shaftesbury, &c. by whom the Master was Publiquely, and in Truth, Carry'd-on : But it was no Great Wonder, when a Company of Fools had put so many Shams together, and given them the Countenance of a Discovery, or a Narrative, for a Pack of Crafty Blades to Vernish it over afterwards and to put Popular Glosses upon it.

As to Tong's Aversion to the Duke of York, with a Regard both to his Title, and Religion ; the Vein of it runs quite thorough All his Papers.

Tong's Aversion to the Duke of York.

where-ever he can but bring in That Subject, though by Head and Shoulders ; particularly in the Business of Mr Coleman, and in the Cheat of the Five Windsor Letters, where he lays the Blasting of That Discovery at the Door of his Then Royal Highness, by Possessing his Majesty against the Belief of Beddingfields Letters, and over-ruling the Credit of them, whereas it is made Sufficiently Notorious already, that when the Faction afterward were Audacious, and Powerfull enough to Press, and to Procure his Banishment ; to Attempt his Exclusion, Impeachment ; nay the making a Traitor of him ; they had not yet either the Face, or the Heart to venture so much as One Syllable, of All These Letters into Evidence. But One Instance shall serve for All.

In Tong's Jesuits Assassins, (being the Enformation of One Green a Weaver, drawn up, and made Parliament-Proof, by Dr Tong) he brings in a Discourse betwixt One Mr Royer, and Green a Weaver, concerning the Titles of the Duke of York, and Duke of Monmouth.

Tong's Malice  
to the Duke of York.

If there be a Difference ( says Green ) between the Duke of York, and the Duke of Monmouth, and the Parliament do not Settle it ; I believe that All the Protestants in England will venture their Bloud, before the Duke of Monmouth shall lose his Birthright, and We lose the Liberty of Our Religion too.

Boyer. And We will Venture All our Lives, and Fortunes on the Behalf of the Duke of York, and for the Interest of Our Religion.

Green. What can You do ? for You be Nothing to Us.

Boyer. Do not you Think so ; for although we are but Thin here, yet there be Many in Other Places, and Powerfull Persons too. I will raise a Company, &c. I am now gotten into the Acquaintance of them, by whose Assistance I can get a Commission from the Duke of York as well as Another. fol. 2.] And now comes Tong with a Politique Note Bene upon't.

N. B. This agrees well with Mr Jenisons Relation of a Commission promised Him, &c. And here it may be Noted by what False, Sly, and Pernicious Suggestions, and Insinuations, the Jesuits Sow the Seeds of Sedition, and Rebellion in the Minds of Simple, and Well Meaning Persons of All Degrees, as here in the Irresist Case ; pretending and Raising False Titles to the Crown, and thereby Dividing the Loyal Subjects thereof, into Bloody Fends, and Resolutions. ] This Pretended Discourse pass'd in 1675. So that Tong's Plot was much before his Discovery.

## C H A P . X.

*Tong Manag'd the whole Affair of  
the Plot, from One End to the Other.*

WE are now come to the *Last Chapter* of This Little Piece of History. We have seen the *State* of the *Original Cause*; and That *State, Reported*: We have taken a *Specimen* of some Proceedings upon it : Enquir'd into the *Rise*, and *Creation* of it ; and find it at Length to be only *One Counterfeit Drawn from Another* ; and *Design'd* for a *Cheat*, from the *Beginning*. We have shew'd likewise how it came to be *Entertain'd*, and *to Thrive* in the World. We have given an Honest Account of the several *Evidences* and the *Papers* also, that are here made use of toward the *Proof* of This Matter. It appears further, that *Tong's Pretended Plot* struck at the very *Root* of This *Imperial Monarchy*. Thus far we have gone *Already* ; and it remains now, only, in *One Section more*, to set forth, that the *Founder* of This *Imposture* was the *Chief Manager* too ; and that all this *Hurly-Burly* has been, in a Great Measure, the Work of *One Weak Man* ; A *Simple, Visionary Bigot*, and a *very Dreamer of Dreams*, according to the Letter. But when People are so Blinded with *Passion* on the *One side*, as not to Discern the most *Palpable Folly*, and *Wickedness*, on the *Other*, what will not an *Obstinate Enthusiasm* be able to bring about, when 'tis not only *Supported* by a *Prevalent Faction*, in

in favour of it, but Prejudice, and Ignorance, to Work upon, over and above?

It is a Long Time now, that Otes was only Titus Otes has Had, Held, and Enjoy'd, All the Advantages of an Undisputed Title to the ~~title~~ Discovery of the Plot. He has Eat, Drunk, Slept, Sworn, Blasphem'd, Ranted, and (with Pardon of the Modest Reader) Bugger'd upon the Credit of it; and in Despite of Hell, and Infamy, All this Notwithstanding, he has still Upheld the Dignity of his Claim, and the Knee has been Bow'd to him, from Abigate to Westminster, as to [the Saviour of the Nation:] Nay, he Continues Blessing God, to this very Day, and Hour, under the Discipline of the Common Hang-Man; and all his Annual Processions, Toties Quoties, from the Jayle to the Gallows, are but Reckon'd upon as the Bearing of his Testimony for Righteousness sake: But now to Saddle the Right Horse, and to give the Devil Himself his Due; as to all these Titles, Triumphs, Pomps, Pleasures and Solemnities; I look upon Dr. Tong, that has pass'd for no more than a Property all this while, to have had incomparably the Fairer Equity of the Two: For it was Tong made the Misque all this while, and Otes only Drew the Bellows: But we are not here to Dispute the Heraldry of That Affair: I am only for doing Justice to the Memory of Men Famous in their Generations, and of Men that Comended too far a Preference in This Matter; for there is an Ambition even among the Damned Themselves, who shall be the ~~best~~ ~~best~~ ~~best~~ in Hell. The [FIRST] DISGOLVERERY Sounds as Big in their Flogging, Whipping Way, as [the ~~best~~ Man that Effects ~~best~~] does, in a Military way of Honour; and the

the One takes it as *Ill*, not to stand *Foremost* in the *Scandal*, as the Other to find himself *Post-Pon'd* in the *Record* and *Glory* of the *Action*. So that, without *Derogating* from the One, or *Ascribing* more to the Other, then in *Strictness of Truth*, and *Justice* belongs to him ; My Bus'ness is only to Rectify the *Memorials* of This History, and to set *Tong Right*, with the *Next Age*, upon the Subject Matter of This *Competition*, which is a Good Office that no body ever yet Ventur'd upon but my self ; And if a man might Apply the Case of *Saul and David*, to That of *Our Two Worthies*, it should be that [*OTES has Slain his Thousands, and TONG, his Ten Thousands :*] And so I'lle on to my Matter as fast as ever I can.

To see what Part Dr Tong had in the Government of This Sham ; or rather, that he was ( like the Soul ) in the Whole, and in Every Part of it ; we must begin as far Upward of Seventy Two, as He look'd beyond it, to the Story of *Habernfeld* : At which time he was *Calculating*, how he might make the *Narrative* of 1640. do the same Trick over again, in Time to Come. [ *It will be an Easy Matter* (says he) *to stir up the People to Fear Popery :* ] and therefore, upon the Advice of his Reverend Friend Dr Beale, he put himself upon the Writing of Pamphlets [ *Yearly, and Quarterly, if Possible,* ] ( as he says ) to *Alarum the People* ; as the *Jesuits Morals*, the *Royal-Martyr, &c.* To the *Latter* of which, he Ascribes the *Providente*, in a manner, of the *Whole Discovery*. He fell in League afterward, with *De la Marche*, a French Minister ; *Edward Price*, a Sadler ; *Green*, a Weaver, &c. and wrote Petitions, Cases, Addresses, Informations, and Narratives, forthem. Oter, all this while, was his

Familiar, and sent abroad ( according to the Pleasant Character of Sr. Harry Wottons Publique Minister, to Lye (with Reverence be it spoken) for the Service of his Master:) And in the mean time, who but the Dr to Furnish him with *Meat, Money, and Cloaths*, for the Discharge of his *Commission*! If there was Any thing upon the Common Subject of the *Plot*, to be Presented to the *Publique*; who but Tong to Settle the Standard of it; and to see that All *Articles*, and *Accusations*, should be *Statutable Weight and Measure*: Nay he was so well known in his way, that Folks came as Naturally to Him for *Collateral Evidences* to help out a *Blundering Wench* at a *Dead Lift*, as a *Cook-Wench* Carries her *Broken Bræf* to the man that Cries, *Have ye any Work for a Tinker to Mend?*

But to Come to my Text now, & to Stick to't; and to save as much *Time, Trouble, & Paper* as is Possible, within the Compafs of my Bus'ness. The Point to be Clear'd in This Chapter, is, (according to the Argument in the Head on't) that [ Tong Manag'd the Whole Affair of the *Plot* from One End to the Other ] This is the very *Truth* of the Thing, and that it was *His Engine, Labour, Zeal, Industry, and Prowess*, that has given *Life, Countenance, and Motion*, to This Illustrious *Adventure*; though by the Iniquity of the *Age*, and by the *Assistance* ( as the Dr has it ) of *Noble, and Reverend Friends*, Otes has made a shift to run away with the *Reputation* of the *Undertaking*. There will need Little more to make This Evident beyond All Doubt, or Contradiction; then to Gather into One short *Summary*, the Scatter'd *Minutes* of what we have already Touch'd upon in These Papers; and so to Carry the Train from First to Last thorough the Whole Cause, and in *Order*.

He

He Began with *Habernfelds Plot*; he fancy'd Another of the Same under the Colour of That Plot's going on Still. He took a Copy of it in his *Royal Martyr*, for a President: He shew'd it to *Otes* to Consider of. In One Word, He W<sup>t</sup>sh'd for a Plot; He did all he could to make People Believe there was a 'Plot; He Design'd a Plot; He Fram'd and put together the Heads of a Plot; And in fine, He Contributed with Purse, and Council, Heart, Hand, and Good Will, toward the Execution of it. It was by His means that *Otes* was Maintain'd; By his Advice, that *Otes* was sent over; By his Direction, that *Otes* got Jesuits Names, and Acquaintances, to Build so much as a Pretence upon. He did not only Pass-over *Otes*'es Execrable Hypocrisies, Blasphemous Perjuries, and Mock Sacraments; but he was Privy to, Advis'd, Approv'd, and Encourag'd them; He bids *Otes* go over, and gives him His Directions, not so much what to Look for, as what to Find; Upon *Otes*'es Return, he sends him back again upon the Same Commission. *Otes* wanted Bread; *Tong* stops his Mouth, and takes upon him to put him in a way: Do but Discover a Plot, says *Tong*, and Y<sup>r</sup> are a Made Man for ever. Make the People Jelous of Popery, and your Work is done. *Otes* Undertakes the Task, and without any more Words, a Bargain's a Bargain.

A Brief Deduction of Tong's Plot.

During This Manage of *Otes*, *Tong* was not Idle Otherwise neither: Witness his [ Searching out Evidence, Soliciting, Promoting, and Expediting,] to his very Great Expence, as he sets forth in his [ Case and Request. ] The Paying of above Forty Clarks to Write for him; His Undertakings, and Disbursements to divers of the Irish, as well as the English Witnesses, as appears upon several Bills, and Discharges under his Own hand; His Restless Scribbling,

Scribbling, to Provoke Fears and Jealousies ; The Indefatigable Pains he took to Assist False Witnesses, and to help forward Scandalous Enformations ; To say nothing of the Crotchet of Fourteen Shillings a Week to any of his Parishioners that would Turn Papists.

Now upon the whole Matter, Otes only Swore Otes neither Saw with his Own to Tong's words. Eyes ; nor Heard with his Own Ears ; He stirr'd neither Hand nor

Foot, and his Tongue hardly Wagg'd in his Mouth but by Tong's Direction. His Way was still Chalk'd out before him ; and All that he had to do, was to Swear to Tong's Words and Matter. Where Otes made a Stumble, as about his lying so Close in Town at the Time of the Consult, that he could get No Witnesses ; Who but Tong to Cover the Perjury ; and, upon All other Occasions, to Palliate his Fooleries. Who was it but Tong that Made the Plot ? That Wrote the Story of it ? That Hunted out Knights of the Post to Second it ? That Espous'd all sorts of Impostures for the Colouring of That Cheat ; and it Cost him more Trouble at Last, to Defend, and to Excuse the False Oaths, then to Procure them. Who was it but Tong, that took Otes to him in the Barbican for their Common Purpose ? as he calls it ; That bad him Write the Plot in Greek, and lay it behind the Wainscot. It was Tong's Invention too, the Promising of Otes Fifty Pound to Murder him for his Jesuits Moralls ; and the Sowcing of him in a Damned Oath for the Performance of Covenants. The Battery that was made upon Otes's Person, by the Provincial on Sept. 6. 1678. And Another by Stratford in Cock-Pit-Alley, that was set on by the Jesuits the Day following ; This was All the Mother-Wit of the Dr still ; and so was the Advice of their Snuggling together, at Fox-Hall upon't, for their

their Common Secnry, and to keep themselves in a whole Skin. What were the *First Three and Forty Articles*, but the *Work* yet of the *Same Head*, and *Hand*? Who but Tong to tell Mr Kirkby of it; and by his Means to get Access to the King? who but Tong again, to Deliver Those Articles to the King; and afterward, by his Majesties Order, to Attend the Earl of *Danby* about That most Important Affair? Who was it that told his Lordship the Story over and over again of *Grove, Pickering, and Wakeman*; the *Windsor-Ruffians*; and how they might be Catch'd in their Rogueries, upon the very Spot, with their *Guns* and their *Daggers*? Who was it that Excus'd the *Ruffians* afterward, for not going to *Windsor*, because One of 'em was *Indispos'd*, and *Another's Horse had Slipp'd his Shoulder*? Who was it that shew'd *Pickering* at the *Altar at Somerset-House* for fear of Mistaking the *Man*? Who was it that brought still more and more *Enformations*, One upon the Neck of Another; That made so many Jaunts, *Out of Town*, and *Back again*, with *News*, and for *Orders*, only to *Fetch and Carry*? Who was it again that put *Otes* upon Swearing his *Enformations* before Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey? Who was it that *Carry'd him thither*, and *Supported him there*, with an *Oath*, that the *Contents of Those Papers bad been shew'd to the King already*? Who was it that *Counsell'd Otes* to have several *Copies* of them Transcrib'd, and that Help'd both in the *Writing*, and in the *Recommending* of them Himself? Who but Dr Tong, that *Guided*, and *Influenc'd* This whole Affair? And *Otes* all this while, not so much as *Seen or Heard of*, 'till the *Second of September at Fox-Hall*: Only the *Plenipotentiary Dr*, with *Full Powers*, and *Authorities*, was his own *Principal*, and *Commissioner*, Both under

One.

*One.* Nay, and he was *his Own*, as well as *Otes's* *Confessor* too ; for he *Absolv'd* himself of the *Sin of False Speaking*, as he had done *Otes* before, upon the Account of *False Swearing*, as in his *Shuffling* with the Earl of *Danby*, is made appear already.

Tong's Method  
of Pursuing the  
Plot.

It must be further said now, for the *Drs. Credit* ; that he shew'd as much *Steadyness*, in his *Perseverance*, as *Boldnes*, and *Resolution*, thus far in the *Attempt* : For he *Gain'd his Point at Last*, in *Despite of All the Bug-Bears of Honour, and Conscience*, and in *Defiance of All the Oppositions of Law, Reason, and Common Sense*. His *First Narrative Shrunk in the Wetting*, and was found, *One Part of it to Clash with Another*, and not to *Agree with It self* : Insomuch, that *Tong Press'd many times upon the Earl of Danby* ; and *Mr Kirkby more then Once, Presented Himself in the Kings Eye*, without any *Notice taken of them*, or *Gaining any Hopes of a Further Acceß* : So that they gave it off for *That Time*, and Remitted the Matter to some *More Favourable Season*. When *Tong saw that the Narrative did not Take* ; he *Re-enforces his Attempt with Fresh Articles* : He follows them with *News of the Ruffians going to Windsor*, and with the *Proposal*, that *One of the Earls Domestiques should go along with them*. The *Disappointment above-mention'd made the Bus'ness look Worse* ; and his Majesty *threw off the Thought on't*, as a most *Palpable Fiction* : So that the Dr was now put, for *Another Invention*, to the *Uttermost Stretch of his Wits, and Courage* : And then comes-in the *Sham of the Five Windsor Letters* : But That which *Tong Propounded for an Evidence so Demonstrative of the Truth of All he had Deliver'd*, that it would put a *Final End to Any Question upon That Point*, serv'd only to *Conclude*

clude the Whole to be a *Forgery*; These Letters now were Manifestly of Tong's Contriv ing, One of them of his Own Hand-Writing; Nay the Authority, and the Truth of them, in respect both of the Authors and the Matters, were, to the Uttermost of Tong's Poor Might and Skill, in such a Manner Exclu'd, and Defended; that they were Argu'd to be Such and Such Peoples Hands, because they were Not Like their Hands, and without pretending to shew any Other of their Counterfeit Letters to Compare them by. And Tong has not quite done yet neither.

Tong gets himself sent for to the Council; He Delivers his Papers in; Fetches Ores; He Sollicits King, Lords, Commons, and Committees; There was not One Step in the whole Frame of the Conspiracy, which he does not Write Notes, Narratives, or Relations upon. He's In at All, thorough the Three Kingdoms. Who but Tong to furnish the History of all our Fires; Treasons; Popish Commissions; Alliances; Faggots; Persons cut ons? Who but He, to undertake for the Lists of the Plotters, the Particularities of their Crimes, and to set up, in short, for Historiographer to the Conspiracy, and the Common Solicitor to the whole Faction? Though he Declares, (as is said already) in a Petition to the House of Commons, that [ he had No Knowledge of any Person, Charged or Suspicious to be in the Confederacy; and hardly of any One Popish Gentleman in England. ]

I have yet One Paper more of His, bearing Date April. 29. 1679. Tuesday.

He takes upon him, with his usual Confidence, to Advise his Majesty to Deliver up all Priests and Jesuits to the severity of the Laws in that Case Provided: For (says he) [ They are not to be Consider'd as Meir Priests; but as Professed;

*fested and Known Enemies to our King and Kingdom,  
Spies, & Tasslers, and Incendiaries.]*

To This Discourse, the King shew'd Great Dislike, and Changed his Countenance with Displeasure, and said, that Bloud Became not the Dr, nor his Coat; Said, he must Preach Other Doctrine to Him, and That, on the Account of Conscience; and Appealed to the Drs Own Conscience, whether He would be Contented to be so Persecuted ( Terming them Poor People;) and said, Other as Effectual Means might be Used.

The Dr Answer'd, that he spoke This only for his Majesties Enformation, and that he might know that he was not Obliged, neither in Honour, Promise, nor Conscience to Interpose for them as Priests; if his Affairs Press'd him, and Required him to do Other-wise.

If I had thought of it sooner, This Treatise would as well have born the Title of *a Brief History of Tong*, as of *a Brief History of the Times*; Or it would have done as well-perhaps, as either of them, to have Call'd it *A Vindication of Titus Otes*: For His Murders were a kind of *Chance-Medley*, Compar'd with the Others. He, Poor Devil, Swore to Any thing that came Next, without either *Feeling*, or *Fore-seeing* the *Conscience*, or the *Consequences* of Things. A *False Oath* in His Mouth was no more then an *Invenom'd Tooth* in the Mouth of a *Mad Dog*: He Snapt at Every thing that was in his Way, and No Remedy for the Wound, like a Piece of his *Own Liver*. The very Bleeding of him at a Carts-Arse has Purg'd away the *Malignity* of the *Poyson*. Otes's Part was Divided, betwixt a *Malicious Humour* that he brought into the *World* with him, and an *Habitual Course of Wickedness*, that made his *Sins* as *Familiar* to him as his *Daily Bread*: but the *Invention*,

Invention, the Contrivance, and the Conduct, was Altogether Tong's; Who, Certainly, had the Forethought, the Deliberation, and the Study of Wickedness to Answer for Over and Above. And Otes made no more of a False Oath, than of Writing just so many Words out of a Copy-Book: And I have yet One Word more to say Comparatively, even on Tong's Behalf; which is, That he himself had his Directors also, that were the More Criminal of the Two: For Even in the Confusion of Hell it self, there is a Subordination, as well as in Heaven; and there are Degrees of Anguish, and Desparation in the One, as there are of Glories in the Other; Nay, Lucifer, (if I may say so) Values Himself upon the Dignity of being Uppermost; and the Deeper the Horror, the Greater is His Glory.

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*The End.*

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A B R I E F  
**HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**T I M E S,** &c.

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P A R T III.

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Treating of the DEATH  
O F  
**Sir E. B. Godfrey.**

---

By Sir Roger L'Estrange K<sup>t</sup>.

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L O N D O N,

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M D C L X X X V I I I .



T O

# POSTERITY.

• **T**HREE will be a Time when Truth shall be Believ'd, and the Witnesses of it Justify'd; and the World never the more upon the mending Hand, neither perhaps. For it is Matter of Course, in the Reason and Flux of Humane Affairs, for the Next Age to do That Right to the Former, which the Former could Not do to it self. 'Tis a Rare Felicity of the Times (says Tacitus) when the Present State of Things will bear a True History. But so it is however, that One Generation finds Argument and Entertainment for Another; And whether the Subject be Good or Bad; or the Succeeding Age, Better or Worse, Things will be never the less Agreeable in the Story, for being Execrable in the Practice. For the Popular Test of Good or Evil, is Profit, or Loss; and it is only Interest that supports the Reputation of Wickedness, and Quenches the Veneration that is due to Virtue.

## To Posterity.

So that in saying *There will be such a Time, &c.* and in *Appealing* from the *Envy* of the *Present*, to the *Impartial Justice* of the *Times to come*, I do not take upon me to speak with the *Spirit* of a *Prophet*; (as if I *Fore-told* Things *Hard* to be *Fore-known*.) Neither do I reckon that I put any *Complement* upon *Posterity*, in *Transmitting* my *Cause*, and my *Papers* into *Their Hands*. My *Business* is only to *Place Truth* in a *Proper Light*, and to take the best *Care* I can, that *After-times* may be the *Wiser* for *Our Follies*; the *Honester* for our *Impostures*; and that the *Infamy* of the *Present Age*, may not pass for *History* in the *Next*.

This Tract is Intended for a *Third Part*, in Continuation of what I have already Publish'd in *Two Other Parts*, under the Title of [ *A Brief History of the Times, &c.* ]. In the *First Part*, I have layd open the *Scheme* and *Manage* of the *Late Conspiracy*, upon the *Credit* of the *Conspirators Proper Acts and Records*. In the *Second*, I have Endeavour'd to give the World a *True Account* of the *Rise, Progress, and Conduct* of the *Pretended Popish Plot*. And to shew, not so much what it was *Not*, as what it *Was*; which will make the Story appear quite Another Thing then all this while it has been taken to be,

The

## To Posterity.

The Third Part that I am now entring upon, is a kind of *Historical Review* upon the Matters of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. If he was *Murther'd* at *Somerset-House*, as *Bedloe* and *Prance* swear he *was*, the *Jesuits* and their *Fellows* are certainly the *Damnedst Fools upon the Face of the Earth*: But if That story was utterly *Impossible* to be *true*, the *Lord open the Eyes of the Blind*, and be merciful to the *Souls* of those that all this while have swallow'd All These Shams for *Gospel*.

For the sake of Good Method, I have Subdivided this Third Part into Two Other Parts, within it self. The Former Treats of the *Somerset-House* Invention, with the Circumstances of Time, Place, Manner, Persons; And so goes on with the Jaunt from the *Stable-Rayles* to *Primrose-Hill*; Comparing and Examining Depositions, Journals, and Publique Entries; 'till, in the End, it appears upon Demonstration as *Infallible* as *Truth it self*, that a Man might as well take upon him to bring *Heaven* and *Hell* to *shake Hands*, as to Reconcile *Prance* and *Bedloe*, One to Another; or Either of them to the Bare Possibility of a *Confidence* with *Himself*.

It follows now, in the Second Part, since Sir *Edmund* was *Not Murther'd* so and so, at *Somerset-House*, in such or such a Place; by such and such *Hands*; or for this or that *Reason*, according to the *Witnesses Report*, to Enquire How?

A 3

When?

## To Posterity.

When? Where? Why? By Whom? Or, in fine, By what *Disaster* he was brought to his *End*? Upon the *Whole*, I have no more to say, then to desire the Reader, in the Awe of *God*, and of his *Conscience*, to *Ask*, and to *Resolve* All these fore-going Questions within Himself.

There are *Three Points* of very *Great Importance*, that I have here made the Argument of *These Three Treatises*; of *Great Importance*, I say, in the *Subject-matter* of them; In the *Credit* they have found in the World: In the *Countenance* that has been *Given* them: In the *Miserable Consequences* that they have *Already* brought upon the *Honour* and *Peace* of the *Government*, even to the *Scandal* of *Religion* it self, and of the *English Nation*. And of *Great Importance* else in the *Further Operation* of *These Impostures* upon the *Generations* that are *yet to come*; in *Transmitting* an *Everlasting Infamy* upon so many *Noble Families* and *Persons*, as have been *falsely Accused* for this *Pretended Conspiracy*: And no way to *Encounter* the *Scandal*, but by taking the *Masque* off in *Time*, and bringing the *Naked Truth* of this *Jugling History* into a *Clearer Light*.

Such as it is, I am now about to Deliver a *Third Part* of it over into the World; partly upon an *Impulse* of *Conscience* and *Duty*; and partly as I am a Friend to *Plain-Dealing* and *Common Justice*. But I know very well, that *Good Dispositions* are of Little or no *Effect*, without

## To Posterity.

out Necessary Powers and Authorities, for the putting of them in Exercise. Upon this Consideration, before I ever advanc'd One Step or Syllable upon This Design, I made it my Humble Suit to his Late Blessed Majesty, that he would give me Leave and Commission, to make a Warrantable Enquiry into the Forgeries of Otes ; and to try if I could fairly bring him to Justice for his Perjuries. His Majesty was hereupon pleased to Grant me an Order for the Examining of Witnesses, and Comparing Evidences ; and the Matter succeeded according to the Wish of every Honest Man in the Three Kingdoms.

So soon as I found that Otes was Fast in the Toy's, it was but Reason Methought, for Prance to take His Turn too : The Bus'nes of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey being the Only Leg the Plot had now left to stand upon. Beside, that the White-Horse-Consult and the Somerset-House-Murther rested upon the same Bottom : Insomuch that the Fall of the Plot Tript up the Heels of the Murther ; for Bedloe and Prance swearing to Both Alike ; if there was No Plot, they were Consequently Forsworn to Both Alike.

In few words, All the Narratives, Depositions, and Articles of Otes, Bedloe, and Prance, were so tun'd One to Another, that it was Impossible to Touch Either of the Three, and the Other Two not Feel on't. I speak of their Agreement in One Common END ; for they fall for one upon another, every Step they set, in the WAY to't. It

## To Posterity.

Otes was *Forsworn*, so were the *Other Two*, by an *Inseparable Complication*; and *Prance's Bus'ness* was *more then three quarters done*, in the very doing of Otes's. This Consideration was most Dutifully layd before the Late King, and not without some sort of *Importunity*, (within the Compass of *Good Manners*), for the Honour of His Majesties *Leave, Order, and Commission*, to see if *Prance* might not be brought to the *Stake* as well as *Otes*; and the *One Prov'd* to be as Rank an *Impostor* as the *Other*. His Majesty was Graciously pleased hereupon, to *Encourage*, and to *Appoint such a Scrutiny*; and to Enable me with All Necessary Powers for an *Effectual Enquiry* into the True State and Condition of That Af-fair. In pursuance hereof, Divers *Enformations* were Taken; the Matter *Reported* upon; and Sir Edmund's Clark found at all hands to have been the Great *Confident* of the *Secret*. But he having withdrawn himself into the Isle of *Ely*; and not without some Jealousie upon the *Reason* of his going *out of the way*, as well as *Diffi-culty* to learn where he *was*; His Majesty was pleased to Direct a Special *Commission* for the strict Examination of him, as hereunder follows.

Where-

To Posterity.

WHereas His Majesty is given to understand, upon the Enformation of Roger L'Estrange, Esq; That there is one Henry Moor, living at present at Littleport, or elsewhere in the Isle of Ely, who is able to Discover Matters of Great Importance to his Majesties Service: These are therefore in his Majesties Name, and by his Special Direction and Appointment, to will and require you, or either of you, forthwith upon the Receipt hereof to send for the said Henry Moor, and him strictly and punctually to Examine, upon certain Matters, and Things, whereof Roger L'Estrange, Esq; abovesaid shall give you particular Enformation: And him having Examined, to transmit the said Examination unto the said Mr. L'Estrange. And for so doing, This shall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at Winchester, the 8th Day of September, 1684.

To John Nalson, L. L. D. and  
John Fincham, Esq; Two of  
his Majesties Justices of  
Peace for the Isle of Ely, or  
either of them.

By

## To Posterity.

By a Letter from Mr. Fincham, bearing Date, Sept. 20. 1684. I understood that these Worthy Gentlemen had Examin'd Harry Moor, according to their Order. And by Another from Dr. Nalson of the 22d. I received the Examination it self, with an Account from Both, how Moor stood upon his Guard ; and how Dextrously he Manag'd his Point.

We found him ( says Mr. Fincham ) to be very subtle and dexterous in Equivocating : His Answers for the most part, Study'd, and Labour'd; and although we took a great deal of Pains with him, and us'd all the Arguments we could to be clear and plain, yet we could not prevail. However, he has confessed enough to confirm Mr. Wynels Enformation; and likewise owns Mrs. Gibbons coming to Sir Edmunds House on the Tuesday, and his leading her to Church after the Corps ; and Declares, That he went with the Godfreys to her House on the Sunday.

He acknowledges his telling Mrs. Pamphlin, on Sunday Morning, that Sir Edmund was gone A-broad Two Hours before she enquired for him ; and for the Reason of it, he gives the Command of Secrecy Enjoynd him by Mr. Godfrey. In short, the Great Secrecy that he was all along obliged to, by the Godfreys, ( for which we could not get any Reason from him, when we told him how much it had been the Interest of his Masters Brothers, and all

## To Posterity.

all his Friends, if they had suspected he had been Murther'd by any Person, to have made the same Publique, and obtained my L.C. Justice's Warrant to have searched all Places that they had suspected for him ) together with the Evasive Answers he gave us; shews a Practice, &c.

Dr. Nalson Writes thus, [He is a Cunning old Fellow as ever I saw; and what you have, is Extort-  
ed from him by a Thousand Cross Questions; for we were upon him Five or Six Hours.

It is the Greatest Riddle (as I told him) that, as he Averrs, only He Himself, and the Two Godfreys should know of Sir E.G's Absenting, till the Tuesday; and yet the Saturday Post sent it all over England, that the Papists had Murther'd him, or at least, that there was such a Fear.

This Cavil about the Saturdays Post I have cleared over and over, where the Subject led me to That Point; And so I have the Other Pretence of the Worlds taking no Notice of Sir E's Absenting Himself till Tuesday; for they went from place to place Enquiring after him, to my Lady Prats, to Captain Gibbons; they told Parsons, and Mason as much before, and most of the Enformations Dated from the very day of his Absenting himself; it being All over the Town, upon the Sunday, What was become of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey? He went out Yesterday Morning, and did not come home Last Night.

The

## To Posterity.

The First Thing Necessary, was to Learn out the *Truth* of the *Fact*; and the Next Thing in question, was the *Practice* of the *Instruments* and *Managers* of These *Plot-Matters*; and Principally, how they dealt with their *Pris'ners* by the *Force of Money, Cruelty, False-Witnesses, Sham-Accusations, Menaces, Flatteries, the Fear of Death, or the Hope of Life*: And in fine, by All the ways Imaginable of *Hitting the Blind side* of the Men they had to do withal. Tis no News at This time of Day, what *Arts & Sollicitations* were us'd to Carry people off and on, according to the *Biass* of Those Times; when the *True Interpretation* of [*Confess the Truth, or you shall certainly be Hang'd,*] was [*Forswear yourself and be Damn'd.*] Now the Stories of This way of Tampering were so Rife, while This Bus'ness of the Plot was in *Agitation*, that His Majesty was pleas'd to Grant Another Order of Enquiry into any thing of This Kind that pass'd in the *Prisons*: (which I did accordingly) And the Order runs in the Terms Following.

Whitehall, Octob. 6. 1684.

WHereas his Majesty hath lately received several Enformations concerning the Manage of Edward Fits-Harris, and Miles Prance, and several other Persons while they were Prisoners in Newgate, the Gate-

To Posterity.

Gate-House, and Elsewhere ; It is his Majesties Pleasure, that you make a particular Enquiry by the Means of Captain Richardson, Mr. Church, and others, into the Matters aforesaid, concerning the Practices of Those that came to them, and had to do with them, by any unlawful, and Unwarrantable Ways.

And you are likewise hereby Authorized, and Empower'd, to assure the said Keepers, or Others by them Employed of his Majesties particular Grace and Favour, even in case of their own Failings or Misdemeanours, upon a full and a clear Declaration of the Truth, in, or concerning this Affair. And hereof, you are forthwith to make a Report.

To Roger L'E-  
strange, Esq;

It was a Great Advance that was made into the Cause of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey : and the Proceedings against Otes were by This time brought to the very Day of Issue ; when God Almighty took to Himself our Late Gracious, and Blessed Sovereign, which put a short Stop to the Prosecution both of the One, and of the Other : But however, the Prosecution was Reviv'd, and upon the 8th, and 9th. Days of May, 1685. Otes was Convict at the Kings-Bench-Bar upon Two In-

## To Posterity.

Indictments for Witful, Malicious, and Corrupt Perjury; and Miles Prance was also Convict of Perjury in the Case of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey and Mr. Vernatti, May 4. 1686. So that now there was a Fair Place left for a General Review: But I was Concern'd however, to secure my self under the Warrant and Protection of a Further Authority for a Continuation of the Scrutiny; which his PRESENT Majesty was Graciously pleased to Grant me in the Form following.

## JAMES R.

IT is Our Royal Will, Pleasure and Command, that immediately upon Sight hereof, you make a strict and diligent Enquiry into such Matters and Things as you shall reasonably conceive may give some Light concerning the Death of the Late Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and that you forthwith send for such Persons of Probity and good Repute, as you shall know, hear, or understand to have been privy to any Circumstances relating to the said End: And that you Examine every such Person upon Oath touching the same; more especially the Keeper of Newgate, and such of his Officers and People, as had the Care of Miles Prance,

To Posterity.

Prance, while he was there a Prisoner : And likewise one Boyce a Glass-Eye-Maker, and such others as you shall have cause to believe may be able to give any Material Enformati-  
on thereupon. You are hereby Required, and Authorized to proceed upon the Matters afore-  
said without any Delay ; and to give us a par-  
ticular Account of the whole Affair : And for  
so doing, this shall be your Warrant. Given  
at our Court at Whitehall, the 19th Day of  
February, 1685. in the Second year of our  
Reign.

By His Majesties Command.

To our Trusty and well-  
beloved, Sir Roger L'E.  
Strange, Knight.

Sunderland P.

Over and above These Authorities, I had like-  
wise the View of the Parliament-Journals, the  
Council-Papers, and All Publique Depositions, that  
might be helpful to me upon This Subject, and Oc-  
casion ; to say nothing of all the Printed Tryals,  
and Narratives that are Extant. So that in  
short, there wanted only True Copies of the En-  
formations before the Coroner, to put me in pos-  
session

To Posterity.

esson of the whole Matter: to which End I  
was further Enabled by *This Following Order.*

Robert Earl of Sunderland, Baron Spencer  
of Wormleighton, President of his Ma-  
jesties most Honourable Privy Coun-  
cil, and Principal Secretary of State,  
&c.

WHereas upon, or about the 18th. Day  
of October, 1678. You by Your  
Precept summon'd a Jury to Enquire how Sir  
Edmundbury Godfrey, late of the County  
of Middlesex, Deceased, came by his Death.  
And whereas you did Execute the said Inqui-  
sition, and several Witnesses were Pro-  
duced, and Examined before you on the Behalf  
of the King; whose Enformations upon Oath  
in Writing are in your Custody or Power, True  
Copies of which Examinations from the Ori-  
ginals, as also a True Copy of the Inquisiti-  
on, at his Majesties Pleasure should be forth-  
with delivered to Sir Roger L'Estrange,  
Knight, One of his Majesties Justices of  
Peace for the County of Middlesex: These  
are

To Posterity.

are therefore to will and require you forthwith to deliver to the said Sir Roger L'Estrange True Copies of All the said Enformations, not omitting any one of them ; and likewise a True Copy of the said Inquisition, by him to be compared with the several Originals ; And hereof you are not to fail. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 28th Day of March, 1687.

To Mr. John Cowper, one of his Majesties Coroners for the County of Middlesex.

Sunderland P.

Upon This Order, Mr. Cowper the Coroner deliver'd me the Copies of several Enformations. As the Enformation of Joseph Radcliffe, and of Eleanor his Wife : Two Enformations of Zachariah Skillarne ; Two of John Brown the Constable ; and the Enformations of Nicholas Cambridge, John Wilson, Tho. Morgan, William Bromwell, John Walters, John Rawson, Henry Moor, Caleb Winde, Richard Duke, and Mary the Wife of Captain Tho. Gibbon. The foregoing Enformations must be understood, according to the Order to Mr. Cowper, to be the True Copies of the said Enformations. And to be All too, [Not omitting any one of them.] And Mr. Cowper Delivered me likewise a Copy of the Order it self, by him thus Attested, at the foot of the said Order.

To Posterity.

6th of April, 1686. This is a true Copy of the Order above-written, Delivered unto Sir Roger L'Estrange Knight, by me; the Original being in my Custody.

Jo. Cowper.

Here are Sixteen Enformations upon Tale, and not One Word to the Question of the manner of his Death; but upon the Conjecture of the Two Surgeons, Mr. Skillane and Mr. Cambridge. Mrs. Gibbon, that could have spoken very much, says very little, and it was not properly an Enformation to the Coroner neither; for the Verdict was Over first. Moor the Clark, (that was in Effect, a Secretis, to the whole Mystery, was only Interrogated, If his Master went out in a Lac'd Band: I do not object to That Question; but why That Question, and No More, to a man that both, the Brothers, and the Coroner knew to be Privy to the whole Transaction? If he went out in a Lac'd Band, he was Murther'd; but if he had gone out in a Plain Band, he had been Felo de se. For whether he Dy'd by the Sword, or the Rope, or the Linnen Cloth, was the Question. The Jury sat upon Friday, and Adjourn'd till Saturday; and it was after Midnight when they gave up their Verdict. Now the Surgeons Deliver'd their Conjectural Evidence upon Friday; but the Jurors being wholly Unsatisfy'd, upon That meeting, were Prevail'd upon to Adjourn in order to the Getting of Further, and of Better Proofs. And what were those Further, and those Better Proofs that came

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came in next day, but Mr. Radcliffe and Mrs. Radcliffe, Caleb Wind and Richard Duke, that saw Sir Edmund in the Strand at Twelve or One a Clock the Saturday of his going away, after he had taken his Walk in the Fields toward Marybone : But These are Points that are Handled in Better Order, and more at large in Their Due places.

After this Care taken for the Finding out of the *Truth*, and for the *Methods of Arriving* at it. All Good men, I hope, will Acquit me, that I have proceeded upon the *Conscience* of an Honest Man, in the very *Inclinations* of doing it ; and that in the *Zeal* of pushing it forward, I have no cause to be Ashamed of Owning my self an Officious Lover of *Justice*. And I have been no less Tender of usurping upon the Province of my *Superiors*, in keeping my self strictly to all the Measures of *Duty* and *Reverence* towards the *Government*. I can fairly Appeal to the Reader now in one Word more, that I have taken as much Care to lay open the matter of *Fact* on the *One* side, as on the *Other* ; for where should any Man look for the *True* and *Reasonable* *Gronnds* of a *Verdict*, but in the Words and Import of the *Evidence*? To which End, I have here exposed the *Enformations* that were taken by the *Coroner* ; I have likewise *Impartially Extracted* the Uttermost Force of All that was said in Proof of the *Murshir*, upon the *Tryals*: And upon the whole Matter, I do here submit my self as to the *Candor* of this *Following Discourse* to *All Indifferent Judges*.

## To Posterity.

Let me not be thought Insensible all this while  
that I Write now against the Stream, and that an  
*Integrity of This Standard Labours* against *Wind*  
and *Tyde*. A *stubborn Inflexible Honesty* is all-  
most sure of as many *Enemies*, as there are Men  
able to do him *Mischief*, that have *Sacrific'd* to  
*Pluralities* upon the *Poll, Popular Applause, Interest,*  
and *Occasion*: But *my Fortune is made*, in the  
Comfort of a *Good Conscience*, and in the *Blessing*  
of an *Indifference*, that has cast *All these Cares*  
*behind it*. I will have the *Vanity* too, (even without  
Asking God Forgiveness for it) to *Hope*, that  
*These Papers* may *out-live* the *Envy* that This Ne-  
cessary way of *Liberty* has brought upon the  
*Composer* of them; And that *After-times* shall  
*Thank* me in my *Grave*, for the *Plain History* of  
many Useful Truths, how Odious soever at *Pre-*  
*sent*, which in all *Likelyhood* they should never  
have known without me.

But to shew now at last, that the *Officious*  
*Zeal of a Pragmatical Observator* (as the *Wit in*  
*Mode* has it) has not *Transported* him beyond the  
Terms of *Decency* and *Good Manners*. I have  
not so much as *skew'd*, in this Whole Discourse,  
upon *Any Person* where the *Third* of the *Story*  
did not *Absolutely Require* it. I meddle with no  
*Mans Opinion, Forreign to this Single point*. *To-*  
*leration*, or no *Toleration*, has nothing at all to  
do in This Book. I support my self from one  
End of it to the Other, upon *Evident* and *Visible*  
*Fact*: I have the *Publique*, and the *Solemn De-*  
*clarations*

## To Posterity.

claration of a Famous Common Lawyer, for the Equity and the Legality of my Conclusions, as they are drawn from Warrantable Premisses.

As to the Coroners Jury, with a respect to the Verdict, I do here make use of several of their Enformations, which were Frankly Deliver'd, and they are as Faithfully Reported. I do not find that there was any Great Stress laid upon the Evidence before Them, that spake to the very Pinch of the Question. Only upon the First day, while Blond, or ~~the~~ Blond was any part of the Debate, they stood it out; for they themselves knowing that there was a Great Deal of Blond, would not agree to find him Strangled, so long as Blond was insisted upon as an Argument that he Dy'd by the Sword. But upon the Saturday, and after a whole Nights Contest, what to make on't: The Blond, (that is to say the Demonstrative Proof) being quite laid aside; the Surgeons continued of Opinion that he was Strangled, and the Question being a Surgeons-Matter, the Jury resign'd themselves, and Agreed upon the Verdict.

Just as I was Finishing the History of One Popish Murther, up starts Another.

Upon the 30th of January Last past, about Nine at Night there was found, in Parkers Lane, among the Dunghills, the Trunk of a Murther'd and Dismembered Body of a Man. The Thighs, Legs, and Arms were taken up Next Morning, from under a House of Office in the Savoy; Drippings of

## To Posterity.

*Blond seen on the Wall; and the Head found in  
Another Common Place of Easement, in the Strand,  
near Exeter Exchange.*

This Tragical Story rais'd such a *Hubub*, of Rumour and Discourse all'ore the Kingdom, that This Particular *Affassinate* was most Industriously Represented, as no Other, then the *Earnest* of an *Universal Massacre*. Infomuch, that there was hardly an *Eminent Protestant Divine*, but they were presently *Fitting His Head* to This Bodie's Shoulders. It fell out unluckily enough, that a Couple of poor *Journymen Joiners*, that were taken Notice of to be more Busie then Ordinary, about the Place That night where the Body was *Laid*, were *Taken*, and *Committed* upon't. And in my Conscience, it would have gone *Hard* with'em, if God's Providence had not Order'd such a *Discovery*, *Another way*, as Clear'd these Two Men to All Purposes of any Possibility of being *Guilty* of the *Fact*.

I take Freedom to Discourse the Case thus far, in regard that they have been already taken into *Custody*, *Examin'd*, *Produc'd*, and *Acquitted*, by the *Coroners Inquest*.

The *Criminals*, upon the Other Account, are in the hand of the *Law*, and it will not become Me to Anticipate the *Judgment* of a *Court of Justice*, by any *General*, or *Particular Previous Defendant*; upon the Point in *Question*: I shall only say, that since the *Whole Matter* ( what ever the Town may Talk to the contrary ) has pass'd through

## To Posterity.

through my Hands ; As the Discovery of the Head ; the Proving of That Head to be the Head of Aubry ; and the Proving Those Quarters also that were found in the Savoy, to belong to the same Body. Since All This is True ; I say, ( as Sir Robert Clark, and several others will bear me Witness) and that *All the Enformations, Every One of them*, fell under My Particular Care ; (Three only Excepted, wherein Justice Lugg Joyn'd with me ) I have some Right, Methinks, for the Credit of Truth, and of *my self*, to speak a Word or Two on the Safe Side of the Question.

The Story of the *Body, the Bloud, the Quarters, &c.* being All put together, furnish'd Matter for so Terrible a Relation, that the Phantome it self of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Nothing to't. Insomuch that a man could hardly Walk the Streets, without being Flapt in the Mouth, with a [ *Will you believe Now that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murder'd by the Papists ?* ] I received a Penny-Post Letter upon the Occasion, which the Reader shall have as Cheap here as I had it.

Sir, I understand that you are Writing a Book to Prove to the World that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Murder'd Himself. It would be a Work Equal-ly Acceptable to This Nation, to Demonstrate that the Person lately found Murthered, did Cut off his Own Arms and Legs, and then with his Qwn Hands did Cut off his Own Head, and Order'd his Trunk to be Carryed, and left upon a Dunghill

To Posterity.

in Parkers-Lane, and there to receive Burial as  
Heretiques Deserve.

Yours

Philo-dicus.

This Letter is a Specimen of the Humour, both of the Season, and of the People, that are so Forward to Erect Articles of Faith upon Visionary Illusions. 'Tis a Thing Incredible, what a Concourse of People Met Every Day and Hour, in Shoals, to see the Dreadful sight of the Blood at the Savoy : What Romances upon it ; What Inferences, and Applications, as if Every Drop of Protestant Blood in the Peoples Veins were to go the same Way with That upon the Savoy-Wall. But to see now, how the Just Goodness of Heav'n has Turn'd All This, to the Reputation of Godfrey's Case, instead of Confounding it. For let the Present Murder be Fix'd where it will ; the Blood at the Savoy will have No Part at all in That Story : so that I hope the Snare of this Pretence, for the Abusing, the Embroiling, and the Tumultuating of the Common People, when they shall Discern how Dangerous, and how Malicious the Cheat was, may turn to their Advantage. Methinks it should make them Careful, What to Believe, and Whom to Trust : And say to Themselves ; Instead of [ Here's the second Part of the Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey ; Here's the second Part of the Imposture of That Pretended Murder.

## To Posterity.

I cannot have a Better Occasion, or a Better Place, for the Exposing of This Spiteful Sham, then That which I am now upon; And I can- not better do it, then by setting forth the Truth of That Bus'ness of the Bloud: And that it was a Sort of Bloud, which they that would have it Thought to be Protestant Bloud are not so Ten- der of Spilling. I must Desire the Reader to take Notice here, that Murder, is of No Religion: and that Truth, is of All Religions that ever were under the Sun. But for the Clearer Illustration of the Matter, I shall here subjoyn several Enfor- mations that I have taken concerning This Bloud: And it is Desir'd, that an Enquiry may be made by any man that has the Least Doubt upon him, whether All the Circumstances of Time, Place, and Persons, in These Following Depositions, be not True in Every Point, according to the Known Matter of Fact.

Midd. & ff. The Enformation of Dr. Richard Lambe of the Parish of St. Clements Danes, Feb. 7. 1687.  
Westm.

SAITH, that upon Sunday Morning the 29th of January Last Past, Mr. Hall one of the Fathers in the Savoy, finding himself Ill with the Spitting of Bloud, sent for this Enformant (as appear'd by the Message) to come to the said Mr. Hall, and let him Bloud: The said Mr. Hall telling This Enformant, that it was by the Order of Sir George Wakeman, And this Enformant went according- ly,

To Posterity.

ly, and Open'd a Vein, taking a Quantity of Blond from him according to his Order.

And saith, That on the Morning following, This Enformant went again to the Savoy, and Open'd a Vein for Mr. James Cook, and likewise for John Taylor. Having let Mr. Hall Blond in a Room One pair of Stairs, in the Presence of several People: Mr. Cook being let Bloud Three pair of Stairs High; and John Taylor in the Kitchin.

Jurat. die & Anno su-

pradic<sup>t</sup>. Coram Me

Richard Lambe.

Ro. L'Estrange.

Midd. & fl. The Enformation of Francis Hunter of the Savoy, Taken upon Oath, Feb. 9. 1687.

SAITH, That on Munday, Jan. 30. 1687. in the Morning, This Enformant held the Porringer to Mr. James Cook, while Mr. Lambe let him Blond, in a Room Three pair of Stairs High.

Jurat. die &

An. supradic<sup>t</sup>.

Francis Hunter.

The Enformation of John Taylour of the Savoy, Taken upon Oath, Feb. 9. 1687.

SAITH, That upon Munday, Jan. 30. 1687. in the Morning, Dr. Lamb let This Enformant Blond in the Savoy-Kitchen.

And

To Posterity.

And saith, that about One, the Cook threw the  
Bloud out at the Kitchin-Window.

Jurat. die & Anno      The Mark T of  
supradict.                      John T Taylour

The Enformant of Mr. James Cook of the  
Savoy, &c.

**S**AITH, That Mr. Lambe came to This En-  
formant, upon Munday Morning the 30th  
of January Last past, and let him Bloud: And  
that This Enformant seeing the Bloud yet standing  
in the Porringer on the Day following, One ask'd  
This Enformant what he meant to do with the  
Bloud, to let it stand so long? And so he took it and  
threw it out at the Window into the Thames:  
And This Enformant heard that Bloud was seen  
upon the Wall, and at the Bottom where it fell;  
but This Enformant did not see it.

And This Enformant seeing People about the  
Bloud under the Window, and Reflecting upon the  
Limbs that were there found, bad the Cook not Wash  
the Porringer, for People might possibly come to  
search about it.

Jurat. die & Anno                      James Cooke  
supradict.

The

# To Posterity.

Midd. }  
& } ff.  
Westm. } The Enformation of Peter Bayly,  
of the Parish of St. Martins in  
the Fields, Taken upon Oath,  
Jan. 9. 1687.

**T**HIS Enformant saith, that upon Monday,  
the 30th of January, 1687. About one of the  
Clock, he was in the Kitchin belonging to the  
Schools in the Savoy, where he saw two Porringers  
of Blond, which he was told was the Blond of Mr.  
Cook, and of John Taylor. And that he this  
Enformant saw the Cook throw out the Blond of the  
said John Taylor (as he was told it was) out of the  
Kitchen Window.

Jurat' die & Anno  
no Supradict. Peter Bayly.

The Enformation of Ignatius Walters, of the Sa-  
voy, taken upon Oath, Feb. 29. 1687.

**S**AITH, that on Sunday, Jan. 29. 1687. This  
Enformant held the Porringer to Mr. Hall in  
the Great Room up One pair of Stairs, while Mr.  
Lambe let him Blond.

And saith, That on Tuesday Morning next  
following, he saw Mr. Allen throw out Mr. Hall's  
Blond; and Mr. Cook throw his Own, out at the  
Kitchen-Window. And that on the Monday a-  
bove

## To Posterity.

Above, this Enformant saw John Taylor let Bloud, and this Enformant threw it out of the Aforesaid Window the same Afternoon.

And this Enformant saith, That a little of the Bloud stuck upon the Wall toward the Thames, which was not brushed off till the Thursday following.

Jurat' die & Anno supradict.

Ignatius Walters.

There never were Two Shams better Match'd, and the World could never have Furnished me with a more Auspicious Entrance into my Story of Godfrey, then this of Aubry. (For Dennis Aubry is the Name of this Murther'd Person.) I speak as to the Emprowement of a Prodigious Mischief out of a False, and a Scandalous Foundation : Only for the Honour of This Latter, the Other was much the Groffer Imposture of the Two, as will more and more appear, upon a thorough Perusal and Consideration of this Ensuing Treatise.

As to the Method and Disposition of the Matter in hand ; I have Divided the Whole into Two Parts ; and Each Part into Chapters, with Contents to them, that will do the Office of a Table.

And I have further, (for the Stopping of All Mouths) Deposited the Originals in the Paper-Office, to the End, that whoever Doubts whether they are Authentique or not, needs go no further for satisfaction then to the Bundle it self, as it remains there, under the Title of [Enformations concerning the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

THE

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THE

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THE  
MYSTERY  
OF THE  
DEATH  
OF  
Sir E. B. Godfrey  
UNFOLDED.

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PART. I.

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C H A P. I.

Sir Edmundbury Godfrey did certainly Dye a violent Death ; and William Bedloe and Miles Prance took upon them to Discover the Murthers, and the Murthers.

**T**H E R E never was, perhaps, such a *Mystery* made of a *Plain Case*, as we have had in the Bus'nes of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey : That is to say ; Concerning the *Manner of his Death* ; The

B.

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Time; The Place; The Occasion of it; and by what Hands He Fell: And All This only for want of Taking right Measures in the Tracing and Timing of Things: For Whoever draws Inferences, Hand-over-Head, from Bold Allegations, to Certainty of Fact; or from Positive Oaths, to the Truth of every Thing that is Sworn, without Further Enquiry, or Examination, will find himself Mightily Mistaken upon the Subject here in Issue.

To do This as it Should be done, there must a Regard be had to the Order, both of Time, and of Connexion; the Date, the Series, and the Succession of Things, Apart; with the Reasons, and Countenances of Affairs, as they stand in the Context. It will Need but a very short Deduction, to bring down the Course of This Story into the Proper Channel, by laying open the Naked Fact of Sir E. B. G's Dying a Violent Death: By shewing Who they were that took upon them to Detect the Murtherers, and to Prove the Murther; and how Godfrey's Name came Originally into the Story; which, as they pretended, was the Occasion of his Death. This is it that I propose for the Argument of my First Chapter, and Thence to Proceed, Step by Step, and in a Natural Method from one Point to another.

The First Question will be, Whether or No the Murther was Committed in Manner, and Form, as the Witnesses Swear it was, at Somerset-house? The Second Point will be This. In Case it shall appear that he was Not Murther'd at Somerset-house, or by such Persons, or by such Means, or upon such a Grudge, as Prance and Bedloe swear he was; In what Place, by what Instruments, in what Way, and by what Investigation, Was he Murthered? These Two Considerations shall be laid indifferently before the Reader, in a Distribution of this Discourse, respectively, into Two Parts.

Parts, without Bespeaking One Partial Word or Thought upon the whole Matter.

As to the Two Witnesses that gave Testimony in This Cause, they had no more Skill in the Merits of it, than the Next Cast of Parrots in the Price of Almonds : But there was an *Intrigue of State* driven on, under the Cover of a *Jesuitical Confederacy*, which render'd it Necessary, at That Time, to make the *Papists* as *Odious* as they could, and to lay all *Judgments* and *Calamities*, as well *Publique*, as *Private*, at their Door. As, among others, This Unhappy Miscarriage of Sir E. B. Godfrey for *One*: So that we are to Consult the *Popish Plot* for the *Popish Murther*: The *Latter* being made so *Essential* a Part of the *Former*, that there's No *Disbelieving* the *One*, without *Ridiculing* the *Other*: But how These *Two* came to be Incorporated into *One Interest and Design*, will Deserve a Place by it self.

Dr. Tong was hardly ever without a Plot in his *Head*, and a Pen in his *Hand*. The *One* *Bred* the *Maggots*, and the *Other Vented* them : As his *Royal Martyr*, for Example; His *Jesuits Assassins*, and other Writings of his under the Title of *Cases*, or *Narratives* : which *Narratives* were Transform'd, with *One Breath of Otes's*, into *Damnable Conspiracies*. Now *Narrative* in those Days, was only a *Modish Name* for a *Romantique Forgery*. This was the *Rise* of the *Doctor's Popish Plot*; He took the *Idea* of it from *Habernfeld*; Sent *Otes* among the *Jesuits*, for *Hints*, and *Materials*; and so away Trudges he to *Valladolid*, and after that to *St. Omers*, where he stays a while, and then comes back again to his *Principal*, Charg'd with Minutes of *Names*, *Times*, *Places*, *Customs*, &c. *Tong Pounds* them into *One Confection*, and according to the Text, Exod. Ch. 32. ver. 24. [*There came out this Calf.*]

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The Project being now form'd, and Distributed into Articles, Tong presented a Copy of them, in a *Narrative*, to his Late Majesty upon the *Thirteenth of August*, 1678. Plying the King with *Fresh Informations* and *further Importunities*; till toward the End of *September* following; but instead of gaining Credit by the Pretence of *Additional Confirmations* and *Discoveries*, His Majesty came by Degrees to be Fully possest in the Conclusion, That the whole Train of the History was no better then a Down-right Imposture. The King's Hardness of Belief, was quickly smoak'd by the *Plot-master*, and his *Advisers*; Insomuch; that though they could not *Totally* take the Matter out of His Majesties *Hand*, They did what they could yet, by a *Side-Wind*, to Transfer the Cause, from the *Privy-Council*, to the *Parliament*; where they made themselves fure before-hand, of a *Majority* to bid it *Welcom*. In Order hereunto, Sir E. B. Godfrey was Earnestly pressed, and with much Difficulty prevail'd upon, *Sept. 6. 1678.* to Swear *Otes* to Tong's *Narrative*; and likewise to take his Oath over again, to the same Copies, with *Fresh* and *further Enformations*, upon the *28th.* of the *same Month*; which Depositions were presented by Tong, That very Morning, to the King and Council.

While Matters were thus Depending, Sir E.B. Godfrey went from his House on *Saturday*, the *12th* of *October* following; And No Tidings what was become of him, till *Thursday* the *17th.* when he was found, toward the Evening, in a *Ditch*, with his own *Sword* through his *Body*, at, or near a Place Call'd *Prim-Rose-Hill*. The Coronors *Inquest* sate upon't, but adjourn'd to the *Day Following*, and Then gave up their Verdict, i.e. [That he was *Murther'd* by divers Persons *Unknown*; &c.] *October 20th.* His Majesty Emitted a *Proclamation* for the *Discovery* of the *Murtherers*, wherein are these Words.

His

*His Majesty is graciously pleased hereby to promise to any Person or Persons, who shall make such a Discovery, whereby the said Murtherers, or any of them, shall be Apprehended, the Sum of Five Hundred Pound, which shall be immediately paid down upon sufficient Testimony, that such Persons or Person are, or is Guilty of the said Murther: And if any one of the Murtherers shall discover the rest, whereby They, or any of them, shall be apprehended, such Discoverer shall not only be Pardon'd his Offence, but shall in like manner receive the said Reward of Five Hundred Pound.*

On the *Thursday following*, upon a Suggestion that there were People would come in to discover the Murther, if it were not for the Danger of being Murthered themselves in Revenge; His Majesty was graciously pleas'd, by *Another Proclamation*, to add an Assurance of Protection to the former Promise of *Pardon*, and *Reward*; so that here was *Indemnity, Money, and Security* offered to the fairest Bidder, and it fell to the Lot of *W. Bedloe* (or rather *Beddoe*) to be the Man. We shall reserve the Consideration of his Character, and of his Evidence for Another Place.

The *Second Proclamation* was not Eight-and-Forty-Hours-Old, when a sudden Freak took him in the Head of making a Step from *London to Bristol*, and there was a Gentlewoman in his Company that went down to her Parents there, by the same Passage. They were no sooner come to their Inn at *Newberry*, but *Bedloe* Call'd presently for *Pen, Ink, and Paper*, to write, he said, to *Secretary Coventry*. The Woman saw the *Writing, Sealing, Superscribing*, and the sending away of the Letter by the Post: She Read the *Superscription* too, but could not get any thing from him of the *Contents*, more then This, *That if the Business of that*

### The Mystery of the Death

Letter succeeded, he would present her with a Diamond Ring (being a small Sum of Money in her Debt, it seems) And he said Farther, that he expected to receive an Answer of That Letter at Bristol, which accordingly he did receive with a Letter Enclos'd to the Mayor of Bristol in the Terms Following.

Whitehall, Nov. 2. 1678.

Mr. Bedloe,

I Have Received your Letter of October 30th, and shall be glad to see you here with all the Convenient Speed you can; but whereas you desire to come (as you Express it) Clandestinely, and not to be seen by Those People that sent you out of Town, and yet would have me give you an Order to the Mayor of Bristol, for your Appearance before Me: These two Things seem to be Inconsistent. You may, if you think Fit, come up of your self, as Privately as you Can, without the Knowledge of the Mayor, or any other Person, being under No Restraint, as I suppose you are Not. But if you Judge it Convenient that Mr. Mayor be acquainted with your coming, I have written a short Letter to him here-Enclosed; and have sent you a Copy of it, that you may consider whether you will make use of it or No. I know not whom you mean by [Those People that sent you out of Town;] but when you come to Town, I will take the most Effectual Course I can for your Safety and Protection: I am

To Mr. W. Bedloe at  
Mr. T. Jones's house  
in Broadstreet. Bristol.

Your Humble Servant,  
H. Coventry,  
Mr.

Mr. Secretary Coventry's Letter to the Mayor of  
Bristol, Nov. 2, 1678.

Worthy Sir,

There being some Special Occasion for Mr. William Bedloe, (now residing in your City) to make his Appearance before me, I have thought it fit hereby to acquaint you with it, desiring you to favour and further his speedy coming hither, with such Orders and Directions as you shall think necessary, if he shall apply himself to you in that behalf: But because Secrecy is to be us'd in This matter, I must intreat you to keep it Private, so as No Notice may be taken thereof. I am with much Truth, Sir,

Your Affectionate Humble Servant,

H. Coventry.

I shall only observe here, that Notwithstanding Bedloe's Caution of Privacy, he had the Vanity to make his pretended Discovery a Work of Noise, and Clamor: For he got himself to be taken up at Noon-day upon the Tolzey, with hundreds of People Crowding about him; and the Multitude were not only Witnesses of the Seizure, but made Privy also to the Bus'ness, which was as Publique as a Street-Rumour, and his Affectionation of being taken Notice of, could make it. From Bristol he was Convey'd to London, where he was Immediately Dubb'd a Captain, and a Kings Evidence. By This Timely Application, he got the Start

however of All Other Pretenders, to the Five-Hundred-Pound-Reward.

It was upon the 5th. of November, 1678. that he Left Bristol, and upon St. Thomas day following, Miles Prance, a Silver-Smith, was taken into Custody upon Suspicion of being one of the Assassins. He Deny'd All, at First, and so by Fitts, went off and on, Afterwards, till the Condemn'd Hole in Newgate, with the help of the Earl of Shaftsbury, open'd his Eyes, and brought him in the End, to do the Office of a Necessey, and a Thorough-pac'd-Evidence.

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## CHAP. II.

*Why, and How the Pretended Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was made a Branch of the Pretended Plot, Exhibited by Dr. Tong and Titus Otes.*

TO Talk of a PRETENDED Murther, and of a PRETENDED Plot, may look perchance like a prejudging of the Cause; and if it were a Stage, as it is a State-Plot, It would not, I must Confess, be so Masterly, to forestall the Readers Curiosity by telling him the Secret so soon: But in a Case of Truth, Honesty, and Conscience, I take the Readiest Way to the clearing of the Point, to be the Best; Beside, That even if the very Fact, both of the One, and of the Other, were, to a Tittle as 'tis Reported to be, it would go no further then PRETENDED Still; That is to say, with a Respect to the Reporters, if they Swear.

*Swear Positively to more then they Know.* But for *Pretended*, or *Not Pretended*, we'll let That Pass, and come short to the First Member of this Division, that is to say, [WHY] was the *Murther*, &c. made a *Branch of the Plot*?

There was at That Time, a *Real Conspiracy* upon the *Wheel*, under the *Couenantance* of another in *Vision*; and the *Hopes* of the *One*, Depended entirely upon the *Reputation* of the *Other*; for the Peoples Affections are as Necessary to a *Rebellion*, as their *Fingers*; and for *One Man* that Heartily Espouses the *Wickedness*, and the *Malice* of a *Sedition*, a Body may Honestly reckon upon a *Hundred*, that are *Trick'd* into it, by a *Plausible Cheat*: Now the Heat of *Otes's Plot* was, by This Time, pretty well Cool'd, and the *Republican Practices* Consequently at some sort of *Stand*. Men began to *Hearken*, to *Enquire*, to Lay Things and Things *Together*, and to *Examine* Matters; to Carry their *own Heads* upon their *own Shoulders*: Again, to *Judge* for *Themselves*, and to *Act* like *Reasonable Creatures*. They began, I say, to make Use of their *Own Eyes*, and *Understandings*, and to Try if they could find the way *Home* again, without the help of a *Dog and a Bell*. The *Supposed Conspiracy*, they saw, had but One Single *Testimony* to support it: And *That*, a *Blasted* one too: Nay, the *Narrative* it self was found to be only *Noise*, without *Proof*. But in fine; what with *This*, *That*, and *T'other*, the *Cause*, (in *Common Reputation* at least) was ee'n giving up the *Ghost*; for want of *Variety*, as well of *Matter*, as of *Witnesses*, to keep the Life and Soul together on't. But at Length, through a Wonderful *Providence* (as Providence went Then-a-Days) both these Wants were supply'd, by *Bedloe* and *Prance*; and a *Second Fraud* made use of, to Prove the *Truth* of the *Former*. So it was, in finc, That *Tong's* and *Otes's Devil* had been quite *Sunk*, they said, if the Two *New Conjurors* had not

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not Call'd him Up again. The Matter in Brief, was so Manag'd, that the *Murther* was to prove the *Plot*, and the *Plot*, to Prove the *Murther*: Witness the Stress that was laid upon the Matter at All Tryals, in favour of the *Truth*, and Providence of the *Discovery*. Nay, they went so Inseparably hand in hand together, that [Who Murther'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey?] was the Common Refuge of People that were run up to the Wall, upon That Controversie. Insomuch, that it Stopp'd All Mouths, and Answered all Objections. The Pretended *Conspiracy* it self, as I was a-saying, had as much need of a *Second*, as the *Witness*; and when Otes and his Works came once to be Blown upon, they were, in their own *Defence*, to find out something else that was Horridin Fact, to Bolster up the Reputation of the *Guns*, *Daggers*, *Pilgrims* and *Consults*, that never had any Being in the Nature of Things, farther then in *Imagination*. And People began to make their Observations also, that though there was Time enough allow'd before the *Discovery*, for the Uttermost Execution of the whole *Villainy*; there was not so much as an Inch of *March* found; Not a Flask of *Powder*, or a *Dark Lanthon*, toward the bringing of it to *Effect*: No, not so much as one Snip of a *Letter*, or *Commission*, to uphold the Credit of the *Pretece*; so that the *Managers* were exceedingly in the *Right*, under so many *Difficulties* and *Disappointments*, to cast the Weight of the *Plot* upon That Issue: For the Cry of a *Popish Murther*, and a *Protestant Justice*, at that Time of the Day, was enough to lay the Three Kingdoms in *Sackcloth and Ashes*; Especially with the Pulpits, *Juries*, *News-Letters*, and *Coffee-Houses* to-friend. This was the Reason for That way of Proceeding, and their Expectations were not deceived in the Event. To Conclude; as they found it Necessary to link the *Plot* and the *Murther* together; so

so they made it, quite throughout, the *Interest* of the One to *Assist* toward the *Belief* of the Other: And who-ever *Disputed* the *Murther*, *Affronted* the *Conspiracy*. Now if a *PLOT* or *NO Plot*, was the Question, there needs no more to be said upon the *WHY* and the *WHEREFORE* of the Bus'ness, than that the *Whole* was at Stake upon *This Cast*. It was next to be Consider'd, *HOW*, i. e. upon what *Pretext*, by what *Means* and *Methods* this *Pretended Murther* was made a *Branch* of the *Pretended Plot*.

It happen'd very Unluckily, that the *Pretended Popish Murther* should fall upon him that took the *Depositions* of the *Pretended Popish Plot*: for it was *This Accident* that gave the *Hint* and *Countenance*, to the *Alliance* that was afterwards Contracted betwixt them. The *Fact* was *Evident*, and the *Colour*, *Popular* Enough, to ground an *Imposture* upon: as if the *One* had been the *Provocation*, and the *Other* the *Revenge*. The *Sham* was, at First, so *Fair*, and *Specious*; the *Conivers*, *Promoters*, and *Abettors* of it, so *Indiscrious*, and *Powerful*, that it went down in the *General*, without *Chewing*; or if it happen'd to stick by the way, People were at their Choice, whether they would *Choke*, or have it *Ramm'd* down their Throats. It was come to This, in short, That a Man might with more Credit and Security give his Oath to *Twenty Palpable Falsehoods*, than Affert one *Generous*, *Righteous Truth*.

The First Step they made, was to gain an Enformation of the *Popish Murther*; as a Point that could not Fail of bringing on an Enformation of the *Popish Plot*, in Course: for the *Ice* being once broken, the Two *Perjuries*, they knew would be *Both of a Price*. This they foresaw, and Projected, and the Measures they took did not deceive them. Bedloe could not speak one Word to the *Plot*, at his First Coming-in as a *Witness* to the *Murther*: and *France* upon his *First Commitment*,

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renounc'd God over and over, if he knew one Syllable, either of the One, or of the Other. But upon Second Thoughts, These Two Discoverers came to see as far into a Mill-stone as Otes Himself, and set up in a short time for a Pair of Principal Pillars of the Cause; asw ill appear by the Evidence they give upon the whole Matter.

So soon as those Sparks had deliver'd their Testimony about the Tragedy of Godfrey, it was then but Cross or Pile whether the Scene should open at the White-Horse in the Strand, or at the Chappel-Gallery in Somerset-House: Or in few Words, Whether they should carry the Murther to the Plot, or bring the Plot to the Murther: For so the Plot were in the Case, No Matter how it came Into't. Briefly, they sware the [Needful] (as they call it) and in That Oath, Projected the Foundations of a New Heaven and a New Earth.

Their First Step (as I said) was, to Gain such an Enformation: The Second was to Improve That Information, by setting the Stamp of a Vote upon it to make it pass Current for the Discovery of a Plot: which was, in Truth, a kind of Naturalization. The Third Step was, to procure an Order for the Seizing of All the Persons Nam'd in such an Enformation, as Parties to the Conspiracy, at which Blessed Rate, it was but saying WHO and WHO, to lay the Three Kingdoms at the Mercy of Half a Score Knights of the Post. After such an Enformation, such a Vote, such an Order, and such a Seizure, there follows an Address, an Indictment, an Impeachment, a Tryal: and, after That, a Verdict: By Virtue of which Verdict, all the Mistakes that led to't are made Sacred, and Authentique: and Then's the Time for Declamatoryes, and Exaggerations; And when the Conscience, at Last, the Wisdom, and the Justice of the Nation, come to be all Concern'd in the Espousing of such an Error, the Lord have Mercy upon that People, untill Time, that is the Mother of Truth; and Experience, that is the

Daughter.

Daughter of Time, shall put Mens Heads and Hearts in their Right Places again. There was, in sooth, so much Application, and Artifice us'd, to give This sad Accident the face of a Popish Contrivance, Design, and Execution, that they broach'd the Report of it as a Thing Resolv'd, Pass'd, and Done; even while Sir Edmund was yet living, to prepare People for the Fitteron that was to Follow. Of this we shall say something hereafter.

Upon the First Rumour of his being Missing, there were several Surmises, of Fancy, and Conjecture, put about, what might be Become of him? One while he was Murthered in Arundell House: Another while in My Lord Bellasis Cellar: And then again, the Duke of Norfolk's Coach was seen to come from Primrose-Hill the Saturday that he went away: But in fine, Somerset-House was the Place they pitch'd upon; and That They Stuck to; It was but Requisite, that it should be a Popish Place to Answer a Popish Conspiracy; and Reconcile it to a Popish Intelligence. For the Plot was at that Time Almost Cold in the Mouth, and they were fain to take in the Murther to get Credit to the Treason. It was a Thousand Pitties, that when the Devil had Furnished them with so plausible an Argument to work upon, they could find no better Pretence for the Strangling of him, then to get the Enformations out of his Hands. Bedloe swears indeed, that They Treated with him about those Enformations, before the Smothering of him [betwixt two Pillows.] But Prance swears that his Bus'nes was done with a [Twisted Handkerchief] without so much as the Ceremony of, by your leave, Sir Edmund; (which was much the Courser way of the Two) But a Note by the By Now; Why should they expect to find the Enformations still in his Pocker, that he had Taken, Some of them, a Fortnight, and Others, Five Weeks before? Or what would it have availed them

them, if they had taken the *Papers* too, when they Dispatched the *Justice*? Could not Tong, and Otes, (that they left behind them) have Sworn the same Enformations Forty times over again, and have made them Fifty times stronger then they were at First? Beside that they had been in the Kings Hands Already, above Two Months before: To draw toward a *Clyse*, when Bedloe had once Declar'd himself for their Turn, they wanted another Witness yet to *Second Bedloe*; but Principally for the Tacking of the *Murther* to the *Plot*; To which End they Swore *Prance* into the *Noose*, and left him This Choice before him, Whether being *Innocent* he would *Confess* Himself to be a *Murtherer*, and so *Scape*; or *Deny* it, and *Hang*: But Charity began at home, and he Chose the *Perjury*. By This Time they were a *Gleck of Knaves* strong, to the *Two Great Pains*: and every one of the *Three* Seconded the *Other Two*, both to the *Plot*, and to the *Murther*: which was a Point well enough Order'd, by the Contrivance of making the *same Persons*, (as *Walb*, *Priuchard*, *Le Phuise*) *Parties to Both*.

The *Authority* of This *Imposture* was Established in such a Manner, that there was no Touching the *Murther*, without an Indignity to the *Plot*; nor any Touching the *Plot*, without Grating upon the *Murther*: Nay the *Somerset-House Relation* was held to be so *Authentique*, that there was nothing to be Bated on't, to the very *Spright and the Piss-pot*. They had an Excellent way too of Breaking into their *Particulars*, by a Previous Proof of the *General Plot*; which Enrag'd the *Adjudicte*, before ever they came to the *Cause* in Hand, to such a Degree, that the *Prisoner* at the Barr was as good as *Condemn'd* before he was *Heard*; And *Truss'd up* by the Sentence of the *Rabble*, for the *Sins of his Fore-Fathers*. This may suffice to shew the *Reason*, and the *Manner* of making Godfrey's *Murther*

a Branch of the Popish Plot. It follows next to see how far Bedloe and Prance, gave Evidence to them both in one.

## CHAP. III.

### Bedloe and Prance Swore to the Plot as well as to the Murther.

THE Question is not in This Place, whether Prance and Bedloe, upon the Matter of *Fait*, swore *True* or *False*; but how far they Swore to the *Murther*, and to the Plot, Both under *One*; and how far They took upon them to Swear to the Plot, over and above the *Murther*; And not to a Plot at *Random* neither, but *Catechistically*, (if a Body may so say) to the *Parts*, *Branches*, and *Articles*, *Directly*, or *Indirectly* of Oke's *Narrative*. Every Body knows that Bedloe came in with a Cry only of *Murther* in his Mouth; but for the *Conspiracy*, he Declared that he knew nothing at all on't; though 'tis likely enough, that another *Five-Hundred-Pound-Proclamation* for the *Discovery* of the Plot, might have refreshed his Memory without Need of a Prompter. And who knows but his *Compunction* might have wrought as Heartily upon him, in *That Case*, for fear of the *Kings Life*, as his Remorse of *Conscience* did in the *Other*, for the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. But I am now to bring my *Chapter* to my *Text*, and in the First Place to take a short View of the Evidence that These Two Justice-Killers Deliver'd upon the History of the Plot. The Informations I know are *Many*, *Intricate*, and *Tedious*: but a brief *Abstract*

stract of the Whole will serve my Present Turn, Every jot as well as Copies at Large: So that I shall Content my self to make the Matter as Short, and as Orderly, as I can, without more Trouble, either to the Reader, or to my Self, then needs must.

To take the Thrid of the Story along with me, Upon the 5th. of November, 1678. Bedloe came from Bristol, upon This Adventure, directly for London, where he was Examin'd on the 7th. by the Two Principal Secretaries of State, in the Presence of His Late Majesty, touching the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; Declaring upon his Oath, at the same Time, that He could say Nothing at All to the Plot that was Then in Question. And the Lords Journal does Effectually hold forth as much as That comes to, upon the said Examination.

Nov. 8. 1678.

**T**He Lord Treasurer Reported by His Majesties Directions, that Yesterday one William Bedloe was examin'd at Whitehall concerning the Discovery of the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and that his Majesty had given Order he should be brought to give This House an Account thereof; Who being brought to the Barr, and having his Oath given him, made a Large Narrative to This Effect: That he was born in Monmouthshire, and was of the Church of England till within these Two Years; that by Persuasion, and Promises from the Jesuits, he was drawn over to them; that he is not in Orders: He KNOWS that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murthered in Somerset-house, &c. Lords Journal.

From hence it appears that he had been Examin'd about the Murther, and that he was now to give an account to the Lords of what he knew Concerning that Matter.

*Mallett*: But when his Hand was once In, he was pleas'd, out of a Superabundant Zeal for the Safety of the King and his Government, and for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, to Launch out into the Depths of the Plot, with a New, and Supplemental Evidence: Wherein he says further, that *Walsh* and *Le Phaire* Enform'd him, that the Lord Bellasis had a Commission to Command Forces in the North, the Earl of Powis, in South-Wales, and the Lord Arundel of Warden, had a Commission from the Pope to grant Commissions to whom he pleased; that *Coleman* had been a great Agitator in the Design against the King, and that he asking the Jesuits why they had not formerly told him what they had Design'd concerning the Kings Death; they Answered, that None but whom my Lord Bellasis gave Directions for, were to know it; Desired he might have Time to put the whole Narrative in Writing, which he had Begun; And being ask'd, If he knew *Titus Ores*, he Deny'd it. *Lords Journal*, Nov. 8. 1678.

But he had a Salvo for This afterwards, which was, that he knew him by the Name of *Ambrose*, not by the Name of *Ores*. *Journal* 29. 1678. And such another Fetch he had in the Cafe of *Whitelbread*: I speak it with a Caution, says he, That I never heard of *Whitelbread*, that he was so very much Concern'd: And indeed I had No Reason to say so, because I heard him my self, and could not so well speak from the Hear-say of Another. Five Jesuits Tryals. P. 32.

Immediately upon This Evidence, an Order was Pass'd to make a Strict Search for *Charles Walsh*, *Le Phaire*, and other Suspicious Persons, &c. and an Address, the Day following for a Proclamation against *Conyers*, *Simmonds*, *Walsh*, *Le Phaire*, *Pritchard*, and *Cattaway*, as Persons Guilty of the Damnable and Hellish Plot, &c.

Nov. 12. 1678. The Lord Marques of Winton reported, that the Committee appointed to take Examinations for the Discovery of the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, have spent Many days therein, and do present the House Two Examinations of Mr. William Bedloe; and some Examinations of several other Persons. His Lordship said, that the Lords Committees did Conjur William Bedloe to speak Nothing but Truth, and he did in the Presence of God, as he should Answer it at the Day of Judgment, assure All to be true he had Depos'd. Lords Journal.

Then the Examinations taken November the 8th. 1678. at the Committee of Lords for Enquiring into the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey were read. Lords Journal.

After he had spoken to the Murther, he proceeds, as before to the Plot; but not without Intermixing here and there a Word, even in the Depositions touching the Murther, that Skew'd upon the Plot too; [There was a Man to be Kill'd, he says, that was a great Obstacle of their Design.] And then he speaks Afterward [Of the Principal Plotters of that Design against the King;] and so Passes-on to his Evidence, about the Conspiracy, under the Title of.

### *The Farther Examinations of William Bedloe being Sworn at the Bar.*

The Monks at Doway told him the Design, he said, and after Four Sacraments of Secrecy, they sent him to Harcourt a Jesuit in Duke-street; who Provided for him, and sent him to Paris, &c. Le Phaire, Walsh, Pritchard, and Lewis told him what Lords were to Govern; What Men to be Rais'd; Forty Thousand to be ready in London; What Succours to be Expected; Ten Thousand from Elanders; Twenty or Thirty Thousand Religious

ligious Men, and Pilgrims, from St. Jago ; Hull to be Surpriz'd : But just in the *Godspeed*, the Plot was Discover'd. *Le Phaire* gave him a Sacrament of Secrecy ; They told him Who and Who were to be kill'd ; and the Men that were to do the Work. *Le Phaire* said further, that *Coryers* was My Lord Bellasis's Confessor, and Communicated his Orders ; and that they were resolv'd, if any Plotters were Taken, to Dispatch 'em before they could be brought to a Tryal, or to Burn the Prison. And he Deposes moreover, that *Le Phaire*, *Pritchard*, *Lewis*, *Keines*, *Walsh*, and others had often told him, [That there was not a Roman Catholique in England, of any Quality or Credit, but was acquainted with this Design of the Papists, and had received the Sacrament from their Father-Confessors, to be Secret and Assistant in the Carrying of it on. Lords Journal, Nov. 12. 1678.

On the 18th. of November, 1678. He Deliver'd an Enformation upon Oath concerning the Plot, to the Lord Chief Justice, in the Speakers Chamber, which was in Effect, but so much over again ; adding only that the part assign'd him, was to bring and carry Orders and Counsels, and all other Intelligences from One Army to Another, upon All occasions ; he knowing every Part and Road of England and Wales.

That about the Latter end of April, or the beginning of May last was a Twelvemonth, about Six a Clock in the Afternoon there was a Consult held in the Chappel-Gallery at Somerset-House, where were present the Lord Bellasis, and, he thinks, the Lord Powis, Mr. Coleman, *Le Phaire*, *Pritchard*, *Latham*, and *Sheldon* ; and Two Frenchmen in Orders, whom he took to be Abbots, and two other Persons of Quality, but did not see their Faces, and Others : Amongst Them, the Queen : And further that Coleman and Pritchard told him, that after the Consult, the Queen Wept at what was propos'd there; but

was Over-perswaded to Consent, by the Strength of Two French-men's Arguments: That he was below walking in the Chappel at the Time of the Consult, with others, &c. That after the Consult, the Queen came through the Room where the Priests Dress'd Themselves, and that he then observ'd some Alteration in her Majesties Council Chamber, Nov. 27. 1678.] And so he runs on into a Ramble of his carrying Letters for France; and Treasonous Discourses betwixt Stapilton and Himself, at Cambray, &c.] All of the same Batch with the other.

Presently upon This Enformation, there Follow'd [an Address for Removing the QUEEN, and all her Family, and All PAPISTS, and REPUTED or SUSPECTED Papists from his Majesties Court at Whitehall.] There is one remarkable Deposition yet behind, that was taken before the Council, June 24. 1679. upon the Subject of the Consult last above mentioned; which is not upon any Terms to be Pals'd over, for Reasons to be given hereafter.

He brings the Queen into the Plot of Poysoning the King, her Husband, by the Hand of Sir Geo. Wakeman; And says that [He Himself being the Letter-Part of the Last Summer in Harcourt's Chamber, Sir Geo. came in there in a great Huff, saying, Why should I be so Drill'd on, and Slighted, when I have Undertaken so great Work, having been promis'd so many Thousands? &c.] Harcourt thereupon, went and took a Paper out of his Cabinet; which for a While he held in his Hand, telling him he had been at Whitehall to Fetch That Paper; and thereupon read it to him, and it was a Bill for 2000 l. written by the Queens Order, &c. He also further saith, that when Harcourt shewed the said Bill for 2000 l. to Sir Geo. Wakeman, in the Deponents Presence, Sir Geo. asked Harcourt, Who the Deponent was? to which, Harcourt reply'd, ['Tis one whom we have Entrusted, not in so Great a Work as

as Yours, but in a Work next to That ;] by which he supposes, was meant the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. Council Chamber, June 24. 1679. ] Harcourt owning also to Bedloe, that the Great Work was to Poyson the King.

He says Moreover, that at a Meeting, where several of them were together, he heard them Express great Satisfaction that there had been so many Opportunities lost of Killing the King whilst he was at Windsor, and therefore to repair the same, there went Eight of them after the King to Newmarket; taking Horse from Harcourt's Lodging at Four in the Afternoon, whereof Grove, and Pickering, were Two.

But not to be Endless; I find a Charge of betwixt Thirty and Forty Conspirators, by Name, in his Informations before the Lords: Beside, Generalities, and Societies. He gives an Account of Commissions in Coleman's Tryal, p. 41. Pritchard told him that Grove and Pickering were to Kill the King. Irelands Tryal, pag. 40. Four Ruffians sent to Windsor. Ibid. And they Missing, Conyers was taken in. Ibid. He tells also of 30000 Masses for the One, and 1500 l. for the Other. P. 43. And that Ireland, Whitebread, and Fenwick were at the Consult. Ib. He saw the Money for the Ruffians. Five Jesuits Tryals, p. 32. Pickering was Disciplin'd for missing Opportunities, fol. 33. Wakeman to have 15000 l. Ibid. Ireland Propos'd the Murther at Newmarket. Ib. Finally, There's little more in Bedloe's Plot-Evidence than an Amusement of Words, Names, Places, and other Circumstances of Things to Jingle with Otes's Narrative, and to make out the Miraculous Harmony, as they call it, of the Kings Witnesses. He tells a Tale of Father Le Chaise, the French King's Confessor, Secretary Coleman, Harcourt, Ireland, Stapilton, Pickering, Grove, Conyers, Whitebread, Father Warner, Sir John Warner, Sir Geo. Wakeman, Duke-street, Somerset-House,

*Windsor, St. Omers, Watton, Valladolid, St. Jago, Ruffians, Commissions, Peysoning, Groves 1500 l. Pickering 30000 Masses, &c.* And no more Agreement at last upon the whole matter, then if the Four and Twenty Letters had been thrown in at Hap-Hazzard.

And *Prances Manage* was the very same with *Bedloe* too ; only the Other got the start of him, in *Time* ; and had the honour of standing *Otes's second* when the *Plot it self* must have *sunk* without *That Supporter* : for *Bedloe* was a Mortal Evidence against *Coleman, Ireland, &c.* The *Five Jesuits, Langhorn, Green, Berry, and Hill, &c.* Whereas *Prance* never open'd his Mouth in a *Criminal Cause* 'till the Business of *Godfrey*, though they made a shift with him afterward, for a kind of Bungling Evidence against *Fenwick*; And then he came by Degrees to have some Insight into the Plot too ; and to hear of *Fifty Thousand Men to be Rais'd*: *Sir George Wakeman's Tryal*, p. 19. *What Lords to Command the Army, and what Commissions*, p. 20. And, in a Word, *Who and Who* were to kill the *King*, and *How* it was to be done. As to Other Particular Charges I refer my self to his *Narratives*.

## C H A P. IV.

*Notes upon the Transition of Bedloe's and Prance's Evidence, from the Proof of the Murther, to the Witnessing of the Plot.*

**T**HE Reader must not Imagine, when he finds the Argument of This Chapter to be [ *Notes upon Bedloe's and Prance's Evidence, &c.* ] that it is my Purpose to Pick a *Gotham-Quarrell* with every *Blunder* and *Solæcism*, in such a *Chance-Medley of Enformations* ; or

er to Enter into a *Captious Scrutiny* upon the whole affair: for my business is not to Expose *simple Over-fights, Inadvertencies or Mistakes*; No, Nor, in this Place, so much as to *Cavill* at the *Credit*, and *Authority* of the *Witnesses*, Or to Bear too hard upon the *Unlikeness* of Things *Affirm'd*, or *Deny'd*; but to lay open the Matter Nakedly as it is represented, and leave the Reader to the Liberty of his own Comment.

The Depositions here in Question, were sworn, either before the *Council*, the *Lords Committees*, at the *Bar of the Lords House*, or given in Evidence at the *Tryalls of the Pretended Criminals*. Now to be Fair, they must hold such a *Congruity*, One part to Another, and every Part to the Whole, as in a Charitable Construction to be found All of a Piece, without any Considerable Variation of the Story, either in *Superfluity* or *Defect*: which is No more then according to the very letter of the *Oath*; to Deliver the *Truth*, the *Whole Truth and Nothing But the Truth*: and the Matter still to be the same, in what Diversity of Phrase or Expression soever. 'Tis very remarkable, the Progress of *Bedloe's* openings, or Illumination, into the *Mystery of This Plot*.

Upon the 7th. of November, 1678. he had not so much as the least *Kenning* of it. The 8th. Sprung a Pretty *light to't*. The 12th. He was as good as *Master of the Secret*. The 18, 19, and the 27th, he saw fur-  
ther into't. The 24. June following, [Where his Majestie's Life was concern'd, he must and would speak Truth, *he says*, Although it was against *HIS OWN DEAR MOTHER.*] and so Charg'd the *Queen*. And as he went further On, he saw Things Clearer and Clearer, and More and More still, though all his Swearing hitherto amounted Only to the keeping of his Faculty in Ure, and his Conscience in Breath. But when he came to *Sharps* afterward, upon *Life and Death*,

there was No avoiding of his Point, for he had still some New way of Attaque or Other that never was heard of before: and against which there was No Place, for either *Prevention*, or *Defence*. He swore then to the *Pris'ner*, rather then to the *Crime*, for there Needed No more then the Clapping of *any Man's Name* to This or That *Article*, or *Accusation*, to the doing of his Business: Though his Depositions upon the *Lords Journal*, and Those in the *Printed Tryalls* are in Many Cases Flat *East and West*, One to the Other: But to proceed now from *Reasoning* upon Matters, to the *Fact it self*.

His First appearance upon Oath, was, (as is already set forth), on the 7th. of November, 1678. before *his Majesty and his Two Secretaries*: at which time, he spake singly to the *Murther*, Disclaiming to any Knowledge at all of the *Plot*. By the *Next day*, he was brought to Understand, that though it was the *Murther* that made the *Noise* in the *Proclamation*, he would yet find the Discovery of the *Plot* to be the Nearest way to the *Five-hundred-Pound* that was Promis'd in't; so that on the 8th, he gave the *Lords Committees* a General Touch of the *Popish Lords*; *Commissions*; *Armies* to be rais'd; of [Coleman's being a Great Agitator in the Design against the King]. The *Jesuits* in the *Conspiracy*, &c. [Desiring Time to put the Whole Narrative in Writing, which he had Begun.] Now to Explain the Amusement of This Wild, and Uncertain *Generality*, the Revelation was but of One Days standing; and they had not as yet Time enough to Concert the *Particulars*; so that the Bare *Naming* of the *Lords*, and their *Commissions*; The very Hinting of *Armies* to be Rais'd, and the simple Mention of *Coleman* for an *Agitator*, was as much as *Bedloe* durst venture Upon, without *further Lights*, and *Instructions*. *Coleman's Accusation* was then upon the Anvil; and the *Plot* the *Ground-Work* of the Whole

Whole Transaction; but there was No want of Heart and good Will, All this While to the Improving of This Occasion; and his desire of *Time*, to put the Whole *Narrative* in *Writing*, carry'd the very same Countenance, as if he should have said, [ *Pray My Lords spare us but Three or Four Days to Confer with the Managers of the Intrigue, and let us alone for a Damnable Hellish Popish Plot, ready Cut and Dry'd, and a Second Witness to support it.* ] This is so fair, and Reasonable a Gloss upon the Text, That the Lords Committees were not without some Jelousies of it, even in the very First Instance; as appears upon the same Journal, by their asking *Bedloe* [ *Whether he knew Otes or not :* ] And why should *Bedloe* then *Deny* the knowledge of him, if he had not been Conscious that the Owning of an Acquaintance with him would have made the Evidence smell too Rank of a *Confederacy*? But to Touch This Matter to the Quick, It will appear by and By upon the Comparing of Notes, and Resemblances that *Bedloe* and *Prance* were Initiated into This *Mystery* by the *same* Lesson of *Instructions*; only with *This Difference* in the *Motives* to what they did, that the *One* Forsook himself for *Fear*, and the *Other*, for *Mony*.

*Bedloe* (as I have sayd) gave Evidence to the *Murther* upon the 7th. of *November*, 1678. *Prance* was Committed on *Saturday* the 21. of *December* following [ *for Assisting in the Murther of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey* ] He was Examin'd the same Night, and stood stiff in't, that he knew Nothing, either of the *Death of Godfrey*, or of the *Popish Plot*; and *Bedloe* was as Positive upon the First Examination, that He knew Nothing of the *Plot* neither. Now the *Plot* was a Thing so *Necessary*, that the *Five-hundred-Pound-Murther* would not have been worth *Fifty Farthings* without it: and though the *Bait* was thrown out for the Discoverers of the *Murther*,

the

the Anglers were yet secur'd before-hand, that upon a sound Bite, they should draw up a Discoverer of the Plot: for the Matter being Equally Both ways a *Perjury*, the One they knew. (as I have noted before) would be as Cheap as the other. They had both of them however, only *One Night*, and no more, to *Sleep upon't*: And it was Impossible, in that Pinch of Time, to bring their Matters to Agree in Every Point like a Pair of *Tallyes*: And therefore *Bedloe* was fain to Content himself at Present with a *Tale of a Cock and a Bull*, (Just as the Journal sets it forth) without any Preg-nancy of *Likelyhoods*, or Particularity of *Circumstances*, to give it *Credit*.

Now *Prance* was upon his Peril to speak out, at *Four-and-Twenty-hours-warning* too; for on the same Day that he was taken up, and Examin'd, (Damning himself to the Pit of Hell if he knew any thing either of the *Death*, or of the *Plot*) he was Committed to the *Condemn'd Hole* in *Newgate*; Loaden with *Heavy Irons*; And for That Night left to Chew upon't, whether he world venture his *Soul*, or his *Carcass*; (which was the very Choice Before him) In This Con-dition he lay, both of Body, and of Mind; till Early next Morning (being *Sunday*) when Up comes a Person to him Wholly Unknown, Layes down a Paper upon a Form just by him, and so goes his way. Soon after This, Comes Another, with a Candle; sets it down, and Leaves him. By the light of that Candle *Prance* read the Paper, Wherein he found the Substance of These Following Minutes.

So many *Popish Lords* mentioned by *Name*, *Fifty Thousand Men* to be *Rais'd*; *Commissions* given out; Officers Appointed. *Ireland* was acquainted with the *Design*; And *Bedloes Evidence* against *God-frey*, was *Summ'd-up*, and *Abstracted* in it too.

There were Suggestions in't, that *Prance* must undoubt-

undoubtedly be Privy to the *Plot*, with Words to This Purpose [ You had better Confess then he Hang'd.] Prance fancy'd This presently to be a Contrivance of Shaftsburyes, and Design'd for Hints of what he was to Swear to. Now These vvere the *very Points* also of Bedloe's *Depositions*: And as Bedloe vvas to second Otes in the One; So Prance was to second Bedloe in the Other: Prance Ponder'd for some hours upon the *Heads* of his *Paper* and the Circumstances of his *Condition*; and what with the Noisomeness of the Place, the Cold of the Season, the Weight of his *Chains*, the Sense of his *Misery*; Want of *Health*, and the Dread of *Death*; upon the laying of things together, he took the right *Queue*, and desired the Master of the Prison to Carry him to my Lord Shaftsburys, under Pretence of Matters of Great Moment to Communicate to his Lordship. Captain Richardson gave his Lordship an Account of it, and Thereupon, received [ An Order for Bringing of Miles Prance to Shaftsbury-House, to be farther Examin'd.] He vvas Carry'd thither betwixt Five and Six the same Evening, and there Continued till about Eleven that Night. So soon as he came thither, he was Call'd into a Low Parlour where was Shaftsbury (and Three more) And there Examin'd strictly upon the Points of the Paper; and Threatned with Hanging if he did not Confess. Upon these Menaces, Prance Yielded; and so fram'd a Pretended Discovery in Part, with a Promise to speak out more at Large, if he might have his Pardon. VVhereupon, there was a Paper drawn up, vwhich Prance Sign'd, and he vvas then return'd to the Place from whence he came. By this time they had secured Three Strings to their Rovv; and it is vworthy of a Note, that Bedloe and Prance, like a Couple of School-Boys of the same Form, had in Effect the very same *Lesson* given them, and the very same Allowvance of Time to get it by Heart in.

But

But to come now to the Matter. Bedloe was upon his Oath, as I have said Already, to Deliver [*the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth.*] And the Lords Committees did over and above Conjur[e] William Bedloe to speak *Nothing but Truth*: And [he did in the Presence of God, as he should Answer it at the Day of Judgement, assure All to be True he had Depos'd. Lords Journal, Nov. 12. 1678.] It was upon the same Terms too, and Under the same Conditions that he gave his Evidence upon all Tryals of the Pris'ners in Question. The Next Point will be how far he was True to his Matter, and to *Himself*, without either Stretching, Shortning, Suppressing, or Clashing with his own Testimony; but with a Charitable Abatement of, and a Christian Allowance still for *Humane Frailty*. The Point in Issue was [*a Plot or No Plot, upon the Life of the King, &c.*] So that all Omissions upon That Moral Article, are Mightily to be suspected of *Malice, and Iniquity*, where they carry the Face of a Direct Tendency to *That Execrable End*.

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## C H A P. V.

*Notes upon Certain Omissions, Enlargements, Disagreements, and Contradictions, in the Evidence of Bedloe and Prance concerning the Plot, together with the True Reasons Thereof.*

WE have Already given a General, and a Sufficient Account (in the Last Chapter but one) of the Evidences Deliver'd by *Bedloe* and *Prance*, upon the Subject of the *Plot*: And we are now to take into Consideration the Competency, the Fairness, the Fulness,

ness, and the Consistency of Those Depositions. In the First Place, the Omissions, and Enlargements that appear in the several Informations, upon Comparing them One with another. Now this is a Point not to be Cleared, without References, Repetitions, and Recitals: So that there's No help for't, but by making them as Few, and as Short as may be.

1. I find it upon the Lord's Journal, that the Monks of Doway gave Bedloe the Sacrament Four Times, upon a Charge of Secrecy. Nov. 12. 1678.

2. And again: That Bedloe Demanded of Mr. Gage the Rector of the English College, what they would do with the King. He Answered, They would keep him well in a Convent.

3. Bedloe then Demanded who should Govern in Chief; He told him there should be a Tender made to [O.N.E] of the Crown, if he would Acknowledege it from the Church; but they did believe he would not Accept of it, and then the Government should be left to some Lords that the Pope would appoint; which Lords he would not tell me, but said, I should know it from the Monks at Paris. Lords Journal, Ib.

4. He says again in the same Deposition as is Already taint'd in the Third Chapter, Who were to Govern, Who Told him so. Ten Thousand from Flanders to Land at Bridlington-Bay. The Lord Powes, Petres, &c. to Rendezvous in South-Wales with Another Army, and They to Joyn Twenty or Thirty Thousand more, that were to Land at Milford Haven from the Groin in Spain, which Army was to be [RELIGIOUS] Men and [PIR-GRIMS] from St. Jago in Spain, &c. Lords Journal, Ibid.

5. Forty Thousand Men ready in London, Beside Those that would on the Alarm be Posted at Every Ale-House Door, to have Kill'd the Soldiers as they went out of their Quarters.

6. Le

6. Le Phaire told him also that when any Plotter was taken up, he should be kill'd before he was brought to his Tryal, or the Prison Burnt.

7. And That Guernsey and Jersey were to be surpriz'd by a Power from Brest, and other Places of France; and that several French Ships have layn in, and about the Channel All This Summer upon the same Occasion.

8. And further, Le Phaire, Pritchard, &c. (as before) had often told him that there was not a Roman Catholique in England that was not Privy to the Design, and had not Received the Sacrament from their Father Confessors to be secret, and assistant to the carrying of it on.

To Pass a Note or Two upon the Particulars above, they are of so great Importance to be Thoroughly Sifted; and made out, that the Plot it self, the Credit, and the very Being of it, stands, or falls, upon the Truth or Falsity of these Enformations. But the Strets does not lye so much upon True or False, as whether this be the Whole Truth, or Not; For All these Heads, and Circumstances of the Story upon the Lords Journal (and the Four Evangelists over and above) are utterly Forgotten in the Evidence, upon the Tryal of the Pris'ners. Now if Bedloe Deliver'd the Whole Truth at First, how came he afterwards to Enlarge his Evidence?

But to Exound this Riddle now; he swore before the Lords to the Generals only of Otes's Plot; for Otes himself was not yet Resolv'd upon the Particulars: So that which way soever Titus Led, William was bound to Follow; and the Point of his Oath in Westminster Hall was not Levell'd at the Plot it self, but at the Persons of the Pretended Conspirators.

Now to trace Things in order as they lye before us: We hear Nothing of Four Sacraments; The Convent; The Tender of the Crown, and the Pope's Resolution

tution upon't ; The *Ten Thousand*, and the *Twenty or Thirty Thousand*, the *Pilgrims*, and the *Religions*; The *London Forty Thousand*; The *Posting of People at Ale-House Doors*; The *Killing of Plotters*, or the *Burning of Prisons*; The *Surprizing of Guernsey and Jersey*; Every *Roman Catholique* of Quality under a *Sacrament* to serve the *Design*. We have not one Syllable of All this, in the *Printed Tryals*, though upon the *same Oath*, and from the *same Lips* that swore to the *Whole Truth* upon the *Lords Journal*. But here's the Scheme of *Otes's Plot* yet, upon the whole Matter. And then for the Tender of the *Crown*, as it is Pointed at in the *Third Article*, it is so exactly the Drift, and the Case of a *Whimsey*, set forth in *Otes's Narrative*, only in other Words, viz.

*The Pope hath ordered* (says *Otes*) *That in case the Duke of York*, (which is the [O N E] he speaks of) *will not accept these Crowns as forfeited by his Brother unto the Pope, as of his Gift*; *and settle such Prelates and Dignitaries in the Church, and such Officers in Commands and Places, Civil, Naval, and Military, as he hath Commissioned as above*, *Extirpate the Protestant Religion, and in Order thereunto, Ex post Facto, consent to the Assassination of the King his Brother*; *Massacre of his Protestant Subjects*; *Firing of his Towns, &c. by Pardoning the Assassins, Murtherers, and Incendiaries*, that then [HE] *be also Poysoned, or Destroyed, after they have for some time abus'd his Name, and Title, to strengthen their Plot*; *Weakned and Divided the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, thereby, in Civil Wars and Rebellions, as in his Fathens Time, to make way for the French to seize These Kingdoms, and totally ruine their Infantry, and Naval Force*. *Otes's Narrative*, p. 64.

This Paragraph comprizes in few Words a General View of the whole Project; and it was but Swearing so many Men to such and such Parts and Offices in this

this Fiction of a Conspiracy, to Compleat the Reputation of the Discovery: that is to say, some were to have *Publique Charges and Commissions*; Others to carry on the *Massacres, Murthers, Assassines, Poysoning, and Conflagrations*; And after the Digesting of the *Treasons*, they could not well fail of Discovering the *Traytors*, especially when the *same Oath* that made the *One* made the *Other*.

It is not to be Imagin'd, that Bedloe, upon his repeated Oaths, before the King and the Lords, could Honestly forget so many remarkable Instances, of *Men*, and *Things*, as he calls Afterwards to Mind, and upon Recollection, swears to, over and above what he had Sworn before. And it is a Thing no less Remarkable, that he should upon the *Following Tryals*, Forget so many *Capital, and Dangerous Articles* of the Plot, as he had formerly sworn before the King and the Lords; and the *Omissions*, all the while, as *Essential* to the Matter in hand, in *one Place*, as in the *other*. But This Wonder will Cease, if a Man Rightly Considers what the Points are that are *omitted* in the *One*, and *supply'd* in the *Other*; and the Relation which they Respectively had to the *Design* that was Then in *Agitation*. While the *Plot* was *General*, the *Enformation* must be *General* too; and Bedloe did as much as Man could do, upon *Bare-four-and-twenty-Hours-time*, toward the Tuning of his *Depositions* to the *Narrative*; which was all he had to Work upon at Present: But *New Lords New Laws*; and when *Otes* came to Charge Particular Persons upon the Strength and Foundations of That *General Model*, Bedloe was no longer at Liberty to Steer his own Course, but Ty'd up too swear in a Conformity to *Otes's Measures*: So that Bedloe must have *Dix'n'd*, before the *Lords*, to *Hit* the *Evidence*, that in the *Future*, would be *necessary* at the *Trials*. As for the Purpose now, to Begin with *Coleman*.

*He Carry'd a Pacquet, he says, from Mr. Coleman to Monsieur Le Chaise ; and that he heard Coleman say, If he had an Hundred Lines, and a Sea of Blood to carry on the Cause, he would spend it all to further the Cause of the Church of Rome, and to establish the Church of Rome in England ; And if there was an Hundred Heretical Kings to be Depos'd, He would see them All Destroy'd.* This he swears was spoken in his own House behind Westminster-Abbey at the Foot of the Stair-Case.

*Colemans Tryal, pag. 43, 44. [They were carrying-on a Plot, he says, to Destroy the King, and the Lords of the Council, p. 44.] Now there's not one Word either of Le Chais, or of This Matter, to be found in the Lords Journal : Nor any thing more of Coleman, than that he had been a Great Agitator in the Design against the King, Nov. 8. 1678. Under which Generality, Bedloe, sav'd to himself a kind of Right to say more afterwards, as he should come to be further Enlightn'd, and better Enform'd : For Bedloe, in short, was no other than Otes's Echo ; and His Bus'ness, no more, in Effect, than to take the same Oath that the Foreman had done. In one Word, as there is a most Extravagant Difference betwixt his *Depositions* before the King and the *Lords*, and Those against the suppos'd Plotters, at the *Kings Bench* ; so the Reason of it is obvious, for he is forced to stretch his *Latter-Evidence* against the *Pris'ners*, where his *Former Deposition* would not Reach them.*

*In the Tryals of Ireland, Pickering, and Grove, Otes swears a Consul in August, 1678. at Harcourts Chamber ; Ireland present at it ; Grove and Pickering appointed to kill the King ; the One to have 30000 Masses, if he Miscarry'd, and the Other 1500 l. Upon their Failing, Four Russians were hired to do it at Windsor : Coleman gave a Messenger a Guinea to carry them their Money. Fogarthy, Ireland, Grove, and Pickering were*

present at the Resolution ; and if all Fail'd, Sir Geo. Wakeman was to do the Work by Poyson, the very Price agreed upon, and Part of the Money Receiv'd, &c. Now there's not one Syllable of All This in Bedloe's Evidence upon the Lord's Journal ; No not so much as the NAME of Corker, Fogarthy, Fenwick, Grove, Pickering, and yet Bedloe, upon the Tryal, sets-up for Ores's Second to every Point ; and the Disagreement leads still to the Hanging of the Pris'ner.

And so again in the Tryal of the Five Jesuits. He brings in Whitebread for sending the Four Russians to Windsor : Coleman's Guinnea given to drink his Health ; The 1500 l. again, and the 30000 Masses. Pickering is Disciplin'd for the Neglect of his Flint. Once he had no Powder in the Pan ; Another Time no Powder in the Barrel : Wakeman's 15000 l. The King to be kill'd at Newmarket, Conyers taken in for an Assistant.] But to conclude, there's not one Word of All This neither, nor so much as the Name of Whitebread, and several other of the Pris'ners, upon the Lord's Journal.

'Tis the same Case again with him upon the Tryals of Sir Geo. Wakeman, William Marshal, William Rumley, and James Corker, where he Charges Keines, and Corker, with Discourse about Raising an Army, KILLING, and DESIGN. He makes Marshal one of the Club, and runs through the whole History of Sir Geo. Wakeman. This was, July 18. 1679. And the Particulars were never so much as thought of, till his Deposition before the King and Council of June 24. then last past, when he was preparing for That Jobb.

He took the same Measures too, in the Bus'ness of Langhorn. Le Chaife told him, he says, of Money to be remitted into England ; and that he had remitted some of it to Cokeman, and Ireland, p. 21, and he speaks of Three Letters that he saw Langhorn Transcribe ; One to the English Monks at Paris ; Another to Monsieur

*sieur Le Chaise*; Another to the *Popes Nuncio*, p. 53. This is All New Matter, *Newly Accommodated* to the Evidence of *Otes*, and the *Case* of the *Pris'ner*, without one *VVord* of it in his *Original Discovery*.

It would be Endless to take All his Evidences to Pieces, and to Confront one Testimony with Another: but one Instance may serve for the Measure of All: That is to say, his *Additions* are still, *Stabbing*; if not *Mortal*; and Adapted to the *Case*, without any regard to the *Truth*.

As for *Miles France*, he was under the same Government also, with his Brother *Bedloe*; only coming in Late, he had not so much occasion to shew his Parts; but he serv'd as well as the best however, for a *General Plot-man*. He made several Proffers yet at the Helping out of the Conspiracy, though to little or no Purpose; only in the *Case* of *Fenwick*, he had the Honour to pass, with *Otes*, and *Bedloe*, for a *Third Witness*. His was only a dull kind of *Hackney-Story* still; that Mr. *Messenger* was to *Kill the King*. 50000 Men to be rais'd; *The Popish Lords* to *Command them*; *Fenwick*, *Ireland*, and *Grove*, spake of this Together; *Harcourt* said the King was to be kill'd by several; and *Fenwick* said that *Langborn* was to have a great hand in't. *Langborn's Tryal*, fol. 8. He brought in *All the Roman Catholicques* he could Name, for an *Appendix*, 'tis true, but made Little on't, and order'd his Matters all the way with an Eye to his *First Paper*.

Upon the whole matter, Right or Wrong, here's *Perjury without Dispute*, either for not swearing the *Whole Truth at First*, or for swearing *More then the Truth, afterward*; and the Presumption of the *Perjury* is so much the stronger, in Regard that almost All the *Diversities*, and *Additions* in the Evidence upon the *Tryals*, are Expressly Calculated, (as I have Already observ'd) for the *Destruction of the Pris'ners*: And This

is not All Neither ; for Bedloe lyes much opener in his *Disagreements* and *Contradictions*, than he does in his *Omissions* and *Supplements* ; though it is Manifest, well-nigh to a *Demonstration*, that all his *Capital Oaths* were Apply'd only to the Serving of a *Turn*. And so I shall go on with him upon the two Latter Points.

He swears before the Lords, that the Army of *Twenty or Thirty Thousand Men* who were to Land at *Milford Haven* from the *Groin*, was to be *Religious Men* and *Pilgrims*, from St. Jago in *Spain*. *Lords Journal*, Nov. 12. 1678. But then in *Langborn's Tryals*, He Swears, That they had provided in *Spain*, under the *Motion* of *Pilgrims* from St. Jago, some *Irish Cashier'd Soldiers*, that had left their *Country*, some for *Religion*, and some for their *Crimes*, and a great many Lay-Brothers, whom they had procur'd and gathered together, under the *Motion* of *Pilgrims*, to be ready to take *Shipping* at the *Groin*, to *Land* at *Milford-Haven*, There to meet my *Lord Powis*, and an *Army* that he was to raise in *Wales* to further this *Design*, fol. 20.

In a Deposition before the Lords, he swears himself to have been of the *Church of England*, till within These Two Years ; That by Perswasion and Promises from the *Jesuits*, he was drawn over to them. *Lords Journal*, Nov. 8. 1678. But upon the Tryal of *Ireland*, he Swears, That he had been Five Years almost Employed by the *Society of Jesuits*, and the *English Monks* at *Paris*, to carry and bring Letters between them, &c. Fol. 37.

In the Tryal of *Coleman* : Being Interrogated what he had seen or heard touching any Commission to Mr. *Coleman*, he gives This Answer, [In particular I know not of any Commission directed to Mr. *Coleman*. I do not know any thing of it but what Sir Henry *Tichborne* told me, that he had a Commission, and he brought a Commission for Mr. *Coleman*, and the rest of the Lords, from the

the Principal Jesuits at Rome, by order of the Pope, &c.  
fol. 41. The Title of it I do not know, because I did not  
See it: But then in *Langborn's Tryal*; being asked  
where he saw Certain Commissions there in Question,  
His Answer was This, Sir Henry Tichborn did *Show me Three Commissions in Paris, sign'd by the General of  
the Order, and Seal'd with the Jesuits Seal.*

Not to Multiply Instances, One more upon This  
subject shall serve for All.

Sir George Wakeman was to come to his Tryal on the  
18th. of July, 1679. The *Five-Jesuits-Tryal* (as they  
call it) having been on the 13, and 14. of the June be-  
fore: And it was then High Time to Adjust their Mat-  
ters towards That which was to Follow. The Evidence  
that was given by *Bedloe*, at the *Jesuits Tryal* of June  
13, 14. concerning the *Queens* being in a Practice with  
*Sir George to Poyson the King*, gave occasion to a fur-  
ther Examination of him before the Council, on the  
24. of the same Month; which was Introduced with a  
Preface remarkable, and in These following VVords,  
truly Copy'd, and strictly Examined, from and by the  
*Original*; every Page Attested by his own hand.

*At the Council Chamber, June 24. 1679.*

**M**R. Bedloe being Call'd in and Sworn, is told that  
his Majesty had appointed This Council to know the  
Bottom of all That Danger that might Concern his own  
Person, and in Particular what he could say touching the  
Queen's being in any Measure Privy to it; And if she  
were Concern'd therein, the Danger was so much the Greater  
as she is near to his Majesty; so that it would not without  
the Utmost Peril be Conceal'd by any; Yet that if he had  
any New Matter to declare, the Concealment of it should  
not be Penal unto him; And therefore, that he should, up-

on his Allegiance, speak out, Fully, and Plainly, without respect to any Person whatsoever: (which he might do with All Freedom and Safety) And not only for what Concern'd the Danger of the King's Life, but the Plot in General against the Government, and the Murder of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey.

After the Flam of the Chappel-Gallery-Consult, and the Cambray-Adventure, he comes to his Point, and Deposes, [that Sir George Wakeman coming to Harcourt's Chamber with a Complaint that they had not kept Touch with him, Harcourt told him he had not so much reason to Complain, for he was provided for; and thereupon went and took a Paper out of his Cabinet, which, for a While, he held in his hand, telling him he had been at Whitehall to Fetch that Paper; and thereupon read it to them, and it was a Bill for Two Thousand Pounds, written by the Queen's order. Council Chamber, June 24.

1679.

The Deponent further sayth, that when Harcourt shew'd Sir George Wakeman the said Bill, he said, This indeed is something, but when shall I have the rest? Harcourt Answer'd he should have Five Thousand Pounds in Due Time, and also Ten Thousand more, and that the Two Thousand Pounds was only for his present Supply.] And sayth, that Pritchard told him afterward, that it was for Poysoning the King; and Harcourt likewise owned the same. Ib.

And saith, that when Harcourt shew'd the said Bill, for Two Thousand Pounds to Sir George Wakeman in the Deponents Presence, Sir George asked Harcourt who this Deponent was? To which, Harcourt replyed, he is one we have Entrusted; not in so great a Work as Yours, but in a Work next to That; by which he supposes was meant the Death of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey.] Ib.

We shall now see how his Depositions before the Council

Council as to this Point, Agree with the Evidence he gave at the *Five Jesuits*, and *Langborn's Tryal*.

Sir George Wakeman, he says, received a Bill of Exchange from Mr. Harcourt, and he was told, here is a Bill of Exchange for 2000 l. as part of a greater Summ, To which Sir George Wakeman Answered: that 15000 l. was a small reward for the settling of Religion, and preserving the Three Kingdoms, &c. Five Jesuits Tryal, p. 35. And after he had given Sir George Wakeman the Bill, Sir George Wakeman open'd it, and Read it. Ib.]

And then in the next Page, says Bedloe, I did only [see] the Bill out of Mr. Harcourt's hand: but it was [Read] There only by Sir George Wakeman. In fol. 36. Sir George Wakeman Receiv'd the Bill of Exchange from Mr. Harcourt, he Read it Himself, Folded it up, and went and Received the Mony.

Note here, that before the Council, [HARCOURT] Read it; but in the Jesuiss Tryal, [WAKEMAN] only Read it. In the former, the Two Thousand Pounds was for Sir Georges Present Supply; In the Latter, it was as Part of a greater Summ. In the Former, Sir George seem'd well enough Content with the 15000 l. In the Latter, he thought it too Little. Nay in fol. 35. Sir George open'd it, which Implies, it was Then Folded; and yet fol. 36. Sir George Wakeman Folded it up, not Folded it up Again: But Barely [Folded it up,] which looks as if it had not been Folded before.

In Sir George Wakeman's Tryal, he says, that Sir Geo. Wakeman Fetched a Turn or Two about the Room, seeming Angry, and Discontented, and asked Harcourt if he had any Thing for him? Then Harcourt asked him how he did Proceed? sayd he, I don't know whether I shall or No, &c. fol. 31. with That, Harcourt, went to his Cabinet and took out Five or Six papers, and brought a

*Small Bill, &c. lb. (of 2000 l.) Well, sayd Sir George, I will go and see if the Bill be accepted, and you shall hear of me to Night.* And Bedloe met him Presently after, and Sir George told him it was accepted, and that he was to go in the Afternoon to Receive it, lb. Soon after This, He is Call'd upon to go over with This Part of his Evidence again, fol. 46. and There we have him searching among his Bags, and finding a Little Note among them: And the Relation Effectually to be quite Another Thing.

He is Now got into Clear Another story than the Two Former; for there was no such Question as [Have you any Thing for Me?] No such Peevishnes, or Hesitation, as [I don't know whether I shall or No]. In One Deposition, Five or Six Papers taken out of the Cabinet, Whereas in the other Depositions, there's mention made only of One. Nor is there any Talk of Acceptance or Payment.

There remains Yet Another scruple with a respect to the Timing of This action, which is Never to be Reconcil'd. He makes it before the Council, to have been the Latter part of the last Summer, i. e. 1678. That This Meeting was in Harcourt's Chamber [It was (I think, says He) about the beginning of August. Sir George Wakeman's Tryal, fol. 37.] But being Press'd afterward by Sir George Wakeman in These words [What Day was it, that I had the Discourse with Harcourt, and Received the Bill from him, as You say?]

[Mr. Bedloe] To satisfie you as well as I can, I say it was the Beginning of August, or Part of the Beginning, I do not speak to a Day, p. 40.

So that according to Bedloe's Oath before the Council, of June 24. 1679. Mr. Harcourt gives Sir George Wakeman a Hint, which Bedloe Understood to be Meant of his being Employ'd to kill Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, and Bedloe looks the same way in his Evidence at Sir George Wakeman's Tryal. Sir George asked of Harcourt (says

(says he) Who I was? Said he, 'Tis a Friend, that hath been long Engaged in our Bus'ness, and is to do the Next Great Work to Yours. Fol. 37.

Now upon the Upshot of the Matter, Bedloe swears that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murthered because of Tong's and Otes's Enformations that he had Taken: and Bedloe was Employed at the Beginning of August to Destroy Godfrey, for having Taken those Enformations, which he never Took, nor ever so much as heard of, till the Sixth of the Following September.

His Swearing Off and On in the Case of Whitebread and Fenwick, was a Notable Cast of his Faculty too; that is to say, They, being upon their Tryals with Ireland, Grove, and Pickering, Bedloe declares, that [he does not Charge any Man but them Threes] and when he was told by the Court, [What he said was not any Evidence against Whitebread:] and demanded what he could say as to Fenwick: his Answer was in These words, [No more than as I have to Mr VVhitebread. Irelands Tryal, fol. 42.] But This notwithstanding Whitebread and Fenwick were remanded back to the Goale, by reason that Otes's Testimony was so Full: It being Insisted on, That the King having sent forth a Proclamation for further Discovery, there was [No Question made, but that before the Time therein prefixed should come out, there would come in more Evidence. Ib. pag. 56.

This was at the Sessions-House at the Old-Bayly; December 17. 1678. where They were brought upon their Tryals again on the 13. 2nd 14. of June, 1679. at which Tryal, Bedloe Charged Whitebread upon the Matter of the Four Ruffians that were sent to Windsor about September, fol. 32. and Whitebread, and Fenwick, Both, with being Privy and Consenting to the Practice, fol. 33. Bedloe's Evidence pass'd for Currant, notwithstanding

Standing his former Declaration ; and upon the Summing of it up, *Prance* was also accounted upon as a *Third Witness*.

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## C H A P. VI.

*An Abstract of the Evidence that Bedloe gave concerning the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, First, before the Lords House, the Lords Committees, and the King and Council. Secondly. Upon the Tryals of Green, Berry, and Hill, in the Court of the Kings Bench: With Notes upon the Whole.*

THE Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey being found, a View pass'd upon it, and a Verdict deliver'd up; It Behov'd the *Witnesses* (whether they were True or False) to keep close to the Circumstances of the *Fact* that was before them: And therefore, since a *Malicious Murther* it VWas to be, There must be some *Provocation* Thought upon, or *Presum'd*: *Hands* found out to *Execute* it; a *Place* Convenient for the *Action*; some *Way* or other Propos'd for the *Doing* of it; and then some *Means* or other for the getting of the Body out of the *Way* when the *Deed* was done. This Train of *Fore-cast*, brings us Decently to *Primrose-Hill*; and whether he went Thither by *Horse*, *Chair*, *Litter*, *Coach*, or *Waggon*, it Matters not a Single Marque, Provided there be a *Decorum* in the Story; and that the Thing be done *A-Gods-Name*, as they say, and without the Help of *Spirits*, or *Art Magick* to Convey him Thither. The Next Point to be consulted, is the *Position* of the *Body* in the *Ditch*; The *Sword*, the *Bruises*,

*Bruises*, the *Circles about the Neck*, and Finally, the *Linnen Cloth* that he was *Strangled* with; which will all be taken into Consideration in Due Time and Place. As to the *Visible Matter of Fact*, it stands good and agree'd upon at All hands, That is to say, the *Death*, the *Finding of the Body*; the *Place* where he was *found*; the Date *When*; the *Time* and the *Manner of Removing* it; the Summoning of a *Jury*; the *View*, the *Debate*, and the *Verdict*. But for what lay out of Sight, it must be left either to *Further Discovery*, or to *Conjecture*: Though in a *Made-story* as This was from the Beginning, That which was *well Fancy'd* was *well Prov'd*: And no doubt but *Bedloe* and *Prance* would have made *More* on't, if they had but been aware time enough of the Blessings Heaven had in store for them; and that the Fates had Design'd them one day for Supporters of a Glorious *Church* and *State*. They made a Shift however to draw *Blood*, and at *That Time*, and in *That Cause*, the *Speaking Head* might have done as much. The Mischief was, that *Bedloe's Bolt* was Shot so long before *Prance* appear'd; And that notwithstanding the *General Lights* given to *Prance* about *Godfrey* and *Bedloe*, in the *Newgate-Paper* heretofore spoken of, he was yet left Miserably in the Dark, how to put Things and Things together, toward the Formalizing of a Story. He very well knew, upon the Main, that *Godfrey* was to be Kill'd at *Somerset-House*; and the *Papists* to do it; but upon what *Provocation*; to what *End*; how to get him *Thither*; In what Part of the *House*; and in what *Manner* it was Done.; and what *Numerical Persons* were to do it; How to Dispose of the *Body* from *Place* to *Place*; *When*, and which way to get it *Out*; His Instructions were short, and nothing but pure Dint of *Forehead* to bear him out in the *History*: This may serve for a kind of *Apology* for their *Blunders* in the *General*, but we shall now look into the Merits

*The Mystery of the Death*  
 Merits of the Cause, upon a Sober and Candid View  
 of their Evidence in Particular.

Bedloe's Evidence before the *Lords*, as it stands upon the *Journal*, Friday, Nov. 8. 1678. was Briefly This.

*He [KNOWS] that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murther'd in Somerset-House, on Saturday, by Charles Walsh and Le Phaire, Jesuits: and by Two Lay-men. He saw the Body after it was Murthered, and before it was carry'd out; and Le Phaire told him he was Stifled between Two Pillows; and he was offered Two Thousand Guineas to be one of the Three to carry out the Body; which was kept either in the Room, or the next where the Duke of Albermarle lay in State; that the Chair-men who carry'd out the Body, on Monday Night at Nine of the Clock, are Retainers to Somerset-House, but he knows them not: He saith that Walsh, Le Phaire, and Pritchard told him, that the Lord Bellassis Employ'd them in This Bus'ness.]*

Upon his Examination before the *Lords* on the *Tuesday* following, He calls to Mind, that *He was offered Four Thousand Pound to be one of the Four, or Six, that should kill him, which he promised to do, but Saunter'd up and down, to Grays-Inn-Walks, Fleetstreet, Red-Lyon-Court, Palsgrave-Head Tavern, Somerset-House-Court, &c. and was none of the Man at last, either to kill, or to carry away; but tells a Story how he saw the Body; and Le Phaire, Walsh, Beeston, Atkins, and one belonging to the Queens Chappel in the same Place with the Body.] So that by this Time, he had made a kind of an Ambling Story on't. [*They Agreed, he says, to carry him in a Chair to Clarendon-House-Corner, and there to put him in a Coach, to carry him to the Place where he was found; and having concluded This, they agreed to carry him off at Eleven**

Eleven a Clock of the same Night.] But now to the Timing of the Bus'ness.

Bedloe Swears that betwixt Eight and Nine at Night, Le Phaire and Hermet in the Chayster at Somerset-House Court, and pass'd the Time there about Half an Hour. After This, they walked into the Middle of the Court to be out of Hearing; and Le Phaire told him, that the Person whom he was to kill was kill'd already, and his Body then in Somerset-House; but he shoud still have half the Reward, if he would help to Carry the Body to a Place where they had chose to lay him. Bedloe asked who should go with him; and Le Phaire Named himself for one; Mr. Walsh the Lord Bellassis's Gentleman, Mr. Atkins, and one that belonged to the Queens Chappel. Le Phaire then brought him by the Hand in the Dark, led him into the Room where the Body was, and then pul'd a Dark Lanboris from under his Coat, and shew'd a small light in the Room, where Bedloe saw the Persons before Named, &c. After This, they Debated how to carry him out, and to what Place; and Agreed upon the Hour of Eleven That Night, (as is said already.) Some further Chat they had about the Person that was Murthered, but Bedloe Excusing himself for One Half Hour, gave them the Slip, and came no more that Night. Le Phaire Meeting him the Next Day, told him that the Person was Justice Godfrey, and how they got him to Somerset-House, and where they found him, viz. That He Himself, Walsh, and the Lord Bellassis Gentleman met him by the Kings-head-Inn in the Strand, Crossing of the Street, about Five of the Clock; and told him, that if he would please to go with them so far as Strand-Bridge, they would bring him to a Place near St. Clements Church, where there were a Company met; Principal Plotters of [That Design against the King] and There (if he would go presently) he might Take them, and the Principal of their Papers, &c.] To shorten the Matter; Godfrey offered his Warrant and a Constable; but was loath to go Himself

self; though they got him at last into Somerset-House Court; While Somebody was gone as pretended to fetch a Constable; and after a Turn or Two, there came Two Persons more, and shov'd him into a Room; Presented a Pistol to stoo't him, if he made a Noise; but if he would Answer their Expectation, they would do him no Harm; and so they bad him send for the Examinations. He sayd he had them not; and upon Refusal, they seiz'd, and stifled him with a Pillow; but finding sometime after that he was not quite Dead, they strangled him with a Long Crevat, which Crevat Bedloe saw the Munday Night about his Neck; Le Phaire telling him further, That they had made a Wound in his Body, and layd his Sword by him, as if he had kill'd himself.

I shall only Note upon the Enformations above, that if Bedloe had stuck in his Second Deposition to the Offer of Two Thousand Pound in the Former, to help carry away the Body, without Clapping in Four Thousand Pound Extraordinary, to be One of the Four, or Six, that should commit the Murther, the Story would have hung never the worse together; for when his Hand was in, upon the Reward, 'Twas a wonderful Thing how he should remember the Two Thousand, and forget the Four; and then the Carrying out of the Body at Nine of the Clock in his Deposition of Friday, Nov. 8. And the Resolution of not Carrying it out till Eleven, in his Deposition of the Tuesday following; This Stumble, I say, has knockt the History quite out of Joynt; for it could not be less than Ten at the rate of his Second Enformation, when they came to a Resolution of carrying the Body off at Eleven; Whereas he swears Positively in the Former, that it was Carry'd away at Nine, and yet in the Tryal, fol. 34. He Swears that [He saw it there afier Nine.] There was an unlucky Oversight too in the Wording of the Pretence; when Le Phaire said

and his Fellows were to *Trepan* Godfrey into Somerset-House, under the Colour of a Meeting thereabouts of [the Principal Plotters in [That Design against the King.] And why *That Design*, to a stranger? when the Demonstrative is *Nonsense*, where the Two Parties to the Colloquy do not Mutually Understand One Another. If Godfrey knew the Persons, 'tis odds he knew their Religion, and their Character; and would never have been put upon, by known Jesuits for the Discoverer of the Conspiracy.

Here's the Summ now of the *Depositions* above; bat the Evidence that he gave upon the *Tryals* of Green, Berry and Hill, Feb. 10. 1675. was briefly This.

Le Phaire, Pritchard, Keines, &c. Treated with Bedloe about Murthering a Gentleman; Promising him both Assistance, and Reward. Tryal, fol. 28. He was set to make an Acquaintance with Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, and Ply'd him at his House for six or seven Days together, on Pretense of getting Warrants against Persons, where there were None such, for their good Behaviour. He sent his Boy from the Grey-hound Tavern in the Strand, October 11. to have gotten Godfrey over to him. He had then Five Jesuits in his Company; but Missing him at Home, Bedloe and Two of the Jesuits, Le Phaire, and Walsh, went into the City. Greens Tryal, p. 29. Le Phaire came to his Chamber next Morning, and Miss'd him, but by accident they Met about Four, Afternoon, in Lincolns-Inn-Fields; went to the Palsgraves Head together; and there told Bedloe of a very Material Man that was to be put out of the way That Night; for he had gotten All Oves's and Tong's Informations; And if he were not Dispatched, it would Endanger the Design. Bedloe said, he shoud need to be well seconded: And asking about the Money, Le Phaire told him the Lord Bellassis was Engag'd for't, and Coleman had order to Pay it. The Summ was 4000*l.* Bedloe Promis'd to Meet him at Somerset-house That Night.

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but fail'd him, fol 30.] and saw him No more 'till he met him next Night in Red-Lyon Court, where he put his Cane to his Nose, for a Hint to Bedloe, that he was to Blame not to keep his Promise. They went together to the Grey-Hound Tavern in Fleet-street, where they appoint-ed to Meet at Nine that Night, at Somerset-House. Bed-loe met him Exactly at the Time, when they Walk'd and Talk'd a Great While; Le Phaire telling him, that he was Murther'd; and offer'd him Half yet to Help Carry him off: and so (says Bedloe) he took me by the hand, and led me into the Room thorough a Dark Entry. In the Room were a Great many: I can't tell who they All were [Mr. Justic Jones] What kind of Light had they Mr. Prance? [Mr. Prance] It was a Middle-siz'd Lanthorn. [Mr. Just. Jones] Was it a small Light or a great Light? [Mr. Bedloe] It was a small Light. [Mr. Just. Jones] Had they No Light but that Lanthorn? [Mr. Bedloe] No, and they did not open it 'till I had had a Turn about the Room. Upon this, They Threw off the Thing that was layd upon Elie, fol 31. and Bedloe knew him; And he had about his Neck such a kind of Crevat (says he) as This about my Neck, and I went to Try and could not get my Finger in herwaist. Bedloe would have had Weights Ty'd to his Head and Feet, and Thrown him into the River. No, say'd they, We will put it upon Himself, there are None but Friends Concern'd. So they Resolv'd to put him in a Chair, and Berry the Porter should sit up to let them out at the Gate. They told me (says Bedloe) they had strangled him, but how he did not know. They Press'd Bedloe to help Carry him out; but he Excus'd himself, and said it was too Early, and that about Eleven, or Twelve a Clock would be a Better Time: So Bedloe promising Le Phaire upon the Sacrament he took on Thursday, to be at the Carrying of This Man That Night, he got away. [fol. 32.] He went then to Bristol, but very Restless, and Disturb'd in his Mind, 'till at last he could forbear

Discovery

*Discovery no longer ; and so he wrote to the Secretary of it, and went to the Parliament, and gave in his Information.*

One Day (says Mr. Bedloe) I met with Prance in the Lobby.

[Mr. Attorney General] I will ask you one Question : Had you any Discourse with Mr. Prance Between the time you saw him with the Body, and the Day he was Apprehended ?

It is to be Noted here, that Bedloe had said Nothing at All as Yet of seeing Prance with the Body ; but it was found a Necessary Task for the Holding of the Story Together, That the Two Chief Murtherers should be brought Acquainted.

Bedloe says further, he saw Green about the Court, and was told that Berry was to open the Gate ; but he did not see Hill. Prance, he says, was taken up upon Suspicion, for lying out of his Lodging ; and when he was There, in the Constable's Hands, Otes came by and Desired to see him, and presently after He Himself came thither. The Constable Asking him, Mr. Prance, Will you see Mr. Bedloe ? No (he said) he would not ; And then Prance put his Hat over his Eyes, that Bedloe might not see his Face, [fol. 3.] But Bedloe calling to have the Lobby Clear'd, he happen'd at Prance's coming by, to cast his Eyes upon his Face, and presently knew him, and Cry'd, Oh ! Pray Sir Stay ; you are one of my Friends that must stay here : And I, presently Charg'd my Guards to take Charge of him, Saith the Constable, He is my Pris'ner. Is he so, said I ? Then you have a very good Pris'ner : And Pray look safe to him : And then when I went into the House of Lords, I made out my Charge against him, fol. 34.

Now to Compare Bedloe with Himself, in his Deposition of Oct. 8. The Body was Carry'd off on Monday

E

Night

Night at Nine of the Clock. He swears upon the 12th before the Lords, that He himself saw the Body there long after Nine, when they Agreed to carry it away at Eleven; and in Green's Tryal again, Expressly that he saw it there after Nine, fol. 34.

He was told upon the 8th. That they stifled Godfrey betwixt Two Pillows. On the 12th. That he was stifled with a Pillow: And upon the Tryal, fol. 32. was told they had Strangled him, but he did not know How.

In his Enformation, Nov. 12. He appointed to meet Le Phaire at Somerset-House at Eight in the Evening, and accordingly, betwixt Eight and Nine, went Thither: but Le Phaire sayd he had stayd almost an Hour for him: whereas at the Tryal, the Appointment was Nine a Clock, and they met Exactly at the Hour. Tryal, pag. 31. He Swears, Nov. 12. 1678. That Le Phaire led him into the Room where the Body was; which was Dark, and pull'd out a Dark Lanthorn, &c. Whereas in the Tryal, he takes Notice that the Entry was Dark, but not the Room, fol. 31. And he had forgot the Lanthorn, if Prance had not minded him of it. Beside that he took a Turn in the Room before it was opened. Ibid. Bedloe had a mind, he says, to Discover, Two Years ago; but was Prevented, and only Drill'd them on to know the Party that was to be Murther'd, that he might prevent them, Tryal, p. 28. It is here to be Noted, that, fol. 28. Bedloe was Resolv'd to Discover; but fol. 32. He is Contriving how to Conceal the Murther. And 2y. That he had a Mind to Discover it some Two Years ago; That is to say, a matter of Two Year before 'twas Committed. He says again, That He did not see Le Phaire, from Sunday, to Monday Night, pag. 31. And yet before the Lords, he met him by Accident, upon Sunday, in Fleetstreet. The Jesuits, he says, that were about the Body, and had Employ'd him to Influate himself into Godfrey's Acquaintance, thought he had not known

known them, fol. 32. though it was Le Phaire, Pritchard, and Walsh, that set him to insinuate Himself into Godfrey's Acquaintance ; Le Phaire Himself that now shew'd him the Body. Tryal, pag. 29. And that were present (as he Swears before the Lords) at the same Time in the Room with the Body. Prance says, That they ran him through with his own Sword, and then threw him into a Ditch. Bedhoe says upon the Journal, That they had made a Wound in his Body, and lay'd his Sword by him.

Upon the whole Matter, This Story was certainly one of the Rarest Forgeries that ever pass'd so much, and so long Current for a Truth : But we shall now take a Summary View of Prance's Evidence, upon the same Subject, and Pretext.

## C H A P. VII.

*How Prance came to be Taken up ; How he was Managed ; with the Sum of his Evidence about Sir Edmundbury Godfrey ; and a General Reflexion upon the whole.*

THE Intrigue of Prance's Affair must be Methodically Open'd, or it will never be Clearly Understood ; and the Truth of the History it self, will suffer without the Light of an Orderly Introduction.

Prance had the Ill Fortune to have a Lodger in his House, one John Wren, that was behind-hand with him for Fourteen Months Rent ; and Pressing him for his Money, he was observ'd to cast out Threatning Words against his Landlord. Soon after This, there was a Tankard gone ; and a Squabble about it ; but in short, Prance never heard more of his Tankard ;

He had his *Rent Paid* him on *St. Thomas Eve*, 1678; And was *Taken up Next Morning* upon a *Warrant* bearing Date the *Day before*, at the Instance and Complaint of This *Wren* and others, upon a Suspicion of being Privy to the *Murther* of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*. This *VVarrant* was Deliver'd to the Officer by one *Hill*, and there it was suggested in the Enformation, That *Prance* lay out of his House some Nights while *Sir Edmund* was *Missing*. His Dealings with *Grove*: His Hiring a Horse to go out of Town : His Brother being a *Priest*; *Pickering*, and *Ireland* having been at his House, &c. It came to This, in fine, that *John Wren*, *Joseph Hill*, and *Another*, put in for the *Five Hundred Pound Promis'd* in the *Proclamation*; as being the First Discoverers of the *Murther*, and obtained a *Certificate* to That End, Dated *December 27. 1678.* upon *Prance's* Taking upon Himself to have had a Hand in the Action : He was Carry'd away in Custody, into a Little Room within a Lobby by the House of Commons, and While they were There Attending, in comes *Bedloe*; staring up and down, and Enquiring Privately *which was the Pris'ner*, They shewed him the Man, and so soon as Ever he had got sight of him, he went his way.

Now the Truth of this Matter is quite Another Thing from the Bus'ness of the *Lobby*, as *Bedloe* has Reported it in his *Evidence, Tryal 33, 34.* for *Bedloe* did not Apprehend *Prance*, as he says, but he was in Custody already; No such Question asked by the Constable as *Mr. Prance*, will you see *Mr. Bedloe*? No *Plucking his Hat over his Eyes*; Not one Word sayd *Bedloe* to *Prance*; No Bidding of his Guards to take Charge of him. And so for the Bus'nes of his going to *Bristol*, in such Trouble of Mind forsooth, for the *Murthers that had been Already Committed*, and the *Greater One's that were Daily intended*, and his being at last

Con-

*Convinc'd, and Writing to the Secretary, &c.* Green's Tryal, p. 33. 'Tis all a Sham (as appears Already) for he Wrote from Newbery upon his way to Bristol; and had the *Cheat, the Perjury, and the Reward* at That Time in his Eye.

After the Officers had Waited for some Hours with *Prance* in the *Lobby*, they Carry'd him to an *Eating House* call'd *Heaven*; Into a Room (as by Chance) where *Bedloe* was Planted by *Sir William Waller*, and some Others, by Manifest *Design*: when, of a sudden, Up starts *Bedloe*, and with an Oath VVorthy of That Mouth cry'd out [*This is one of the Rogues that I saw with a Dark Lanthorn about the Body of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, but he was then in a Periwig.*] *Prance* was Carry'd from Thence to the Committee of Lords, and VVhile he was VWaiting to be Call'd; *Wren* came to him and told him, [*Now is your Time to Confess, or you are Ruin'd.*] speaking of the *Murther* of *Sir Edmund B. Godfrey*. *Bedloe* Charg'd him before the Lords with the *Murther*; and *Wren*, with being out of his House while the *Body* was *Missing*, but he Deny'd All upon his Examination, Affirming that he knew Nothing of the *Murther*, neither did he know *Bedloe*: and objecting against *Wren*, as an *Incompetent Witness*. This was December 21, 1678. And the Heads of his Depositions were as follows;

*That he had been a Papist, but was now a Protestant, and had taken the Oaths: That he had wrought in his Trade for Groves, Pickering, Fenwick, and Ireland; That the Sunday after These Persons were Taken up, He sayd in a Coffee-house, [they were very Honest Men:] which some People took offence at. He kept out of the Way for fear of being Question'd. He never lay out of his House but Three Nights in Two Year. He had not seen Rawson of the VVhite-house, This Twelvemonth; Nor did*

he go to the Queens Chappel once a Month. He Deny'd the Hiring of a Horse, at First; but Confess'd it afterward, and that it was to Avoid the Oaths. That an Arrest stayd him in Town. That his Wife was a Papist. That he Chang'd Guineas for one Mr. Owen & Layman: That he had nothing to do with the Death of Godfrey: That he sent a Halbert over the Way once, when they were searching for Arms; That he lay at a Neighbours House on Monday when Sir Edmund was Missing. That he had made a Light Flaxen Periwig of his Wife's Hair, but he never Wore it; That he had Dealt with Grove for Guineas, and had Money of him for Work; That he knew Pickering, and had been lately in his Company, but Neither VValsh, nor Prichard: That Pickering was a Clark in the Queens Chappel: That he did not know Le Phaire, and thinks he did not know Captain Pugh; And that he was at Home from Five the Last Night, to Eleven.

I have been the more Particular in This, in Regard of the Relation it has to All the Rest; but to come Round now to my Bus'ness, Here's the short on't.

Upon Saturday, December 21. Prance Denyes All His First nights Lodging in the Condemn'd Hole, and a Paper of Instructions next his Heart on Sunday Morning, Mollify'd, and made very Wax of him to Yield to Any Impression. That Sunday Night, by the help of some Illuminations in Aldersgate Street, he began to see Day-Light, and to Promise Discoveries, if he Might be sure of a Pardon. On Munday, the 23. [The House was Inform'd (as I find it upon the Lords Journal) That Miles Prance hath made some Discovery of the Plot, and hath offer'd to make further Discovery of the Plot; and also touching the Death of Sir Edmund-bary Godfrey, and the Whole Manner of it, If he might First be fully Assured of his Majesties Gracious and General Pardon, &c.

The

The Plot goes First, I perceive ; but upon This Report, Immediate Application was made to His Majesty ; a Full and General Pardon Promis'd ; and it was forthwith [Order'd, that certain Lords should acquaint Miles Prance in Newgate, That Afternoon with his Majesties Gracious Assurance, and that they should then and thence Proceed to Examine him thoroughly in Order to a True and perfect Discovery ; and that Care should be taken that No other Person, Lord, or Commoner should be present at the said Examination, but the said Lords, and the Prisoner.]

The House of Commons pass'd Two Orders of the same Date likewise, upon the same Subject.

1. Order'd, That the Committee of Secrecy, or any Three of them, do repair to the Prison, and take the Examination of Mr. Prance touching the Plot, and the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

### *Post Meridiem.*

2. Ordered, That the Committee of Secrecy appointed to Examine Mr. Prance, do Impart to the Prisoners in Newgate, the Contents of His Majesties Proclamation in Relation to the Discovery of the Plot against his Majesties Person and Government. Commons Journal, pag. 206, 207.

It makes a Man Tremble, to think what a Fayl-Delivery of Discoverers this Temptation might have produced. The Assurance of a Pardon, had by This Time Mellow'd Prance, and made him Ripe for a Further Examination ; so that upon Tuesday Morning, Decemb. 24. He was Examin'd by the King in Council, about the Plot, and about the Murther, with a Promise of Pardon upon a Full Discovery.

Hereupon he Declar'd, That One Girald, an Irish Priest spoke to him about the Killing of a Man, not saying who it was ; this was about a Fortnight before the Murther : And about a Week after, Girald, Green, and Hill told him they would Kill Sir Edmundbury Godfrey ; for he was an Enemy to the Queen, or her Servants : He had us'd some Irish Men ill ; and Girald told him, the Lord Bellasis would see the Action rewarded ; Girald owning an Old Grudge to Sir Edmund, about a Bus'ness of Parish-Duties. He said they had Watch'd him a Week or Fort-night before his Death : Green had call'd at his House that Saturday Morning, and that He, Girald, and Hill had Dogg'd him That Day until he came by his Death.

His Majesty thereupon appointed the Duke of Monmouth, and the Earl of Offory to take Prance's Enformation at Somerset-House, from Place to Place, where the Things were acted ; which they did accordingly, and reported the Matter to his Majesty in Council, which Report we shall here Insert at Length, as the very Key of the Imposture, to any Man that shall but Trace the Story through the Lodgings.

May it Please your Majesty,

**I**N Obedience to your Majesties Order signified to us this Morning in Council, we have been at Somerset-House, and there taken the Examination of Miles Prance a Silver-Smith, touching the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, upon the Place where the same was Committed, and in Virtue of the Oath taken before your Majesty, he declared as followeth.

That it was either at the Latter End, or the Beginning of the Week, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey did, about Nine of the Clock at Night, pass from towards St. Clements as far as the Great Water-gate at Somerset House,  
being

being watched and followed by Lawrence Hill, one Green, and one Gerald; that Hill making some hast before, stept within the Wicket which was open, and turning soon out again, call'd to Sir Edmund as he was Passing, and said there were two Men quarrelling within, who might soon be quieted if once they saw him: Whereupon he entred through the Wicket, and after him, Green and Gerald, and down they all went, till they came to a Bench that is at the Bottom of the Deep Descent, and joyning to a Rail next to the upper end of the Stables on the Right hand: That upon the said Bench, there were sitting and attending their coming, the Examinant, Miles Prance, and one Berry the Porter of the Other Gate, together with an Irish-man that Lodg'd at Green's House, whose Name he knows not; And by that time they were come half way down, he the said Prance went up to the Wicket there to attend, and give notice, if any came; and at the same time the said Berry went straight on, from the Bench toward the Stone-Stairs which led to the Upper Court: and when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey came down to the Bench, Green, who follow'd him, put about his Neck a large Twisted Handkercher; and thereupon all the rest Assisted, and dragged him into a Corner which is behind the said Bench and the said Rail: and Green, who Inform'd him in the manner hereof, and with whom he had before Seen the large Twisted Handkercher, added, that he had Thumped him on the Breast, and Twisted his Neck untill he Broak it.

And the Examinant saith, that he did, in about a Quarter of an hour after he had been standing at the Wicket, come down to see what was done; and found that they had Throated him, but his Body remain'd Warm, and seem'd hardly Dead. But He, together with the said Hill, Green, Gerald, and Berry, and the Irish-man, took him up, and convey'd him through a Door that is on the Left Hand coming down at the Corner of the Coach-House, which leads up several Stairs into a long dark Passage or Gallery, opening

opening at last into the Upper Court, in which Passage there is a Door on the Left hand, which being open'd, leads up with Eight Stairs into Another House adjoining; but immediately upon the Right hand, being got up, there is a little Closet, or Square Room, into which they convey'd the Body; and there set the Body Bended, with the Back against a Bed, which the Examinant having now seen again, thinks to be the same Bed that was there at the said Time. He further said, that Hill lived at this House, and the Body was for Two Days Left there, in his care; but then being afraid of Discovery, Hill, Gerald, Green, Berry, and the Irishman, as they told him, did Take and Convey the Body from thence about Nine or Ten of the Clock at Night, and carry'd it into the House, and into some Room towards the Garden; and that while the Body lay there, he was, by Hill, conducted to see it, and saw the Body as it lay Bended, and Green, and Gerald were present. That from Thence, upon a Tuesday Night, the Body was brought back near to the Place where first it Lay, into a Room in the said Gallery, over-against the first Dyer, somewhat higher up towards the Court, the Chamber belonging to some of the Servants of Sir John Arundel, where it remain'd until Nine or Ten of the Clock on Wednesday Night: and then, thinking it fit to remove it to the Little Room where first it Lay, this Examinant happened to come as they were lifting it up the said Eight Steps, wherenpon Hill and Berry fled, as supposing him to be some Stranger; but Gerald, Green, and the Irishman stood still; and so he helped them to Lift up the Body into the former Closet, and There it continued till after Twelve of the Clock the same Wednesday Night. Hill and Berry came to them when their Fright was over; and Hill having got a Sedan, and placing it in the long dark Entry at the Foot of the said Eight Stairs, they put the Body therinto. The Examinee Prance, and Gerald, first took up the Chair, and

convey'd it through the Upper-Court ; Berry the Porter open'd half the Gate, and let them out ; and they rested not till they came to Covent Garden, where Green, and another Irish-man took their Turns, and so carry'd the Sedan, and Body in it, as far as the New Grecian Church in the So-ho ; and there Hill met them with a Horse ; whereupon they took out the Body, and forcing open the Legs, they set it upon the Horse, Hill Riding behind, to keep the Body up, while Green, Gerald, and the Irish-man went to accompany him. Berry the Porter did not depart from the Gate, and the Examinant Prance, fearing to be missing, return'd home when the Body was set on Horseback ; and the Sedan, which was left in one of the New Unfinished Houses, they took it up, and brought it home as they came back.

He further saith, That the Body lay in Somerset-House about Six or Seven Days, before it was Carry'd out : but he is not certain in the Number of the Days. He was very Positive as to the Place where the Murther was Committed, and the Manner of it ; as also for the Room where the Body was first laid ; but being desired to conduct us to the Room next the Garden, he led us to the Corner of the Piazza on the Left hand, and so down a Pair of Stairs, and so far seem'd to be assured he had been Led, and did think that he pass'd through the Great Court Below : But where from thence we went up and down into several Rooms, he seem'd very Doubtful, and could not ascertain the Places ; saying, He had never been there but that Once, when Hill convey'd him thither with a Dark Lanthorn ; but that it was some Chamber towards the Garden. In the House where the Body was first layd, we found a Woman, whose Description we have taken ; She was House-keeper to Dr. Godwin, and the said Hill had been a Servant to the said Doctor in this House, for above Seven Years, and continued to live there since the Doctor's Departure until Michaelmas Last : but that he hath been there Three several Times

Times since; and she also knew the Examinant, and call'd him by his Name.

All which is humbly submitted to your Majesty.

24. Decemb.

1678.

*Monmouth.*

*Offory.*

Upon reading which Report; it appear'd that the Particulars were very Consonant to what he had spoken at the Board in the Morning before his going; at which time being also further asked, Why he gave so different a Relation to the Committee of the Lords, from what he now so freely Confess'd? He made Answer, He was in much Confusion before the Committee, being not sure of his Pardon; but now, being Sure of it, and also upon his Oath, he did Speak the whole Truth, according to his Knowledge. And being then further Asked, Why he came not in upon the Proclamation, and the Reward there-of: He said, He was affraid to Trust thereunto. And being further Asked, What Reward he had receiv'd from those that Employ'd him? He said, He had yet received no Reward, nor had he sought for any, but only the Promise of Gerald, that there should be a Reward, by the Lord Bellasis. He said that he wrought in the way of his Trade to the Queens Chappel, and was a Roman Catholick, but that about Eight Weeks ago he had taken the Oathes: Being Asked, Whether there were no Guards in the usual places, at the time of Carrying on this Work? He saith, He did not take Notice of any: And being asked, Whether he saw Bedloe when he was Carry'd to see the Body, when it lay in the Back-Chamber near the Garden? He Answered, He could not tell whether Bedloe was There or No; but doth remember, that Gerald, and Green, were then Present. He adds, *that*

that Hill, Green, and Gerald, told him that they had at Primrose-hill Thrust Sir Edmund's Sword through his Body, till it came an Inch out of his Back: and that he struggled very much at the time they strangled him, but that Green punched him with his knees upon his Body, to hasten his Death.

The Council sat again in the Afternoon, and Prance was Confronted with Green, Hill, and Berry, who Deny'd every Syllable of the Charge, and Prance stood as stoutly to every Point of the Accusation.

On the Following 25, 26, 27, 28, December, there pass'd little more then the same thing over again, from some Members of Both Houses, who were often with him in Newgate, and still telling him, when his Evidence did not agree with Bedloe's, that he was a Rogue, and had a Mind to spoil All, with Menares if he did not Confess.

Upon Sunday the 29th, he was Examin'd before the King in Council; And, Denying All; he was asked what Inducement he had to the Story? Why he swore against Those Persons? Who put him upon't? He said, No Body Prompted him; He only knew the Men that he swore against; He never saw Bedloe before he was taken up. He knew Nothing of the Plot, nor of the Murther; All he had Sworn was False; He never was Guilty of any Man's Blood, and could not Rest for the Story he had told: But Wren ought him Money, and Threatned him because he Press'd him for't; and so Haire'd him into't. Some there were that Call'd him a Thousand Villains, and Apostates; and Threatned to shew him the Wrack; but he was in the Conclusion, Remanded to Newgate. It should have been Premis'd, that the Keeper being Order'd to Attend the Council with his Pris'ner, Prance made it his request that he might Wait upon his Majesty, before he Carry'd him to the Council.

Captain

Captain Richardson Enform'd the King of his Earnest desire ; and he was Order'd to Carry Prance to Mr. Chiffinch's Lodgings, which accordingly he did ; and stayd there together with him, 'till his Majesty came into the next Chamber, and Beckon'd Prance to come to him ; and the Door was shut after him. He had been a very short time there, When his Majesty Open'd the Door, (Prance being then upon his kyes) and had Mr. Chiffinch, and Captain Richardson to take Notice of What Prance sayd ; VVho, being call'd upon to speak what he had to say, [Declar'd that the Men he had sworn against, were All Innocent : and that All he had sworn against them was False : which he Affirmed with great Passion, and Earnest Assveration. The Late Blessed King Pressing him in These very Words, (as I have good Authority for't) Upon your Salvation is it so ? Prance Replying Upon my Salvation the whole Accusation is False ] He was Carry'd thence to the Council, wherè he fell down upon his knees also, and Deny'd All that he had sworn at First ; Insomuch that the Duke of Monmouth Infer'd, that Certainly they had let Priests and Jesuits come to him, he could Never have gone off as he did else. He told the very same story to the King in Council upon the 30th. as he had done upon the 29th. To Conclude ; He stood Firm to This Denyal, against All Terrors, and Temp-tations, from the 29th. of December, to the 11th. of the Following January ; and his Carcass had not as yet gotten the full Mastery of his Conscience ; but when he once overcame That scruple, He Proceeded by Degrees from a sin of Infirmitiy, to the Habit of a Most Malicious Wickedness : Though upon the VVhole Matter, I have Charitable Reason yet to Believe, that God has vouchsaf'd him, the Mercy, and the Grace of an Unfeigned Repentance.

I should now come to take his *Westminster-Hall-Evidence* to Pieces ; but telling his Tale by Book, and having Little or No occasion to Change his Note, His running the History over and over in his Evidence, was, in effect but the so-many-times saying of the *same Lesson* again. Not but that there are *Blunders*, abundantly, and *Incongruities*, upon the *Connexion*, that are never to be Justify'd or Reconcil'd. As for Example.

*Prance* swears before the King and Council, Decemb. 24. 1678. That Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* was Murther'd, either the *Latter end*, or the *Beginning of the Week*; and afterward, that the *Body* lay about *Six or Seven Days* in *Somerset-house* before it was *Carry'd out* : But he swears *Punctually* upon the *Tryals*, to the *Saturday Morning* : Nay to the very *Hour of Nine or Ten*, fol. 15. to the *Dogging* of him till about *Seven* ; to his coming to *Somerset-house* about *Eight or Nine* ; where he lay till *Munday Night* ; and what became of him till *Tuesday* ; and so to the *Chairing* of him away to *Primrose-Hill*, upon *Wednesday* about *Midnight*, which amounts to but *Four Days* from *Saturday Night*, and from *Monday*, but *Two*.

But we shall have Work enough to Observe upon Contradictions and Absurdities when we come to *Confront Prance, and Bedloe, One with Another* : and in the Mean time, it shall suffice, that he has given Himself the *Lye* with the *Horridest Solemnity* of *Imprecations Imaginable*, in Denyal of *Every Article of his Accusation* : Besides that he was as much Out, when he was to shew the Duke of *Monmouth* and my Lord *Ossory* the *Room* in *Somerset-house* where the *Body* was *First Lay'd*, December 24. as Otes was to bring the Earls of *Ossory* and *Bridgewater* to the *Stair-Case* that led to the Place where he *Overheard the Queen speaking Treason*, Nov. 26. Nay my Lord *Ossory* Himself had such an Opinion of the Story, that upon the Question, *What he thought of*

of This Bus'ness? His Lordship was heard to make Answer to This Purpose, C'est une Grande Frippommerie: Or, 'Tis all a Great Cheat.

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## C H A P. VIII.

*The Secret History of Prince's Condition, from December 29. 1678. to January 11. 1679. and the Secret Manage of him in the Prison.*

THE Readers Memory must be Refresh'd once again with it, that *Prance* was Taken-up by the *Lords Committees*; Examin'd and Committed to *Newgate*, Decemb. 21. 1678. Finally Denying every Point that was Charg'd upon him. On the 22d, *Shaftsbury*, &c. had the Handling of him, (as *Captain Richardson* well knows) and by the Help of a *Preparatory Paper of Instructions*, formerly spoken of, Wrought upon *Good Nature* so far, as the next Morning to obtain the Promise of a *Pardon* for him, upon the Plot-Condition of Making out a Full and Perfect Discovery; and on the same day he was Close Ply'd in the Prison with Two Committees, one after another, upon the Subject (to Cross the Proverb) of *Confess, and you shall Not be Hang'd*. On the 24th. he Deliver'd his *Enformation* at large to the King in Council; from whence he was Remov'd back again, and according to Order, put into a Better Lodging: There he continued near a Week, with his Irons, sometimes off, sometimes on; During which Time, he was taken out by one of the Keepers, who told him, *You are now going to be Hang'd*; but they Carry'd him to my *Lord Chief Justice*: And upon his Refusal to Answer to Certain Interrogat-

Interrogatories, he was taken back again to Prison : There pass'd Nothing Considerable till the 29th, and 30th. Upon which Two Days, he did, with Dreadful Imprecations Declare, and Affirm, both to the King and Council upon his Knees, and [upon his Salvation] (tho Those Words are left out of Mr. Ghiffinch's Evidence in the Tryal) that his Depositions are wholly False, and the Persons Innocent that he had Accus'd : Affirming likewise to his Majesty and Council, that he had no other Hints to the Story he had told, then what he took from the aforesaid Paper of Instructions, that was laid by him in the Condemn'd Hole in Newgate, as is set forth in another place.

Now That which I call Prance's Secret History, is the Account of what pass'd in the Interval betwixt his Falling off from his Former Evidence, and his returning to it again ; a Parenthesis that lies much in the Dark, and a Period too Remarkable to be Bury'd in Silence.

Soon after This Vehement Denial, and Retraction of Prance's, the Lords Committees (Jan. 2.) Order'd one William Boyce to Attend them about Miles Prance, who accordingly, with his Wife, Attended their Lordships on the 4th. And being Interrogated upon the Enformation of John Wren about Prances Lying abroad at His House, they made This Answer.

WILLIAM BOYCE Enforms, That upon Clapping up of the Jesuits into Newgate, he was in a Coffee-House, with Miles Prance, who hearing thereof, Lamented their Misfortune, and openly Declar'd them to be such Honest Men, that some of the Company said, they would Complain of him to the Council Board ; whereupon Prance, being affraid, did, on Wednesday and Thursday Night, the Second and Third of October Last, come and lye at his House, but never before, nor since. And the Wife of Boyce also being call'd-in, Deposed the same.

Now This Enformation of Boyce Destroys the Oath of *John Wren*, that says he was out *Tuesday* and *Wednesday Night*, when *Godfrey* was Missing ; and of *Margaret* his Wife, that says he was Missing *Four Nights that Week*; And so of *Charles Manning* ; and *Elizabeth Trevor*, that swear to his Lying abroad some Nights More or Fewer, betwixt the 12<sup>th</sup>, and the 17<sup>th</sup> of *October*, according to the Entryes of them made in the *Council Books*: He Persisted in his Denyal of All ; and from the 30<sup>th</sup>. of *December* to the 8<sup>th</sup>. of *January following*, what with the Deadly Cold, and Nastiness of the Place ; the Distres of his Condition, the Agony of his Thoughts, under the Horror of Drawing upon himself the Guilt of *Innocent Bloud*, and the Galling Weight of his *Irons*, he lay in such Torments, both of *Body* and *Mind*, that he spent his Hours in Roaring and Groaning, and Restlessly Exclaiming ; and *Crying out Not Guilty, Not Guilty. No Murther.* And so the same Out-Cryes, or Clamours at least, to that Effect, Over and Over, that they had no way to Cover the *Scandal*, and the Inhumanity of his Usage, but either by Imputing the Anguish of a *Wounded Conscience* to the Ravings of a *Distemper'd Brain*; or else to make a worse Matter on't, by Ridiculing a *True Repentance* into the Story of a *Counterfeit Madness*. But when *Things* were at the worst, *Miles Prance* was, now and then by Fits, as the Good Humour Prevail'd, Eas'd of his Irons ; Comforted with Good Words ; and nothing of Manage Omitted for the bringing Him to Understand Reason.

Upon the 8<sup>th</sup>. of *January*, 167<sup>3</sup>. *Captain Richardson* attended the *Lords Committees* about the Safe Custody of *Miles Prance*, according to an Order of the Day before. He was call'd-in to give some Enformation in Writing concerning him ; as Also the Enformation of his Servant *Charles Cooper* ; and it appearing to the *Lords*

Lords that *Prance* strives what he can to *Counterfeit* being *Mad*, and that he spake *Plainest* when he was in *Irons*, their Lordships therefore Direct Captain *Richardson* to return him to the Condition he was first in, hoping by some *Streightness* he may be brought to stand to the Truth. Their Lordships further Order'd that Dr. *Lloyd*, the Dean of *Bangor*, be Desired to Discourse with *Prance*, in order to settle his Mind, if there be any real Occasion for it, and that Mr. *Dean* do attend their Lordships to Morrow to receive Directions therein.

On the Day following Dr. *Lloyd* Attended the *Council-Chamber*, according to Order; And thereupon a Letter of *Instructions* was sent to *Richardson* as follows.

Sir,

The Lords of the Committees have This Morning Discoursed Dr. *Lloyd*, the Dean of *Bangor*, concerning Miles *Prance*, and the Various Tempers he hath appeared in: and their Lordships have Desired the Dean to try whether he can Compose his Mind by such Methods of Discourse and Persuasion, as he shall think fit to use. Wherefore the Lords Direct that you, do from Time to Time permit Mr. *Dean* to have Access to him, as he shall desire; and as well All the Papers of Mr. *Prance's* Evidence here Depending, as also what your Man *Cooper* hath Certify'd touching his Behaviour, there, have been sent to Mr. *Dean* for his Better Enformation, &c.

It appears likewise upon the *Council-Books* that a Servant of Captain *Richardson's* Attended their Lordships the same Day.

*Cooper*, a Servant from Captain *Richardson*, acquainted the Lords, that he sat up last Night with *Prance*, who is, according to Directions, put in Irons. He says, that

he slept very Little, and used much Raving Talk; but having Drink by him, and pretending to have spilt it, by Flinging down the Vessel, there did not appear one quarter of the Drink to be spilt. That when he put on his Stockings, having Stirrups within, and one of them Fore, he layd the Pieces over each other before he drew the Upper Stocking on; and having put on his Shoes with the Buckles Wrong, he presently Alter'd them to Rights.

The Next day, Jan. 10. Captain Richardson had another Letter about giving Boyce Liberty to Visit Prance in the Words following.

SIR,

**T**HE Lords of the Committee did think fit This Morning to send for William Boyce, who was an old Friend and Acquaintance to Miles Prance, and believing that he may do much toward the Composing of the Mans Mind, the Lords have Discoursed with him at Large, and would have you also Enform him in what you can, and to permit him from time to time to have Access to the said Prance, and he will come and Enform the Lords how things do Pass, which is all I have in Command from the Lords to signifie, and am, &c.

On the Next Day came Cooper again with Another Report from Newgate about Prance.

Charles Cooper Servant to Captain Richardson, gave their Lordships an Account, how that Prance had Yesterday Rav'd very much, but in the Afternoon, grew more Mild, and desir'd to speak with Captain Richardson, which he did, and soon after Dr. Lloyd came to him: That he rested well till Midnight, but then fell to Rave, Crying out frequently, that it was not he Murther'd him, but They kill'd him. He having long forborn to Eat, Cooper told him he would lose his Stomach if he did not Eat; whereupon he fell to Eat very Heartily, and having the last Night thrown

worrown in to him a Flock-Bed, with a Piece or Two of Blanket to cover him, he made use of all to his Conveniency, rather than to Continue on the Boards.

On Jan. 11. Captain Richardson receives Another Letter, as follows, about Prance.

SIR,

**T**HE Lords of the Committee having putt into the hands of Dr. Lloyd his Majesties Warrant for Prance's Pardon, and Instructions how to make use of the same, you are to follow such Direction as the said Doctor shall give you, either to the taking off Mr. Prance's Irons, or for his Better Accomodation, notwithstanding their Lordships former Order to the Contrary.

And the same Day Mr. Dean of Bangor tells their Lordships, that having been several times with Prance, he first found him very Sullen, and Denying all; but at last his Speech was Consistent, and he desired the Doctor to come the next day, as if then he would say more, which the Doctor doing, he appear'd very well compos'd, and in good humour, saying that he had Confess'd Honestly before, and had not Wrong'd any of those he had Accus'd.

This Report of the Doctors, is follow'd with another of Boyces, of the same Date.

William Boyce, who had also been with Prance, tells the Lords, That he Enquir'd for his Wife, and was glad to hear she was not in Prison.

That he fear'd he should be Hang'd, by what my Lord Shaftsbury told him, That if he did not Confess, and Agree with Bedloe in what Concern'd the Murther, that he should be Hang'd.

He also seem'd to fear that Those Three whom he accus'd, ( meaning Green, Berry, and Hill ) were set at Liberty; That he would Confess All, if he were sure of his Pardon; That he desired to speak with the Lord Shaftsbury about Four Men that had a Design to Murther him.

Captain Richardson tells the Lords that Prance sent Yesterday for him while he was in his good Temper ; told him that Four Persons Named in the Following Warrant, together with Young Staley, and Himself, were lately Drinking at the Cross-Keys over against Staley's Shop ; and that their Discourse was, how that the Lord Shaftsbury was a great Persecutor of the Catholiques, and must be taken off by shooting, or some Other way : and that he would have told the Lord Shaftsbury of it when he came to Newgate, but that his Lordship appeared so Hasty, that he would not let him speak. Their Lordships presently Signed a Warrant for the Apprehending of These Men, and Appointed Sir Robert Southwell to go in the Afternoon to acquaint the Earl of Shaftsbury therewith. The Persons Accus'd were Humphry Adamson, George Bradshaw, Benedict Prosser, and Christopher Maddison.

Mr. Boyce further Enform'd their Lordships on the day above, that being This morning in Newgate with hopes to have found Prance in the same Temper ; he found him so sullen that he would not speak a Word to him, but laying down his Face upon his Arms, Cryed out, and often Repeated, I have Committed No Murther,

Captain Richardson being Examin'd what might be the Cause of This Fright from whence All These Changes seem to Arise ; says that he cannot Imagine, unless it were that when once he brought him down, several People came to Enquire of him, when the Men, meaning the Three Condemn'd would be Executed : wherein he might perhaps think himself Concern'd. That Prance had once told him of a Whisper through the Key-hole, which he Believed not ; but supposes Another thing might be True which is said by him, that Moore, and Messenger, being here Attending when he was brought, did Beckon to him, which made him alter his Mind.

Their

Their Lordships thought fit to Move his Majesty for a Warrant of Pardon; which is accordingly obtained, and Mr. Dean is to shew it unto him, in order to settle his Doubts; and if he appears to Embrace it, and Deserve it, then that his Irons be knockt off; and He remov'd into Better Quarters: and a Letter, to This Effect, to Captain Richardson, which appears in the beginning of This Days Entry, and as well the Dean as Mr. Boyce are to Acquaint their Lordships, on Munday, how This Bus'ness proceeds.

Upon Monday the 10th. the Dean of Bangor is call'd in, and says, that he gave on Saturday-night to Mr. Secretary Coventry such Enformation in Writing as he had from Miles Prance; which being call'd for, to be Read, was for some Reasons of Secrecy, Excus'd, as Discovering New Persons Not yet apprehended.

That when the Dean went to him on Saturday, he found him almost Dead, and without a Pulse: but at last, when his Irons were off, and he Carry'd into a Warm Room, he began to Hearken to his Pardon, and did Revive; Promising that he would Declare all he knew, but first desiring to have his Pardon Completed, and after Insisting hereupon; that Then he should speak out.

William Boyce says he found him in a very good Temper: but very Jelous, and Desirous about his Pardon.

And then he open'd and told him of Dangerous Words spoken by Bradshaw, and Guzeen; of Mr. Messenger's being set on by the Popish Lords to Kill the King; Vernatti Concern'd in the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, &c.

He had now sworn Himself out of the Condemn'd Hole, and out of a starving Condition upon the Boards, into a Warm Room, Variety of Dishes, a Convenient Lodging; and his Friend Boyce at his Elbow, with the Liberty of Invention, Pen, Ink and Paper, toward the Compiling of his Narratives.

It is a Bold Adventure for One Man to Undertake for Another Man's Conscience; but it is yet a Bolder, Under so many Signs, and Indications of Remorse, as Prance Express'd in the Prison, for so many Days together, to Pronounce That Appearance of Penitence to be Hypocrisy, and to Interpret That *Steadyness*, in favour of a Lye, rather then of a Truth; He Deny'd Every Syllable of the Accusation, upon his First Charge. He shrunk after That, under the Fear of Death, from the 22. of December to the 29. And there, as a Man that was not as yet Wholly Abandon'd to Work Wickedness, he went off again; and from Thence, to the Following 14th. of January, he Continu'd Firm notwithstanding All the Temptations of Life, Liberty, and Ease. But the First Proof of his Frailty, was an Encouragement to the making of a Further Tryal of it; And, Effectually, Prance's Case was the very same Case with that of Green, Berry, and Hill, as to the Choice they had before them, of Living or Dying, upon the same Terms.

Now as to his Playing the *Mad-Man*, the very Fancying of it, Under his Circumstances, is Certainly One of the most Phantastical Freaks, next to the Believing of it, that ever was in Nature. To take it first in the Reason of the Thing. Suppose it a Murtherer, and Himself one of the Murtherers; or suppose it Neither One, nor the Other: He was to Dye, in Case of not Confessing, whether he were Guilty or Not. Now for him to stand out in the Defence of a Falsity (as the Patron of the Murther will have it) was the Certain way to Carry him to the Gallows, and to the Devil, Both at once; and the owning of a Truth (as They would have it Understood) was the Ready Way to the Saving of him both Soul and Body.

There is a Second Consideration, which makes that Conceit of it so Ridiculous, that a Man of sense would rather

rather Chuse to wear a Fools+Coat then own himself the Author of it. They will have it a Piece of Art in him to make himself appear a Mad-man; when on the Contrary, it was Manifestly his Interest the Most in the World to be taken for a Sober Man; for after the Irresistible Transports, and Agitations of a Labouring Conscience, Reflecting upon his having call'd God to Witness to a Perjurious Oath against the Life of his Neighbour; His Bus'ness was to gain Belief to his Innocence, by taking shame upon Himself for the Guiltless Blood that he had Endanger'd by a False Oath, and Retracting, as well as by Confessing the Wickadness: But on the Other side, what end could he have in Making the world Believe, that All his [No Guilties] and [No Murthers], were rather the Issue of a Distemper'd Head, then of a Troubled Conscience? To take the Matter in Order; Captain Richardson, and his Man Cooper, are Witnesses to the Fact here in Question. Prance told the same story to the King and Council. He said the same Thing also to his Friend Mr. Boyce; Who in an Enformation of April 5th. 1686. upon This Subject has Expressly These words.

[Here I am in Prison, Jan. 10. 1678. And I am like to be Hang'd, and I am Falsly accus'd.]

There is Nothing hitherto that looks like the Playing of a Part; and it will appear upon further Enquiry, that Prance's Body was as much out of Humour, for Feeling, as his Mind. But before I proceed to the Handbks of his Condition, and to the Severity of the Usage; it will be but Justice to Note by the Way, that the Plot-Pris'ners were not under the same Methods of Government with Those People, that the Law Lodges in the Power, and in some sort, at the Discretionary Mercy of their Keepers. For there's a Great Difference betwixt Men that were Brought Rogues Into Newgate, and Men that were to be Made Rogues There; and so to

to be moulded for the Use they were Taken-up for : A great Difference, I say, betwixt a *Criminal of Law*, and an *Instrument of State* : And in This Latter Case, the *Keepers* were Effectually under the Direction of a Certain *Ambulatory Committee*, When and in what *Degree*, to *Squeeze*, to *Pinch*, to *Ease*, to *Shackle*, to *Comfort*, or to *Torment* their *Pris'ners*, and Little or Nothing was done, but according to the *Order* and *Disposition*, Either *General*, or *Particular*, of the *Cabal*. I am now Entr'ing upon so Copious a Subject, that I Cannot do it Right without being Tedious ; And therefore, though the Matter may seem all of a Piece with the Head that I am now upon, I shall yet assign it a Section by it self ; And after the *Narrative* I have Already Exhibited, out of *Authentique Entries*, and *Papers*, of what pass'd Back and Forward concerning *Prance*, produce such *Further Authorities*, and *Depositions* to the same Effect, as will leave *Envy* and *Diffidence* it self, No Place for a *Cavil*.

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## C H A P. IX.

*Prances Ill Usage, with a Brief Account of Himself; How he came to Depart from his Evidence, The Bishop of St. Asaph's Commission to Examine him; and several Passages Clear'd in the Proceeding.*

**T**HE History of the Last Chapter has layd the matter here in Question so open, that it Needs neither *Enlargement*, nor *Comment*. But the Reverend Dean of Bangor, ( now Lord Bishop of St. Asaph ) having been Assigned so Great a Part in the Transacti-  
on,

on, I find my self Obliged in Duty, Justice, Common Prudence, and Good Manners, to make use of That Reverend Name upon This Occasion.

There are some years now past since I had a Commission to look into This Case of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey ; and finding the Bishops Name, so often mentioned in Records, and Journals concerning it, I took the Freedom to Trouble his Lordship with Several Papers about it ; to which I had the Honour to Receive very Particular and Satisfactory Answers. But of This, By and By. And so we'll pass on to the remaining part of our *Secret History* ; beginning with several Enformations referring to Prance's Condition in Newgate, till he went off from his Evidence.

William Boyce Deposeth, That upon Fryday, ( Jan. 10. 167<sup>8</sup>. ) some time after Christmas, while Miles Prance was a Pris'ner in Newgate, going to the said Prance by Order, went into a Room to him on the Left hand of the Entrance into the Lodge, where he found the said Prance in Irons, and brought him down into the Lodge ; where the said Prance said to This Enformant, to this Effect ; Here I am in Prison, and I am like to be Hang'd, I am falsly Accus'd. This Enformant, after some stay with him, went his Way, and Dr. Lloyd went in to him, This Enformant staying at Captain Richardson's House, 'till the said Dr. Lloyd return'd again.

And saith ; That the Next Morning to the Day aforesaid, This Enformant was sent to by Captain Richardson to come to the said Prance again ; whither This Enformant went, and found the said Miles Prance in his Irons, in the same Room where he found him the Day before ; The Captain and his Servants telling him This Enformant, that the said Prance had a Raving Night of it ; And This Enformant going to the said Ptance, found him Lying at his Length upon the Boards, and Crying,

[ Guile ]

[Guilty, Guilty; Not Guilty, Not Guilty, No Murderer.] Crying so Loud, that some of the Neighbourhood told This Enformant, that they had heard the Noise into the Street in the Night.

Mary Preston Deposeth, That this Enformant going frequently to visit her Husband, who on the First of November, 1678. was Committed to Newgate upon the Oath of Titus Otes, for a Priest, she This Enformant, in or about Christmas, in the year above, being in Company with one Mrs. Bridgman; Mrs. Medbourn, and Mrs. Medbourns Sister, with some others, coming down the Stairs of the said Prison into the Lodge, heard a Loud and a Constant Groaning of a Man as in great Torture; which was Taken Notice of also by the Company, which at that Time was with This Enformant. The Noise seeming to come from a Place call'd the Condemn'd Hole: because the nearer this Enformant went that way, the Plainer it was heard. Whereupon, This Enformant, or some of her Company, ask'd the Keeper who it was, one of them replying it was a Woman in Labour. But This Enformant and her Company, Concluded it to be a Mans Voice; after which, the said Keeper hastned This Enformant and her Company out of the Lodge, and so they Departed: But staying a while without the Door under the Arch, they heard the Noise and Groaning very plainly still.

And This Enformant came the next Morning to the said Prison again, and waiting longer then Ordinary for the Keepers Coming, to turn the Key for her to go to her Husband, she This Enformant walking in the Lodge about a Quarter of an hour, heard the Groaning of a Man from the same Place as the day before, though much Weaker.

This Enformant heard afterwards a Discourse in the Prison, that Prance was Mad, and she remembred that within

wishiu. a few days after the hearing of these Groans, she This Enformant enquired how Prance did, receiving for Answer that he was Prety well; And that they had given him a Flock-bed. This Enformant referring her self up on the Contents of this Enformation, to the Best of her Knowledge and Memory.

Catharine Wallis and Elizabeth Newens do joymth Depose, That these Enformants, having been to visit Mr. Medbourn in Newgate, Coming down Stairs, and stayng at the Door 'till the Turn-Key Unlock'd it, heard a Dreadful Groaning, and Noise out of a Place they call the Condemn'd Hole, and heard it likewise in the Lodge, and so out in the Street, 'till they came to the Old Bayly Corner, Divers Passengers stopping in the Street to hear the Noise, were Chid away by the Keepers.

They say likewise, that the Keepers were asked what the Noise was; but they desired to be Excus'd, they must not Tell: Only it was said in the Prison, that it was the Cry of Miles Prance.

Elizabeth Newens Deposeth apart, That the time above-spoken of in the Joyn Enformation of this Deponent and Mrs. Catharine Wallis, was some very few days before the Saturday, wherenpon Miles Prance (as this Enformant heard in the Prison) was Remov'd from the Condemn'd Hole into the Press-yard; and that there was Present, one Mrs. Preston, and several others, who all took notice of the same Cry.

Philip Cook Deposeth, That this Enformant was Committed to Newgate by the Lord Mayor of London, upon the First publique Fast-day for the Plot, where he This Enformant Continued a Prisoner near the space of a year.

And

And that this Enformant, in, or about the time of Christmas next Ensuing the Commitment of This Enformant ; He this Enformant heard the Strong Groans of a Man, which this Enformant Judged to be in the Place call'd the Condemn'd Hole ; and several of his Fellow-Pris'ners declared themselves to be of the same Opinion ; divers of them hearkning after it : And this Enformant bearing it passing up and down the Stairs, and at the Grate of the Lodge, for the space (as he Believeth) of at least half an Hour.

And that This Enformant Enquiring what the Matter might be, the Pris'ners in the House said, that they were Torturing of Prance : and this Enformant asked some of the Keepers likewise ; but he doth not particularly remember who they were, only he remembreth that some one or more of them told this Enformant softly, That it was Prance that made That Noise ; seeming unwilling to have any Notice taken of it ; They refusing to tell it to some Others that asked the Question.

The Enformant Delivers all the matters in this Enformation contained, according to the best of his Knowledge and Memory.

Many more Instances might be added ; but upon the whole Matter, *Prance* was made *Guilty* when he Deny'd the Murther, though *Innocent* of it ; and no way to save his Life, but by Confessing it, whether *Guilty* or *Not*. The Pain that made him Roar, made him Counterfeit himself *Mad*, and no way but loading him with Fresh Irons to bring him to his Wits again. But after all This, How did it appear that he was come to his Senses again ? Why first, he pretended to have Spilt his Drink, when he had Drunk Three Parts of Four on't. zly. He found out an Expedient to draw-on his Upper Stocking, though the Stirrup was torn. 3ly. He found that the Buckles of his Shoes were put on wrong, and Pres-

Presently set them to Rights again : I shall lay no stress upon any *Testimonials* that are not *Current*, but keep my self to the *Lords Journals*; The *Entries* of the *Council-Books*; *Enformations* formally taken upon *Oath*; and such other *Evidences* as, Morally speaking, are of *Equivalent Certainty* with any of the Rest.

Let me not be thought to reckon any thing that *Prance* says of *Himself*, among these *Credible Testimonials*; tho *Truth* is *Truth* still; *Whoever Delivers it*; I shall only Condition, that Men of *Probity* may not *Suffer*, where *Prance Agrees* with them in the Point of *Fact*; and This without *Prejudice* to the *Reputation* of any Man, where they Differ.

As to the *Enformation*, and the *Enformers* against *Prance*; The Day of his *Seizure*, (being Saturday, December 21. 1678. his *Charge*, *Examination*, and *Commitment*; *Wren's Sham-Advice* to him in the *Lobby*; The *Imposture* of *Bedloe's Story* there; and the *Trepanning* of him into the *Devils Mouth*; The loading him with *Irons* in the *Condemn'd Hole*; The Carrying of him to be *Tutour'd*, and *Curry'd* by *Schaftsbury* the Next Day; and the *Hammering* of him by *Schaftsbury* again, and other *Examiners* in the *Prison*, the Day following; His *Perjury* for fear of *Death*; His *Enformations* before the *Lords*, and the *Promise* of his *Pardon* upon That *Discovery*; The *Dance* he led the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Earl of *Ossory* at *Somerset-House* upon *Tuesday* the 24th. The remanding of him to *Newgate*; His *Denyal* of his *Evidence* to the King and Council, December 29. and 30. His *Raving* in *Newgate*, and *Denying* the *Murher*; The *Turning* of him back out of a Convenient Lodging into the *Hole* again; *Boyce's* coming to him by *Order*, and his *Privacies* with him; and Dr. *Lloyd's* being sent to him, both by the *King*, and the *Lords Committees*; The Doctors *Reports* upon the Matter, as well

well of Conscience, as of Health; The Killing Cold, and Nastiness of the Place; The Misery of his Condition; The Shewing him his Pardon; The Effects of it; and his Change of Resolution, to the very Time of this Removal into Better Quarters; These Circumstances are All Punctually Reported by Prance, and Confirm'd by other Witnesses; He speaks also of his Horrible Pains, and Extreme Weakness upon Thursday, Friday, and Saturday; which agrees both with the Doctor's Report, and several Affidavits. But for what Now follows, though Prance affirms every Syllable won't to be True, the Reader is yet at Liberty whether to believe it or not.

He says he had a Paper of Instructions brought him into the Condemn'd Hole; with Hints, and Minutes of the Plot, as is set forth Already, with these Words in't, [You had better confess then be hang'd.]

He says further, That the Lord Shaftesbury told him particularly, that there were Great Dries concern'd; and he must discover Them too; for the Little Ones should not serve his Turn, calling him Rogue, and Rascal several Times, for Crossing Bedloe's Evidence, and saying [there must be Great Detract in it] reflecting upon the Queen and the Duke of York; bidding him not to spare the King Himself; saying likewise, That the Body was lay'd under the Altar, and that he was Carry'd in a Coach to Primrose-Hill; and that Bedloe said he was stifled under a Pillow, and that he (meaning Prance) would have it another way. He says, That some of the Keepers, upon his Crying out in the Anguish of his Affliction, took him to that Part of the Room that was furthest from the Street, and Chain'd him down to a Staple over Night, and Loosen'd him again in the Morning; and that one time, as he was lying with his back upon the Ground, and Roaring in the Extremity of his Pain, Two of the Keepers took him by Neck and Heels, and cast him Three or Four Times against the Ground.

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We have now got over the Dark and Doleful Period of *Prance's Conflict*, betwixt a Whole Skin and a Good Conscience, and brought him from the Sordid Necessities of the Condemn'd Hole, to the Comfort of Meat, Drink Lodging, and Clean Linnen again. I had no sooner Promised (says Prance) upon my Assurances of Pardon, that I would stand to my Former Evidence, but my Irons were Immediately knockt off; I was removed to a very good Room, and a Curious Bed in the Press-Yard, where I had Varieties of Meats and Drinks as good as I could wish.

This was the 11th. of January 167<sup>8</sup>.

So soon as Prance had compounded for the Wages of Unrighteousness, and Rock'd his Conscience Asleep, in Attending and Providing for the Security of his Cartase, he call'd for Pen, Ink, and Paper, and had his Lesson given him, to Provide for the Tryal of the Pretended Murtherers, Green, Berry, and Hill; who were Convict'd on Monday, February 10. 167<sup>8</sup>. Sentenc'd the Day following; and Green and Hill Executed on the 21th. and Berry Respited till the 28th.

There is Annex'd to the Printed Tryal a most Unchristian, an Uncharitable, and an Inhumane Reflexion upon the Truth, and Conscience of Hill's Dying Words, which is not only the Killing of a Man over again, but the Ridiculing of the most Sacred Test of Truth in Nature. I shall have occasion to Insert a Piece of the Poor Man's Letter to his Wife, in his Extremity, which will do some sort of Right to his Memory. The whole Course of the Story is a Mystery, but This shall suffice for the Present Time, Place, and Occasion.

I am now to Proceed in Course, to the Honour of the Correspondence, which the Right Reverend Bishop of St. Asaph was Pleased to Vouchsafe me upon This Subject; and in particular I Begg'd a

Word from his Lordship to These Following Queriers.

[In what State he found *Prance* in *Newgate*, with Respect to his *Owning*, or *Denying* the *Murther*? In what Condition of *Health*; and in what *Manner* he was *Chain'd* and *Fetter'd*; and whether he did not *Condition*, upon his *Discovery*, to be *Eas'd* of his *Iron*s.]

His Lordship was pleased to return me an Answer to this Question, bearing Date, *April. 16. 1686.* in the Words following.

*It was late (as I remember) on a Friday, in the Afternoon (Jan. 10. 167<sup>8</sup>.) when I was call'd before his Majesty in Council, and there Order'd to go to Prance, Then in Newgate; and it was quite Dark before I got thither. When I came to Captain Richardson with my Order, he brought me up into the Room where Prance was. I never saw it before, or since, that I remember; nor saw it then, but only by a small Candle Light. It was wall'd strong and close, with great Pieces of Timber; And yet it was very Cold through the Extreme Hardness of the Weather. Prance lay in the furthest Corner of the Room, from the Door, Wrapt up in a Coverlet, or some such kind of Thing. (Now This was the Flock-bed, and Blanket before mentioned by Cooper.) When the Captain call'd him up, he seem'd to have very little Strength in him, but with much ado, he came to me at the Chimney, where I think there was a little Fire; but I am not certain of this. The Captain withdrew, and I said to him what I ought in Obedience to the Order that was given me. He at first Deny'd his Privity to the Murther with which he was Charg'd, and he Confess'd Nothing of it at That Visit. But at last he desired me to come again, and then he would tell me Every thing that he knew.*

*When I came the next Day in the Evening, (Jan. 11. 167<sup>8</sup>.) he was brought down to the Hall Fire, where, for*

a good while, I spoke All that was said, and he did not Answer a Word to me: perhaps he could not, for he seem'd to be Stupified with Cold. By Degrees, he seem'd to come to himself; and then complained Extremely of Pains, one while in his Arms, Another while in his Legs, Roaring with it, till the Natural Heat had prevail'd. Then he seem'd to be a New Man, and spake to me of his own Accord to This Purpose, [ I remember you were with me the last Night, and then I promised you I would tell you All that I knew ;] and then he began to open to me so freely, not only of the Murther of Sir E. G. but of Desligns against the Kings Life, by some Persons whom he then mentioned ( by the way, Vernatti was not mentioned at that Time ) that I began to be affraid of him, and warn'd him of so wicked a Thing, as the Accusing of Innocent Persons, and thereby drawing the Guilt of Their Eloud upon his Head; but he protested very solemnly, he Had told me, and would tell me nothing but the very Truth; So then I heard him out, till he said he had told me All that he knew, or all that he could Think of. Then I cans'd him to repeat it before Captain Richardson, and told him I would acquaint his Majesty with it, which he Earnestly Desired me to do, for fear These Designes should take Effect.

Then, and (as I think) not before, he desir'd he might be Eas'd of his Irons, and that he might be Lodg'd in a Warmer Room. He also desired me to help him to a Physician, complaining very much of the loss of his Health. I promis'd to remember These Things, and so left him, and went Immediately to wait on his Majesty with an Account of All that had pass'd, by whose Order I deliver'd the Enformations in Writing that Night to Secretary Coventry; but first, (by his Majesties Order likemise) I sent Dr. E ickinson to him to be his Physician, from whom you may have a better Account of his Health then I am able to give you.

*For that which is suggested of a Chain layd a-cross him, to keep him down upon the Floor, I saw no such Thing, neither do I believe it, because I found him wrapt up as I have said.]*

Note; that this was the 10th. of January, that Prance was found *wrapt up* in This Coverlet : Cooper gave it him the *same Night*, as is said Already ; and the Captain had received an *Order* the Day before, for the Admittance of the *Dean*. So that there was both *Notice* and *Preparation* for his Reception. Once more yet in Another of Jan. 18.

*For that Complaint of the Severity of his Usage in Prison, if there was no other Cause then that which I saw, there was too much in That, as you will find by the Account I have given you. But whether this Severity was a Fault of the Jaylor, or the Sheriffs, or whose else, I know not ; I found him Lodged in That which I take to be the Common Room for Guilty Felons and Murtherers ; (the Condemn'd Hole) and such he had made himself by His Own Former Confession. He lay there in Irons, which I suppose is the usual Accommodation of the Place. But besides, he was very slenderly Provided against the Extreme Coldness of the Weather ; which alone, I did Believe would have kill'd him, if he had continued there a few days. These Things I faithfully represented to his Majesty, and did not Conceal them from any one that ask'd me of him at That Time.*

I was then so much affraid that this Hardship to a White-Liver'd-Man, of No Principles, might drive him into That Fit of Confession, that I made my Visits to him the more sparingly. I think I went not once, but when I had a Command for it, either by my Lord Clarendon, or one of the Secretaries.] But from the Credit of the Story, to the Credit of the Man.

The

The Commission of *Enquiry*, to the Reverend Dean of Bangor, both from his Majesty, and the *Lords Committees*, into This Bus'nes of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, gave his Present Lordship great Advantages of seeing further into This *Intrigue* then another Man; and if they had left the Story to *Common Fame*, without bringing in such *Witnesses* to make good the *Imposture*, as were sufficient to Blast the *Credit* even of *Truth it self*; I see nothing to the Contrary, but that it might have liv'd many a fair Day without Controll. [I never saw (says the Dean, April 16. 1686.) how Prance's Evidence could stand; and I never went about to Support it.] As for Otes's, and Bedloe's, and Prance's Enformations, they would make me (says he) Renounce Any Thing that Dependeth on their Credit.] His Lordship says again in Another of April 18.

[I believe, Prance can say nothing more then every one knows of the Murther of Sir E. G. Yet he is best able to Confute his own Fictions concerning it, and his Word may be of some Credit in This, though of None in any thing else.] And a Little Lower Thus.

[It was his Majesties Pleasure, (and That, as I remember) in Council, to Employ me to Berry, the Queens Porter, who was then a Cloſe Pris'ner in Newgate upon Prance's Enformation. Prance had made him one of them that at Eight, or Nine of the Clock at Night went up with Sir E. G's Dead Body, as he said, into a Chamber in the Stable-Yard at Somerset-House. I Charg'd Berry with This. He told me, Upon his Salvation 'twas False. But, saith he, How could Prance Swear to This, if it were True?] He gave such Reasons for what he said, that I went to Prance with them immediately, and Endeavour'd to Convince him that it was a False, or Rash Oath that he had taken. He would not Yield, nor Abate, but still Persisted in it, and Affirm'd, Upon his Salvation, that All This Part of his Enformation was True. I

could not certainly tell which of them had forsworn him-self, though I Suspected Prance much rather of the Two. But being now very sick of my Employment, I went home to my House in Leicester-fields, where Presently a Lady of Quality came in, and, having heard before that I was sent to Berry in Newgate, she, out of Curiosity, Ask'd me what I had heard of Sir E. G. I told her that I had heard That, which made my Hair stand an End : Meaning of the Two Contradictory Oaths, as I should have Explain'd my self if I had staid. But at That Instant I was call'd away to Whitehall ; and the Good Lady went away with the Belief that I had heard such Things from Berry of That Murther ; which being blown about the Town, it was expected I should have made great Discoveries, while I, on the other Hand, Questioned all that had been made. This enraged a Faction against me. They said that Berry had Confess'd most Horrible Things to me, as I Acknowledged, before I went to the Court ; but that There I was Charm'd into Concealment. And Again in Another of May the 2d. Following.

Prance's Enformation was such as made me much affraid of him ; for I could not satisfie my self, but that if Those things were True, of the Plots against the King's Life, that he pretended to Discover, he must have Discover'd them sooner, while he was Second to Bedloe ; though then I should not have been apt to Believe him, for other Reasons. But now I was extremely Distrustful, and therefore came as little near him as I could.

Having Proceeded thus far with all Simplicity, and Openness upon This Subject, it will be now Matter of Respect to This Reverend Person, as well as Common Justice to the Truth of the Story, to Touch upon some other Passages that Naturally fall under Consideration ; and may be found Lyable to a Sinister Construction, if I should be wholly Silent in the Point.

I took the Liberty to Crave (among other Things) his Lordships Favourable Explanation of a Certain Expression, pag. 24. in his *Funeral Sermon*, upon Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. The Words are These.

*I was told it some Hours before the Discovery, that he was found with his own Sword through his Body: Others could tell that he had Two Wounds about him. These Things were found to be True some Hours after.]*

To the Enquiry above, His Lordships Answer of April 16. 1686. was This.

*It was Mr. Angus, now or lately Curat of St. Dunstans in the West, that told me he heard Sir E. B.G. was found Dead with his own Sword thrust through his Body. This he told me before Dinner, on the Thursday in which Sir E. B. Godfrey's Body was found, in that manner, (as I heard it afterwards in every ones Mouth) about Two or Three of the Clock in the Afternoon.*

*When I heard of This before Dinner, I sent presently my Man Peter Fuller to enquire in Sir E. Godfrey's Family, What they had heard of this News. My Man brought me word that they had heard of no such Thing. Thereupon, Enquiring no further, I went and Din'd with some Friends in the City, and did not return home till the Evening. Then, at my Return, I heard every one speak of the finding of his Body at Primrose-Hill. Whereupon I sent again to his House, that enquiry should be made after the Author's of Mr. Angus's Story. At that Time I was wholly a Stranger to the Brothers of Sir E. B. G. But they told me afterwards, that they went to Mr. Angus, and took him with them to enquire after the Authors: and that they had heard the News from Others, with this Enlargement, that it was said that he was found Dead with Two Wounds.*

Upon This I Discours'd with Mr. *Angus*, who gave me an Enformation of the Matter by word of Mouth ; and afterward deliver'd upon Oath as follows.

*Adam Angus Deposeth, That this Enformant dined at the Wool-sack in Ivy-Lane, with one Mr. Oswald, a Minister, upon the Thursday, whereon the Body of Sir Edmund-B. Godfrey was said to be found, about Five in the Afternoon, in a Ditch upon Primrose-Hill : and that after Dinner, This Enformant went in Company with the above said Mr. Oswald, to the Shop of Mr. Chiswell a Bookseller in St. Pauls-Church-yard. This Enformant stood for some time, Leaning over the Counter, and reading some Printed Papers there ; Mr. Oswald being in the Shop at the same time, at a Distance from him. And when This Enformant had been about a Quarter of an hour in the Shop, (about One of the Clock as he believeth) a Young-Man, in a Grey-Colour'd Suit passing by, Clapt This Enformant on the Shoulder, and This Enformant looking towards him, Do you hear the News ? says he ; This Enformant asking him What News ? He Answered, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey is found. This Enformant asked him Where ? The Other Answer'd, In Leicester-Fields, at the Dead Wall, with his own Sword run through him. This Enformant Discovering himself to be Surpriz'd at the News, Mr. Oswald asked the Enformant what the matter was ? Who related it to him as above ; And This Enformant doth not remember any further Discourse upon it.*

*This Enformant hereupon went Immediately to Dr. Burnet, having some Dependence upon him at That Time, at an Ammanuensis to him in his History of the Reformation, and Entrusted with the Care of the Pres.*

*Upon This Enformants-telling Dr. Burnet, what he had heard, as above, the said Dr. desir'd This Enformant to take a Coach, and Ask Dr. Lloyd about it. This En-*

formant went accordingly, and found that the Dr. knew Nothing of it. The Dr. immediately sending his Servant to enquire about it in Sir Edmundbury Godfreys Family, who brought back word, that they had heard Nothing of the News: This Enformant staying there about a Quarter of an Hour for the Boys Return.

This Enformant Presumeth, that the Dr. had not as yet Din'd, because both the Dr. and his Lady earnestly desired This Enformant to stay and Dine.

And further; This Enformant neither did, nor doth know, or so much as Guess at the Name of the Person that told him the News; Nor doth he remember, that ever he saw the said Person, either before or since the Time above-mentioned: But This Enformant doth Reasonably perswade himself, by the Manner of the Other Persons speaking to him This Enformant, that He the said Person might have some Knowledge of This Enformant.

And moreover, that This Enformant never heard any thing of the Murther, or the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, before he heard it, standing in Chiswells Shop, as aforesaid.

Since the Enformation above, I have found out Mr. Oswald, who gives the Following Account upon the Matter in Question.

John Oswald Deposeth, That upon the Thursday, when the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was said to be found, he Din'd at the Woolfack in Ivy-Lane, with Mr. Adam Angus, and that staying there together a pretty while after Dinner, they went, about Two a Clock (as he Believeth) to Mr. Chiswell's Shop in St. Paul's-Church-yard; Mr. Angus being at that part of the Counter next the Street; And This Enformant at a Distance; A Servant of the House being present in the Shop. And that after some time spent there, the said Mr. Angus said to him

him with some Wonder, that one passing by, said, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found Dead in Leicester-Fields with his own Sword run through him ; but that He This Enformant, neither Saw the Man, nor Heard any such Thing said ; neither (as he remembers.) did the Servant of the House take any Notice of it 'till after he was gone ; Mr. Angus hereupon going his way.

Beyond All-Doubt, Mr. *Angus* Carry'd the First News of it to Dr. *Lloyd*, and the Dr. Din'd in the City That day ; And if Mr. *Oswald* had not taken it to be an Hour Later when This happen'd in Mr. *Chiswell's Shop*, then Mr. *Angus* did, I should have thought that Mr. *Angus* himself had been *an Hour too Late* : for he makes it *past One of the Clock*, Himself, when he went to Dr. *Burnet* in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields* : And after That, he goes to Dr. *Lloyd* in *Leicester-Fields*, (and before Dinner still) He stays there till Peter *Fuller* goes to *Harts-horn-Lane*, and comes back again, and Time enough after all This yet, for the Dr. to go into the City to *Dinner*. I was, I must Confess, a Little Diffident at first, Considering No body else either *Saw the Person*; or *Heard the Words*; Whether there might not be a *Fetch* in't, to put such a Story about ; 'till the Fair Character I had of Mr. *Angus*, Resolv'd that seeming Incongruity into a *Mistake* of the *Time*. But This shou'd have been follow'd, they'l say, while *Things* were *fresh*, and *People* in the *way*. Now This Objection lyes open to several Answers. First it was *Attempted*, but to *No Purpose*, and Attempted by *My Self* too ; While People were yet *Living*, and the Report at the *Hottest* ; and the *Story* is *This*.

Mr. *William Goldsborough* the Younger was Under the Earbers hands, and while he was a *Trimming*, comes a Person

Person into the Shop, Open-Mouth'd, That Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found. It was Ask'd where, and his Answer was, That he had kill'd himself upon Primrose Hill. This was upon Tuesday Morning, while he was missing ; and upon Thursday following in the Evening, the Body was There found. I talk'd with Mr. Goldsborough my Self about it, and ask'd him, if either He or the Barber knew the Man ? he said, No : But if he saw him again, he thought he should know him from All the Men in the World. What ? said I, did he come into the Shop only to tell his Tale, and be Gone again ? No, ( says he ) It may be he was in haste to be Trimm'd, and could not stay. I had the First Account of it from his Mother ; a Person of Sense, and of Value, and she told it, not without Reflexion and Admiration. This Mr. Goldsborough succeeding his Father to the Clerks Place in the House of Commons, I went into Mans Coffee-house in the Court of Requests, while the Parliament was Sitting, and Mr. Goldsborough in his Place ; and there I told Sir Thomas Player of This, with Several Other Members in his Company ; Desired them to Represent the Matter to the House, and to get Mr. Goldsborough Examin'd about it ; Propounding some not Unlikely Ways of finding it out my self. I could not learn, after all my Diligence, and Zeal, that any of them ever so much as mentioned This, afterward, either in the House, or to the Clark : For what Reason, no Mortal can Imagine, unless that some of 'em were afraid the Truth should be brought to Light. Sir Thomas Player and Mr. Goldsborough are Dead since ; but the Story is Published in an Observator, Num. 123. Vol. I. April 15. 1682.

Another Reason for Not Pressing This Matter too far so Early-Dayes, was the Danger of an Honest Mans Attempting the Discovery of what the Cabal had

had a Mind to *Conceal*; Witness the *Riotous Affronts* upon the Sacredness of *Publique Justice*, so often as any Witnesses appear'd in favour of the *Truth*, and the *Pris'ner*. Nay, so far were Those Times from *Suffering* any Man that *Generously*, and *Conscienciously* stood up as an Advocate for *Oppressed Innocence*, that *Corall* the Coachman, *Bromwell*, *Walters*, and several Others, were Allmost *Murther'd*, because they would not be *Murtherers*, and because they would not *Forswear Themselves* to take away the *Lives of Honest Men*. To say Nothing of Those that Suffer'd *Death Outright* upon That Score.

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## C H A P. X.

*Why This History was not Published sooner. Their Wayes of Suppressing the Truth; as in the Case of Bromwell, Walters, Gibbon, Corall, &c. and of Encouraging False Witnesses.*

**T**HE whole *Intrigue* of This *Murther* being an *Imposture*; and the *Pretended Conspiracy* that was wrapt up in't, a meer *Fiction*, there could be No thought of *Supporting One Cheat*, but by *Another*: And the Credit of it was not to be Bolster'd up but by a *Sham-Evidence*. This was the *Reason* of the Thing, and These *Two Ends* were the *Two Main Points*: wherein they Govern'd Themselves by a certain *General Rule*, of making it as *Dangerous*, as *Detrimental*, as *Scandalous*, *Fruitless*, and *Inconvenient*, on the *One side*, to *Detest*, or to *Invalidate a Forgery*, as the *Contrary*, on the *Other hand*, to *Assert*, *Swear-it-up*, and *Maintain* it. This was the *Policy* and the *Practice* of Those Times, when *Knights of the Post* were *Christen'd*

sten'd Kings & evidences ; and Men of Honour stigmatiz'd for *Conspirators*. This was the *Cafe* ; and People will be apt to say perhaps, that it was a Sad Story too ; but the *Murther* of Godfrey, they Cry, was a *Question of Another Season*, *Why comes it out so Late?* or Rather, *What Need on't at All?* I have Answer'd the *Former* in the Close of the *Last Chapter*. The People were not in Tune at That Time for the *Impartial Truth* of Things, and a Man might as well have talk'd *Reason* to a *Tempest*, as to the *Multitude*. In short, Nothing more Familiar, then Instances of Men that were Ruin'd, for but Discovering Barely a *Good Will to the Good Office*. In fine, This is not an Age for *Devotees* ; and the *Humour of Mens Sacrificing themselves for the Good of their Country*, is worn mighty out of *Fashion* : So that there's No Great Wonder in't, if People were *Wary of Medling*, when they were only to be *Undone* for their Pains. But This was not a Thing to be expected, so long as the Kingdom lay *Trembling and Groaning* under the *Awe and Tyranny* of the *Plot-Faction* ; and therefore it was but *Reasonable to Wait*, till *Honest Men* might come once again to have a *Clear Stage*, and *Fair Judges*.

As to the *Second Objection*, of the *Season* being *Past*, and Consequently the *Use*, and *Service* of such an *Enformation*, I have This to say for my self, that if the *Sacredness of Truth* be at *All Times*, and upon *All Occasions*, within the Compafs of *Discretion*, and *Good Manners*, to be *Preserv'd*: Nay, to carry it yet Higher and Higher ; If the *Setting of all Christendom right*, upon a Subject wherein they have been abus'd by *Thousands of False and Scandalous Papers and Reports*, to the *Dishonour of the King, the Royal Family, This Imperial Government, and the English Nation*: If the doing of All This, I say, be a Thing *Necessary* to be done (to the *Highest Degree of a Moral Necessity*) I can then Justifie my

my self to be at This Instant, in the Exercise of a Needful, as well as a Warrantable Duty.

But now the Objection of [ *Why so Late?* ] seems to look Two Ways : First, for Instance, as who should say, '*Tis Pity 'twas done no sooner* ; Implying a Thing fit to be done : And this same, [ *Why so late,* ] Another way Taken, may Import quite Another Meaning, as who should say again, [ *He durst not meddle with it while People were Living and Matters fresh in their Memories;* ] Now this Suggestion is so far from Reflecting a Prejudice upon the *Testimony of the Kings Witnesses*, or the Reputation of *That Cause* : so far, I say, from a *Disadvantage* on *That side*, and an *Advantage*, on the *Other* ; that I shall Allow the *Testimony of the Kings Witnesses* to be of the same force *Now*, that it was *Before*, and pay the same Deference to the *Proofs* of the *Dead Witnesses*, on *That side*, that I do to the *Living*. So that *Their Cause* is just in the same State *Now* that it was *Before* : Whereas the *Delay*, on the *Other Hand*, has made it *Infinitely Harder to Detect the Sham at This Distance*, then it was *so long ago*. For there are I know not how many *Stabbing Witnesses Dead* since ( who Durst not open their Mouths when the *Prosecurion* was afoot) that would have Spoken to the *Practices of Prance*, and *Bedloe* ; the *Discoveries* they made in their *Froliques*, The *Privacies* of That Interval, betwixt Sir Edmunds Departure from his *House*, and the finding of his *Body* : And All These are Lost Now to *My Purpose*, Any further then as to the *Hearsay*, of what they spake upon *Knowledge*. And yet in Despite of *Calumny*, *Oblivion*, nay of *Death it Self*, the *Light* of the *Noon-Day-Sun* shall not be more Universally Acknowledged by All Men that have Eyes in their Heads, then the *Clearness* of the Matter here in *Question*, to All Those that are not Sworn Enemies to *Plain-Dealing*, and

and Common Sense: I shall only give some few Instances when I come to That Topique, out of a great Many, and lay No more stress upon them, than in Equity the Presumption will bear.

To come Now to the Methods that were us'd for the Frighting, the Baffling, or the Suppressing of Fair Witnesses, and for the Suborning, the Engaging, the Protecting, and Countenancing of Profligate Mercenaries that will swear any Thing; This Practice, in the First place, Answers the Question [Why so Late;] And it comes Next to be Consider'd, What it was, How it was Manag'd, and what Effects it Produc'd.

There is but Soul, Body, Reputation, Life, Limb, Liberty, and Estate, the Comfort of Friends, Relations, and Humane Society, that a Man has to Consider in This World; and every Man as he Likes, when he comes to the Touch, upon This Point.

[Here was the Body of a Magistrate found Dead in a Ditch, in such Manner and with such Circumstances, as has been said Over and Over already: Now it was Highly Expedient, at That Time, to make a Popish Assassination of it, and so to Close-Draw it into the same Piece with the Popish Plot. During the Innocency of the First Heat, there was a Warm Application made to his Late Majesty, for the Promise of a Reward, upon the Discovery, to the Discoverers of it. There was (as it happen'd) the Snare of a Dilemma upon the King. Cover'd Under This Proposition; A Refusal would have been Interpreted a Popish Inclination, in favour of the Plot, and had Infallibly been made use of as a Mighty Stumbling-block: In Case of Yielding, it was Constructively, but so much Money offer'd to any Man, that Right or Wrong would swear Himself into a Discovery. But there was However a Proclamation Emitted, a Reward of Five Hundred Pound Promis'd, and William Bedloe (or Beddoe) was the First that Leapt at

at the Bait. The *Wheel* was now in *Motion*; Here's a *second Witness* to the *Plot*, and a *single Evidence* to the *Murther*. But the *Plot*, by Good Manage, was so *Artificially Link'd* to the *Murther*, that *Both Works* were put in a Way to go-on *Together*. In one Word, they were to make their *Market*, among an *Abandon'd* sort of *People*, that had Neither *Honour*, nor *Conscience*: and the *Profligate*, and the *Fearful*, were the Men for their *Turns*, so many as would be wrought upon by *Mony*, *Liberty*, *Protection*, *Indemnity*, or *Popular Applause*, to act against All *Principles* of *Faith*, *Truth* and *Conscience*, were *Instruments* for their *Purpose*: And This was it which they cal'd the *Providence* of Raising so many *Witnesses* out of *Dungeons*, and *Alms-Baskets*, for the Preservation of our *Sovereign*, and our *Religion*: And at the same Time, there were *Catch-Poles*, *Purse-vants*, *Jayles*, *Pillories*, and *Gibbits* at hand, for the doing of any Man's Bus'ness that oppos'd These *Violences*, either by *Word*, or *Deed*; and Preserv'd a good *Conscience*, to the *Contempt* of All *Bodily*, or *Worldly Interests*. This was the *General Course*, and *Bias* of their *Proceedings*; and I think a Man may safely say This of them, They were so *Merciful* in their *Wrath*, so *Placable*, or in other words, they had so much *Wit in their Anger*, as in a *Political Construction* to make Every Man whose *Life* they took away, a kind of *Felo de se*, by Chusing rather to *Dye Innocent*, then to *Live Guilty*; and to run All *Honest Hazards*, *Themselfes*, rather then to accuse others, Wrongfully: But the *Particular Master-stroke* was *This*. The *Guilty* accus'd the *Innocent*, and they were Immediately *Taken-up* upon't; and in This Condition, there was but *Two Oaths*, and Those *Two Oaths* Concerted in *Two Minutes*, betwixt Any Man's Neck, and the *Gallows*. Now in This Pinch, the *Pris'ner* had no other Choice before him, then either by a *False Oath* to *Hang Other People*; or by a *True one* to *Hang Himself*. This has

has been the Case of Many and Many an *Innocent Person*, since the Broaching of Otes's Pretended Discovery; and it has been a *Wonderful Mercy*, that *More* have not *shrunk under the Temptation*. But as to the *Voluntier-Witnesses* now; they were such a Parcel of *Dillolute Miscreants* in the Whole *Habit* of their *Lives*, that their *Souls* were scarce *Blacker*, *After the Perjury* then they were *Before*.

We have been here speaking of their *Practices* upon such as have been *formally Accus'd, Articled, and Impeach'd, &c.* [ And Then says Bedloe of Prance, when I went into the House of Lords, I made out My Charge against him. *Green's Tryal*, pa. 34. ] But now there were *Another* sort of People too, that, as a Man may say, fell into the *Toyl by Chance*; and This in *Twenty Several Cases*: But I am here upon the Bus'ness of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, and I'll keep to My *Subject*.

The *Two Persons* that Found the *Stick*, and the *Gloves*, that gave the *First Light* to the *Discovery*, of the *Body* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, did their Duties *Honestly*, and *Discreetly*, upon That occasion, as Will appear by the Enformations here following: and we shall see the *Thanks* they had for their Pains: Over and above a very Good Reason Why This was not done While Matters were *Fresh*.

VVilliam Blumwell Deposeth, That This Enformant, together with one John Walters Passing by Primrose Hill toward the White House, about Three or Four in the Afternoon of That Thursday, when the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found; saw a Cane and a Pair of Gloves, lying within a Thicket, upon a Green Bank near the Ditch; This Enformant and the said VValters went forward to the White-house: Where, as they were Drinking together, speaking of the said Gloves, and Stick: and likewise of a Belt lying with them, (as This Enformant

remembers) It was Propos'd, and Agreed, to go down to the Place to see whether they were there still: And being come Thither, the Master of the White-house stooping to take them up, started back on the sudden, saying, [Lord Blefs us! There's a Man Murther'd] This Enformant, and the Company, after a very Little stay, and without Touching the Body, or Medling with the Gloves, and Stick, that lay by, went away presently to Mr. Brown, who was then Conitable; And upon This Enformants, and the Others Description of the Person to Mr. Brown, he said to This Effect; I wish it be not Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

And that in the way from Primrose Hill, to Mr. Browns, This Enformant with his Company, Met one Jennings, a Cow-keeper, at Cony-bury Hall, And told him, that they had found a Man Dead in such a Place, Naming the Place, and Considering what was best to do in it: The said Jennings replying, You had best let it Alone, and take No further Notice for fear You should come into Trouble about it.] Rawson Rebuking the said Jennings for Talking at that Rate, and so they Parted from the said Jennings.

And saith Likewise, that about the Latter end of Octobr. 1678, This Enformant and John VValters abovesaid, were Taken up, and brought before the Lords Committees at VVallingford-house, the Earl of Shaftsbury being in the Chair, where they were Examin'd, and this Enformant severely Threatned by the Earl of Shaftsbury, and Committed to Newgate. And about Ten days after; This Enformant was sent for again, Where the Lord Shaftsbury Declar'd, That This Enformant was set on by some Great Roman Catholique to find out the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; And if any Man ever was Hang'd, He should be Hang'd if he did not Discover it.

And further, that after These Menaces of the Lord Shaftsbury, Major W—— took This Enformant into a By-Place,

By-Place, and thereto ask'd This Enformant Why he would not Discover VWho set him on, for he should have 500 l. Reward, His Life Secur'd, &c.] Still Pressing This Enformant as aforesaid : This Enformant telling him, that he had spoke What he Knew already, and that He Could say no More, nor Would he Accuse any Man Falsly.

And Moreover, That This Enformant was kept about Nine-Weeks a Prisoner in Newgate, without suffering Any body to come to him, saving only that This Enformant's Wife had an Order from the Duke of Buckingham, Twice, to Visit him.

John Walters Deposeth, that He This Enformant Walking with William Bromwell toward the White-house, upon the Day when Justice Godfrey's Body was found, saw a Cane and a Pair of Gloves, upon a Bank near Primrose Hill, about Three or Four in the Afternoon : And as they were Drinking afterwards at the White-house, speaking of the said Gloves, and Stick, they went down to the Place to see if they were there still, the Master of the House going along with them, who being come to the place, and stooping to take up the Gloves, started back, and Cry'd, Lord Blefs us ! There's a Man Murther'd : This Enformant and Company made very Little stay after This, but left things as they found them, and went away to see for a Constable, and were Directed to one Mr. Brown, Who upon Describing the Body, said to This Effect, I VVish it be not Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

And that as they were upon the Way to get a Constable, they met One Jennings, and told him of a Body they had found in such a Place ; Naming the Place ; Whose answer was, I take You for Neighbours and Friends, I do 'een advise you to say Nothing on't, but let some body else find it out, for you may bring your selves into a Great

*Deal of Trouble: This Enformant and the Company Blas-  
ming Jennings for Talking so; And then they Parted.*

*And faith, that about the Latter end of October, 1678.  
This Enformant was Taken up by One that belonged to the  
Duke of Buckingham, (as he told This Enformant) and  
Carried to the Lords Committees at VVallingford-house,  
the Day that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Body was Bu-  
ry'd: The Late Earl of Shaftsbury being in the Chair;  
and Titus Otes appointed to See if he Knew This En-  
formant; The said Earl Threatning This Enformant ve-  
ry severely; and This Enformant was Committed thereupon  
to the Gate-house, where he was Fetter'd, and Hand-  
Cuff'd, and kept in the Dungeon for Three Days, and  
Three Nights.*

*That about Eight or Ten Days after his Commit-  
ment, This Enformant was sent for again to the  
Lords Committees, when the said Lord Saftsbury took  
This Enformant aside into a By-Closet, speaking to him  
to This Effect, [Honest Smug the Smith, Thou look'st  
like an Honest Fellow, Thou shalt shoe my Horses,  
and I'll make a Man of thee: saying further, Tell me  
who Murther'd This Man, and who set thee to find  
him out? VVhat Papists dost thou VWork for? And so  
the said Earl went on, Pressing This Enformant to the same  
Effect, This Enformant making Answer, My Lord, If I  
knew Your self had Murther'd him, I would Discover  
it, though I Dy'd for't, This Enformant telling the said  
Earl, as well as he Could remember for what Customers he  
Wrought; After which, This Enformant was Deliver'd up  
to the Keeper, but presently call'd back, and Discharg'd.*

*For a VVord of Introduction to what now follows,  
Mrs. Mary Gibbon, the VVife of Captain Thomas Gibbon  
was related to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and No Creature  
more his Confident then This Lady was, as will be  
further seen hereafter: But at Present, I have only  
to*

to observe, that when This Matter was at the Hottest before the *Lords Committees*, This Mr. Gibbon Deliver'd a Paper (the Contents whereof she hath since Attested upon Oath) to a Person of Quality, Sir J. B. who deliver'd the Paper to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; And upon This Paper Mrs. Gibbon was sent for to Attend the Committee, where (to speak the Words of the Enfor-  
mation.)

*The Lord Shaftsbury call'd to her, saying, You Damn'd Woman, what Devilish Paper is This you have given us in? Putting her upon her Oath to Declare who Wrote it; calling her Bitch, and other Vile Names, and Threat-  
ning her, That if she would not Confess, that Sir John Banks, Mr. Pepys, and Monsieur de Puy set her on to write that Paper, she should be Torn to Pieces by the Multitude; Threatning her to have her Worry'd as the Dogs Worry Cats, insomuch that she fell into Fits upon't, and thought she should never have got home.*

Note, that the Enformation above spoken of, was Deliver'd to Sir *Leoline Jenkins* several Years before ever I had the Knowledge of her Person; and that she Deliver'd me a Copy of the said Enformation, with *This following Postscript* at the Bottom of it.

*I Mary Gibbon am Indisposed in Health; but whether I Live, or Dye, in the Presence of God, and his Holy Angels, I do make Oath, that this is every Syllable True; And I have left the same, and made Oath of it to a Wor-  
thy Gentleman, a Secretary of State very Lately; and if I Live till 'tis Questioned, I will Witness it.*

There remains yet a very remarkable Instance of the *Faith and Generosity* of a Poor *Hackney Coach-man*; his Name *Francis Corral*; And if I could Contribute as much to the making of his *Fortunt*, as I may to the

vantage of his Name, and Reputation, it should be the first Thing I would do ; for they wanted but a Second Evidence against the Lords in the Tower ; and Forty other Persons of Eminent Quality, that were laid up in La-  
vender, to be in readiness for the Providence of a Fur-  
ther Discovery ; and if this Poor Fellow had but Yielded, Bedloe's Coach would have done the Jobb of carry-  
ing Sir Edmund to Primrose-Hill, every Jot as well as  
France's way of Horsing him Thither : And so for  
Brumwell and Walkers too : Either of them would have  
serv'd, some Way or Another, to the same Purpose.  
This Bus'ness of Corrall is a Barbarous Story ; but I'll  
be as easie in the Telling of it, as is Possible, with a  
Respect, both to Decency, and to Common Justice. The  
Truth of it is, The Severity of his Imprisonment could  
not well Exceed the very Direction of the Orders  
that the Keeper had for the Mortifying of him ; and  
Corrall Himself does likewise Charge many Cruelties upon  
the Under Keepers, which he cannot say the Master was  
Privy to. But be it as it will, we shall here Deliver  
Corrall's Enformation, for so much as concerns the mat-  
ter before us, in his own Words : Giving only to un-  
derstand by the way, that he was taken into Custody  
some a Fortnight or thereabouts, after the Body was  
found, upon an Officious Enformation of Some Words he  
had spoken concerning the Carrying of it to Primrose-  
Hill : Whereupon he was had to Newgate, and next Day  
to Wallingford-House, where he was Sworn, and Examin'd,  
of which Examination he gives This Account.

Francis Corral Deposeth, That The Lord Shaftes-  
bury, with others, asked this Enformant if he carry'd  
Sir Edmundbury Godfrey to Primrose-Hill in his  
Coach, or knew who Carry'd him ? To which, This  
Enformant Answered, That he did Not, and that  
he Knew not who did. The Lord Shaftesbury said to this

En-

*Enformant, That if he would swear the Truth, he should have Five Hundred Pound: The said Lord Shaftesbury laying down some Mony upon the Table, saying, that this Enformant should have a Room near the Court, if he was affraid of any Body that set him to Work, and should Command a File of Musquetiers, at any time when he had Occasion to go abroad, to Guard him, for fear any of Those that employ'd him, should do him any Mischief. This Enformant asked him, my Lord, Who should those be? No body set me at Work; Nor do I know for what I am brought hither. To which the Lord Shaftesbury reply'd, We are the Peers of the Land; and if thou wilt not Confess, there shall be a Barrel of Nails provided for thee, to put thee in, and roul thee down a Hill. The Enformant made Answer, What would you have me to say, my Lord? I know nothing of the matter, would you have me to accuse other People, to bring them into the same Condition I now am? The Lord Shaftesbury Answering, Then thou shalt Dye. Whereupon a Mittimus was Drawn, and this Enformant carry'd back and Committed to Newgate.*

*This Enformant was laid in Huge Heavy Irons, and thrust into the Dungeon; where, after he had continued about three or four Hours, he was Taken out again, by Lyon, one of the Keepers, who likewise was the Man that put this Enformant into the Dungeon. And this Enformant was so faint with the Closenesse and Naftiness of the Place, that he swounded away, and that they were fain to give him Brandy to keep Life in him.*

*This Enformant Recollecteth, that before his coming from Wallingford House, the Lord Shaftesbury said to This effect, The Papists have Hir'd him, and he will not Confess.*

He was now remanded to Prison, and about Three in the Afternoon, they had him to a House in Lincolns-

*Inn-Fields*, where the Lord *Shaftsbury* Examin'd him again.

Saying to this Enformant, Now you Rogue; Here's one that will Justifie he saw you ( speaking of one that stood there to bear Witness;) The Lord *Shaftsbury* saying to the said Person, Did not you see him Whip his Horses, and go down by *Tottenham-Court*? The Man saying, Yes my Lord? [Sirrah, (said the Lord *Shaftsbury* to This Enformant) What's the Reason that you will not confess, but put us to All this Trouble? This Enformant speaking hastily, said, What would you have me confess, my Lord? I know no more than your Lordship does, and it may be, not so much: Then said the Lord *Shaftsbury*, If thou wilt not Confess, Richardson, take him away, and let him be starv'd to Death; which made this Enformant to weep: Whereupon the Lord *Shaftsbury* reply'd, Ah Rogue! There's never a Tear comes down; This Enformant with Imprecations telling my Lord, that he knew no more than the Child that was unborn: That's a Popish Word (says my Lord *Shaftsbury*) He has consulted with the Papists, and will not Confess; bidding Richardson take him away, and punish him severely. This was Thursday; and this Enformant was kept in Great Irons in the Condemn'd Hole, till Sunday Noon, without any thing to Eat or Drink, which put This Enformant into so great Despair, that if his Knife had not dropt out of his Hand, he had Kill'd Himself. On Monday Morning this Enformant was led into the House of Lords, where one of the Lords bad Richardson bring this Enformant into the Committee, where this Enformant saw the same Lords as before; and the Lord *Shaftsbury* spake after This Manner to this Enformant. [Come (says he) thou lookest like an honest Fellow, tell us the Truth, and thou shalt have the same Reward that was promised thee at *Wallingford-House*; and then thou shalt go presently home to thy Wife and Children, and we will secure thee

Thee from any Harm: What dost thou say to us all? Now speak. Then *This Enformant fell down upon his Knees, and said*, I know nothing of it, and before I wrong any Man, I will Dye Immediately. *The Lord Shaftsbury replying*, Thou art such a Peremptory Rogue, thou shalt go back to Newgate, and lye and Rot there a while. And then thou shalt be brought to be tryed at the Sessions, and then there will come enow against thee, and thou shalt be Hang'd. Hadst thou not better *Confess the Truth*, and have that *Mony*, then be brought before the Barr of the Judges, and be condemn'd to be *Hang'd*? It will be a Dreadful Hearing for Thee. [Yes, my Lord, (said this Enformant) I know it will be a Dreadful Hearing: But, my Lord, It will be a more Dreadful Hearing for me, at the Lord's Bar, if I should wrongfully accuse any Man; it will be a more Dreadful Hearing, when it shall be said, Take him away Devil, for he hath falsely Accus'd those he knew no hurt by. Whereupon the Lord Shaftsbury said, I see we can do no good with him; take him away, and let him lye there and Rot. *This Enformant Pleading that he had a Wife, and Children; the Lord Shaftsbury Answered*, Let his Wife and Children starve. *This Enformant lay in the Condemn'd Hole with Heavy Irons, Six Weeks and Three Days; and afterwards, Seven Weeks on the Common Side upon Bordes, without Irons.*

*This Enformant saith also, that He Complaining at a Time uncertain, of his Ill Usage, one Richard, and one that was commonly call'd John-Come-Laft, said, that their Master had Power from my Lord Shaftsbury, and the Committee, to torment this Enformant, if he would not Confess. This Enformant saith likewise, that a Tall Man in a Minister's Habit, was with him in the Condemn'd Hole, Pressing him to Confess; and Pressing him, This Enformant several times to Confess, after that he*

*had Imprecated himself that he knew Nothing of the matter.*

And faith, That this Enformant, as he was reading the 20th Chapter of the Revelation alone in the Hole, He this Enformant heard of a sudden, the rattling of Chains, and Roaring like that of a Bear, Believing it to be an Evil Spirit, and that the Door had been Open : In this Fright, This Enformat let his Candle fall, and in the Dark he was more affraid, the Noise continuing near a Quarter of an Hour : This Enformat had been now about a Fortnight in the Hole ; and afterward, telling one Harris and some others of the Keepers, how this Enformant was Terrify'd, They made him Answer, If you do not Confess, the Devil will have you.

There are so many Instances of this Kind, that the Proceedings at length, would make rather the *History of a Persecution*, than the *Narrative of a Conspiracy* : But in one Word, He had Two Great Holes worn in his right Leg ; One in his left : He was Eight Weeks after his Discharge, before he was able to Drive a Coach again. He got Salve for These Wounds at Sir Thomas Witherley's ; and likewise of Mr. Knolles the Surgeon. He is able to produce Forty Witnesses that saw These Wounds : But it must not be omitted, that his Misery gave the Earl of Clarendon a great Tenderness for him, insomuch, that he Viewed his Ulcers himself, took Compassion of the Man, and gave him Money.

There are Two Objections that I expect will be made to This Account of the Hard Usage both of France and Corrall. The Former, while he was under the Power of the Lying Spirit ; and went on without either Fear, or Wit ; was brought a Witness at Mrs. Celier's Tryal, where his Evidence in the Colloquy, or Context, was as follows.

Mr. Bar. Weston. Mr. France ; Pray were you ever Tortur'd in Prison ?

[Mr.]

[ Mr. Prance. ] No, I never saw any such Thing there in my Life.

Mr. Bar. Weston. How were you used?

Mr. Prance. Very well, I had every thing that was fitting; Captain Richardson did take great Care of me, &c. And a little after.

Mr. Prance (again) Dr. Lloyd was with me many times for half an hour together, and if any such thing had been, he would have seen it, Celiars Tryal, p. 25.

Now This was a Cast of Mr. Prances Civility and Good Nature; but he was Mightily Overseen to Appeal to Dr. Lloyd isn't; who found him Roaring under his Pains, and Almost Kill'd with the Misery of his Condition; but all this while, the Keeper had his Orders how to use him.

Corral was Also to be made use of, for the same Jobb; but This shall Suffice, ( Unless I shall be Absolutely forc'd to say more on't ) that the Marks he Carries to This Day, are Ten Thousand Witnesses of the Hardship he Endur'd.

But in the End, when Prance came to stand to't, that the Body was Carry'd a Horse-back, Corral, upon very Good Security, was Discharg'd for not Carrying him in his Coach.

This was their Way of Compassing Witnesses, where People were not Wicked Enough to go to the Devil of their own Accord: And the same Method went thorough the Whole Tract of their Proceedings in All such Cases, and with all Persons therein Concern'd. The Choice was short, Either Stand out and be Hang'd, or Confess and be Damn'd. But to take up where we left.

We brought Prance to his New Lodgings on the 11th. and there we find him, with Mr. Boyce at his Bedside, on the 12th. of January, 1678. According to his

his own Relation, and upon the Preparatory for the Tryal of the Persons whom he had Accus'd. He had, even at That Time, some Grudgings of Another Relapse, Exclayming sometimes by Fits, that he had Sworn False; and that he was Utterly Ruin'd: But being still Ply'd with the Memory of what he had Confess'd All-ready, and the Hammering of it into his Head, that he would be Hang'd if he went off: And that if either Green, Berry, or Hill, should come to Confess Before him, he was a Lost Man beyond Recovery: His Heart would not serve him to go thorough with his Resolution; He had several Messages from Bedloe about the Periwig; and that if he did not Own the Periwig, the Three Men would not Dye: He was seldom without an Ammanuensis, or a Dictator rather, in the Chamber with him. And the way was This: He was asked what Papists he knew; where they Liv'd; and what he could say of them; and so the Most was made of Those Minutes, 'till they came to be Emprov'd into Narratives. He is positive, that the Nights he lay abroad in, were within the First Week of October: And he finally Avers, That if it had not been for the Dread of Death, and Misery, that was with so much Restles Importunity Pres'd upon him; And the Flattering Promises of the Great Advantage it would be to him, to Persist in his Evidence of the Murther, he verily Believes, he should rather have Dy'd, than have Hazarded his Damnation by Another Perjury.

And it was not All yet Neither, that the Scum of the Rabble pass'd Muster for Competent Witnesses against Men of Honour, in Matters of State; That the most Abandon'd Miscreants, even of that Scum, were Allow'd to give Evidence as Men of Probity; that Every Thing was Screw'd in favour of the Guilty, and to the Destruction of the Innocent, That the Pris'ners and their Witnesses, were rather brought to the Stake, then to a Tryal, and

and Put, by the Violences of the *Rout* into an *Incapacity*, of Defending, either *Themselves* or their *Friends*, &c. This was not All, I say; without making a *False Witness* of the very *Press* too. Is it so upon your *Salvation*? (Says the Late King to *Prance*, speaking of the Evidence against *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*,) Upon my *Salvation*, (says *Prance*) It is All *False*. Now This Passage was given in *Evidence* by Mr. *Chiffinch* at *Green's Tryal*, and *Left-out* in the *Print*. Did not Mr. *Langhorn*, upon his *Tryal*, Move the Court, that some of the Jury might be sent to the *Temple* upon a *View of his Study*, and *Chamber*? and offer to put his *Life* upon *That Issue*, if they should find it but so much as *Possible* for *Bedloes Oath* to be *True*; in *Swearing*, that out of the *Chamber*, he saw *Langhorn* taking *Duplicates of Letters* in his *Study*? Now there's Nothing of *This* Neither in the *Printed Tryal*. The *Tryal of Nat. Thompson*, &c. is *Printed Double*; One by *Simmons*, and the Other by *Mason*. In *Masons Tryal*, *Fisher* that help'd to *Strip the Body*, gives *This Evidence*; We could not *Bend his Arms*, when we came to his *Shirt*, So we *Tore it Open*, fol. 6. Now This *Stiffness* of his *Arms* would hardly Agree with the Condition of a *Dead Body* to be put into a *Chair*: So that in *Simmons's Tryal*, fol. 22. they have very Discreetly told the *Rest of the Story* without *That Circumstance*.

But to come now to a *Conclusion*, as to the Matter of Writing This History No Sooner; What should any Man put Pen to Paper for, in an Age, when there was No place, No Security for *Truth*, No *Refuge* for *Innocence*; and No *Protection* for *Common Justice*? The *Noise* of the People was Call'd the *Voice* of the People, and *Popular Tumults* pass'd for the *Wisdom of the Nation*; when *Impostors* were *Consulted* as *Oracles*; and when *All sorts of Men* were *Practic'd*, and wrought

wrought upon, by All Sorts of Means, to Blind their Understandings, or to Corrupt their Morals: There was Money for the Covetous; Preferment for the Ambitious; The Impunity of an Unaccountable License, for Malice, or Revenge. In Short, Cases in Those Days were Carry'd by Huzzabs instead of Votes; and Bear-Garden-Law was All many an Honest Man had to Trust to for the Liberty of the Subject.

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## C H A P. XI.

*Notes upon Bedloes and Prances Evidence, Compard One with Another.*

**W**E are now Entring upon a Subject to Consider, where to find a Man, as well where to Begin, as where to End; and there's No Accommodating the Matter, but by Covering the Depositions on Both Sides with One Great Plot.

Here's a Horrible Out-Cry of a Barbarous Murther; A Popish Murther, A Plot-Murther; The Murther of a Magistrate; The Murther of a Protestant Magistrate; and in fine; The Murther of a Magistrate, in Revenge, for his Endeavouring to Prevent the Murthering of a King, the Burning of his Towns, and the Massacring of his People. Here's the Scale of the Case, and who but Bedloe, and Prance, the Devotes upon This Occasion, for the Saving of their Prince and Country! The Noise of This Murther, and the Fame of the Discoverers, has fill'd All Mouths and Places Ecclesiastical, as well as Civil; Churches, and Pulpits have been Dedicated to their Honour: And if Altars had not been Popish, and if the same Whimsey had gone on Still, we might have come in Time, to

a St. *Titus*, a St. *William*, a St. *Miles*: Nay, and a St. *Eustace Comes* too, *Orate pro nobis*: But for *Temporal Preferments* however, there was Care taken, that they should not want either *Mediations* or *Effects*. We have Spoken Already of the Two *Supporters* of This *Quarter-Part* of the *Plot*, and respectively of their *Depositories*, apart; but we are now going to see how they look upon One Another, Together; And whether 'twas the *Spirit of Revelation* that Guided the *Kings Witnesses*, or the *Spirit of Delusion* that wrought upon the *Believers* of them: That is to say, upon Those *Believers* of them, that had the Whole *Cause* under Their Eye, and Command; and, *Duly Consider'd* the Proportion of the several Parts, and Coherence of the *Intrigue*.

It seems a Wonderful Thing, that *Bedloe* and *Prance* that were Two of the Main Wheels of This Motion, shou'd hold No Communication at all One with Another. *Prance* does not so much as *Mention Bedloe*; nor *Bedloe Prance*; either before the *Lords*, or upon the *Tryals*, ( Previously, that is, to the *Murther* ) save only Once; and That by *Implication* too; When the very Name of *Prance* was Thrown into *Bedloes Mouth* by a *Leading Question*. Tryal, fol. 33. And it was not the Two *Witnesses* only that were Strangers to One Another; but the Principal *Agitators* Themselves, were Few of them Acquainted. The Instruments, Several, and they took Several Walks too, at the same Time for the doing of the same Bus'ness, and without holding any visible Correspondence: As if Divers Men had Stumbled, or rather Pitch'd by Impulse, upon the same Thoughts without Knowing One Another's Minds.

*Bedloe Swears before the Lords, that he Knows that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murther'd in Somerset-House, on the Saturday, by Walsh, Le Phaire, Two Lay-men; a Gentleman that Waits on my Lord Bellassis,*  
and

and an Under-waiter in the Queens Chappel. He Swears, that he Knows what afterwards he Delivers but upon Hear-say. Now Prance tells us upon the Tryal, that He Himself, Green, Berry, Hill, and Gerald, were the Five Murtherers, fol. 18. without so much as One Word of Bedloes Confederates. Prance was Entic'd in ( he says ) by Gerald and Kelley, fol. 14. But it was Le Phaire, Pritchard, Keines, and several Other Priests that Treated with Bedloe about the Murther, Tryal, fol. 28. And then Upon the Lords Journal, Nov. 12. 1678. He Speaks as if it were only Le Phaire, and Walsh, that offer'd him 4000 l. to Help forward with it. But it was Gerald, and Vernatti that spake of a Great Reward to Prance ; Tryal, fol. 22. Prance says, that it was He Himself, Green, Hill, Gerald, and Kelley, that put the Body into the Sedan; and Help'd it away out of the House [ All set our Hands to't, ] he says, Tryal, fo. 19, 20. But Bedloe, before the Lords, say's that Le Phaire, Walsh, the Lord Bellassis Gentleman, Atkins, and one that belong'd to the Queens Chappel, were the Persons that were to go with it. The Whole Story, in Fine, is made up of *Ill-Contriv'd*, and *Incredible Disagreements*, and *Point-Blank-Contradictions*. And they are at the same Variance One with the Other in the Walks they took, and in the *Conduit*, and Manage of the Whole Design.

Bedloe in his Depositions before the Lords, Leads us a Dance to Le Phaire in Grays-Inn-VWalks; to Le Phaire again by Accident, in Fleet-street, going into Red-Lyon-Court, and to An Appointment at the Palsgraves-Head-Tavern; Thence to the Cloyster in Somerset-House-Court. He tells us a Story then of Clarendon-House, Lincolns-Inn-Fields, the Greyhound-Tavern, the Kings-Head-Inn in the Strand, &c. Now Prance, on the Other Hand, lays his Scene at Somerset-House VWater-Gate; Talks of the VVicket; The Bench by the Rayles, and the Stables;

Stables; Dr. Godden's Lodgings; A Little Closet or Square Room; The Grecian Church, and So-ho; And saving that Somerset-House was to be the Place of Action; There's No sort of Intelligence betwixt One Passage and Another. Now when Prance comes to his Evidence upon the Tryals, the Plow-Alehouse strikes a Great Stroke; Red-Lyon-Fields; And then for a Supplement, comes Sir John Arundel's Lodgings, Covent Garden, Long Acre, the Queens-Head at Bow, &c. and not one Word in Bedloe of any of These Jaunts: So that they Squar'd now as Little about the Places, as they did before about the Instruments; Sir Edmund was to be Dogg'd however; And we shall find as much Difference about the Time, the Manner of it, and the Particular Persons that were upon the Heel of him, as about anything else.

Bedloe before the Lords, says nothing more of Dogg'ing him, then that Le Phaire, Walsh, and my Lord Ellassis's Gentleman met him by the Kings-head in the Strand, Crossing the Street about Five Afternoon; and so by a very Pitiful Wile Trepann'd him into Sonerset-House-Court, and there did his Bus'ness. He says indeed upon the Tryals, that he was sent to Insinuate Himself into Sir Edmund's Acquaintance, pag. 29. but still not one Word of This before the Lords. He says further, that he had been Six or Seven Days together with him at his House, upon Pretence of getting VVarrants for the Good Behaviour, against Persons that there were None such: Wherein he must Manifestly forswear Himself, whether he did so, or Not; for Godfrey was not a Man to Grant any such VVarrants, but upon Oath. He says further, That he was with Five Jesuits at the Greyhound Tavern, on the Friday, and sent his Boy to see if Sir Edmund were at Home; Ib.] But not a Syllable of This neither in his other Depositions: And then to talk of his Boy too; the Boy of a Fellow that was but newly Spew'd out of an Alms-Basket. The whole Re-

mainder of his Evidence is only the Old Story made worse. But Prance, for all this, *I Warrant ye*, had him Dogg'd into Red-Lyon-Fields, fol. 15. And Afterward by Girald, Green, and Hill into St. Clements; and so back again to Somerset-House. But a VVord or Two now to the Desperate Provocation to This Bloody Revenge.

Bedloe says before the Lords, that he was to be put out of the way, because of some Examinations that he had taken tending to the Discovery of the Popish Design, Nov. 12. 1678. But Prance before the Lords, swears it was out of Malice for being Crofs-grain'd to the Queen and her Servants. Bedloe makes no more on't upon the Tryal, then that there was a very Material Man to be taken out of the way; One that had All the Enformations that Mr. Otes and Dr. Tong had given in; and if the Papers were not taken from him, the Bus'nes would be Obstructed, and go near to be Discover'd, p. 30. But Bedloe was still for giving him Quarter before the Lords; and for doing it by Fair Means or by Foul, according as he should Behave Himself. But Not a Word of That Neither, upon the Tryals: Beside that in the Lords Journal, he was stifled betwixt Two Pillows: And in the Tryal, they had Strangled him, he says, but he knew not how, p. 32. And in one Word, Bedloe, and Prance, did both agree at the Court of Kings Bench to Destroy him Out-right, without offering any Terms, or Conditions, for the saving of his Life; contrary to what Bedloe swore before the Lords.

*The Two Witnesses were as much Divided too, about the Place where he was Murther'd, and the Manner of the Execution; but they Both Agreed that he was Murther'd at Somerset-House. Prance will have the Deed to be done upon the Descent by the Stables; and that he was Wheedled down under the Pretence of Parting a Fray, Tryal,*

Tryal, fol. 16. Bedloe gets him thither under Colour of Catching some of the Plotters. *Lords Journal.* Prance makes Green to follow him with a Twisted Handkercher, and to get him down by Surprize, fo. 16, 17. Bedloe, in the Journal makes it to be done Fairly, with Presenting a Pistol, and upon Articles of Mercy; though No body could ever find out Bedloe's, and Prance's Place, where the Body was Convey'd, any more then Otes's Stair-Case that led to her Majesties Whispering Room: And it is to be noted also, that This was no Hear-say-Evidence, upon the Final Resolution of the Case; for Bedloe saw the Body by Le Phaire's Dark Lanthorn; and Prance saw it by Hill's Dark Lanthorn, at the same Time and Place; and yet they had no Light there, but one Dark Lanthorn, Tryal, fol. 31. Nay, and Bedloe saw it by Prance's Dark Lanthorn, or he was Dammably Forsworn, when Prance was brought from the Lobby to the Eating-House. There were, in fine, Two Sir Edmund's Murther'd, One in the House, T'other in the Yard; and Bedloe's was Carry'd off on Munday at Night, at Nine of the Clock, *Journal, Nov. 8. 1678.* Prance's, not 'till Wednesday about Twelve of the Clock, Tryal, p. 19. This Passage starts a Hint worth the taking Notice of: Bedloe has the Body Carry'd away on the Monday Night upon the Lords Journal: But Prance upon the Tryal, mistook his Notes, and says it was only remov'd into Somerset-House. Tryal, pag. 18. And so they concerted the Bus'nes of the Dark Lanthorn too; only they were not agreed upon the Bearer of it, as is already set forth; so that Le Phaire was Bedloe's Lanthorn-Bearer, and Hill was Prance's.

Here's een enough in Conscience said Already upon the Particularities of This Subject, to make all Thinking Men of the Next Age, Blush at the Corruptions and Credulity of This: But whoever considers the Circumstances of the Men that Gave This Evidence, will no longer

longer Trouble his Head with *Wondering at the Evidence* that was *Deliver'd*. And I shall give the Reader a *Tast* upon *This Topique*, in the *Following Chapter*.

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## C H A P. XII.

*Some General Touches upon the Character of Bedloe  
and Prance, and their Credit in Other Cases as  
well as This, Not forgetting Titus Otes.*

**T**IT was under the *Triumvirate of Otes, Bedloe, and Prance*, that the *Tragedy of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* was brought upon the Stage ; and something ought to be said, Methinks, of the Persons, as well as the Actions of These Three Heroes ; if a Man could but hit upon the *Just Medium*, betwixt too *Much*, and too *Little*.

*Titus Otes* was the *Son of Samuel Otes* ; A *Gifted and a Dipping Weaver* : And he *Dipt fair* too ; He was *Arraign'd at Chelmsford Assizes*, p. 146. for the *Murther* of One *Anne Martin*, that *Dy'd* some *Fourteen Days* after the *Dipping*, and layd her *Death* to his *Charge*. *Gangrena*, part 3. p. 105. There's a story Pleasant enough, and Every Body has it, of a Woman that he had Under the *Ord'nance of Dipping*, that still fell to *Squalling*, and *Screaming* so soon as ever they had her *above Water*, [Down with her again (cries Otes) 'Tis her *Concupiscence* :] Now the Matter in *Truth* was *This*, The Roguy Boys had sunk a Huge Bundle of *Brambles*, and *Thorns* in the *Dipping-Place*, and the Poor Womans *Body*, it seems, did not like That way of *Discipline*.

As to *Titus*, it was a Long Time before he had so much as the *Badge of Christianity*, and there ha stopt too,

too, without ever Advancing one step further into the Practice of it. He never Liv'd any where after Fourteen, but when ever he quitted the Place, he left the Character of an Infamous Creature behind him. As at *Caius College* in Cambridge; *Hastings*; *Bobbing*, *Valladolid*, *St. Omers*, *White-Hall*, the Kings Courts of Records; and finally at *Sea*, Under *Sir Richard Ruth*, as well as at *Land*. He Began with *Perjury* and *Sodomy*; so soon as ever he came to be qualify'd, either by the Law for a Competent Evidence, or by the state of Virility for the Other Execrable Villany. His False Oaths, and his Attempts of that sort of Brutality, are so Many, that they are scarce to be Number'd; and so Notorious, that there's No Need of Holding a Candle to them; for they are as Publique as the Solennity of Attestations, Tryals, Verdicts, and Judicial Sentences can Make any thing. In One Word; His Narrative Consists of 81. Articles; and I dare be Answerable for Four times as many Falsities in 'em; To say Nothing of Driblets, By-Blowes and Loose Grains, Over and Above.

Bedloe indeed was the Merryer, though perhaps not the Greater Rogue of the Two; but the fittest Man Yet in Nature to stand Second to such a Principal. His True Name (after That of his Reputed Father) was *Beddoe*, a Word that according to the Septuagint, Imports [Little] or [Diminutive.] The Fidlers, and the Coblers were at as much strife as Ever the Cities were for Homer, whose Bedloe he should be; for he had a Smattering in Both Faculties. The One he Learn'd from his Mothers First Husband that Ply'd at May-Poles, Wakes, and Fairs; and then she had afterwards Another that Dealt in Clouring, Capping, and Underlaying; but in short, the Poor Woman, they say, took a Great Deal of Pains to Mend the Strain. His First Commission was to run on Errands, at Hap-Hazard, for him that came Next; and from Thence, he stept into a Livery, and

serv'd the King, and the Protestant Religion in the quality of a Foot-boy. This was his *Rise*, to the Knowledge of Men, and Bus'ness. He got the Names, and Habitations of Men of Quality, their Relations, Correspondents and Interest: and upon This Bottom it was, with a Convenient stock of Impudence, and a Dextrous Turn of Fancy and Address, that he put himself into the World. There was No sort of Cheat, that he was not In at, and Good at. But his Master-Piece was his Personating Men of Quality; Getting Credit for Watches, Coats, Horses, Borrowing Money upon Recommendations; Bilking of Vintners, and Tradesmen; Lying, Pilfering, and Romancing, to the Degree of Imposing almost upon any man that had any spark in him of Humanity, or Good Nature. His Character, and his History, in fine, Truly drawn, would have Sixteen Guzmans in the Belly of it: But there Needs no more then Common Fame, upon the Tracing of his Motions, to the Instructing of that Story. He pass'd thorough All the Degrees of Knavery, and Wickedness, as Gradually, and Insensibly, as he did through the Moments, and the Inches of his Age, and Stature; He Liv'd like a Wild Arab, upon the Prey, and the Ramble; and where ever he was in Flanders, France, Spain, or England, he never faild of leaving the Footsteps, and the Reputation of a Prostitute Cheat behind him: He was hardly ever at Home, but in a Prison; Nor in his Element, as they say, any Longer then he was in the King's High-way to't. That is to say; he was still a doing somewhat or Other, Contrary to Law, Honesty and Good Manners.

This, upon the Whole Matter, was but a *Congruous Preparatory* to the *Consummated state* of a *Flagitious Miscreant*; when he came Afterward to Joyn Issue in a Perjurious, and Murderous Cause, with Otes, Prance, and Others, as a King's-Evidence. The Pompous sound of [a King's Evidence;] And the Terrible Chymera of a Plot upon

upon his Majesties Life, and the Protestant Religion, Dazled, and Blinded the People, as if the Sun had been thrown in their Eyes from a Looking-Glass : Insomuch that in Two as Lewd Lives as ever were led Under the Canopy of Heaven, in the Persons of Otes and Bedloe, and the Character of These Two Wretches as Well known, as the Whipping-Polt, they could not find in their Conscience Yet, to make any Exception to the Probity of These Witnesses. Nay, and they were not only Believ'd, but, if not Temples, Pulpits, at least, Dedicated to their Honour, and by a Blasphemous Figure, They were Recommended to the Mobile, as the Saviours of the Nation, though the Left-Hand Thief upon the Cross, Might, to All Humane Appearance, have made as Good an Evidence. Well ! And there's more in't Yet too ; for Bedloe was much Better at a Sham, Off-Hand, then at a Conspiracy, by Book. Take them singly, and they give Themselves the Lye ; Take them Respectively, and they give One Another the Lye ; And Yet after all, When they neither Believ'd Themselves, nor One Another, there were found so many Believers of them, that Great Britain was within One Gust more, of sinking, under the Malice and Folly of the one side, and of the other ; beyond All Possibility of Redemption without the relief of a Miracle.

That Bedloe and Otes were Forsworn in the Bus'ness of Godfrey, no less then in That of the Plot, (and Prance for Company) is no more to be Doubted, then the most Certain Evidence we have of Any One Instance of Fact in These Times ; And This being most Undeniably Clear, it is not so much My Part, or in Truth, My Bus'ness, to shew where Bedloe was forsworn in any other Cases ; as to Defie any Man to Produce any one Oath he made, in favour of the Credit of That Plot, wherein he was Not Forsworn ; for to Name some, and Not All, would be a Tacit Scandal upon the Rest,

In the Course of My Design, *Prances Place* shoud be now Immediately *Next*; but as there is an Order even among the *Devils* in *Hell*, the *same Decorum* ought to be Observ'd toward his *Instruments* here upon *Earth*; So that I shall *Post-Pone Prance* a Little, as a *Poor, Sneaking, off-and-on-Wretch*, that's scarce Worthy to be Nam'd on the same Day with the Other Two. Now if a Man Might Honestly *Laugh* upon so *Tragical*, and so *Reprobated* an *occasion*, VVho could forbear, at the seeing of a *Thousand Footeries* less *Credible* then the *Fables* of the *Poets*, *Warranted* for *Gospel!* *Ovid* has not in All his *Tales* a more *Incredible Metamorphosis*, then This of *Otes*, and *Bedloe*. *Religious Brutes*; *State Fools*; *Devils Incarnate*, turn'd all of a sudden, *Bigots*; *Beggerly Varlets*, with Neither *Faith* nor *Brains*, all in the turning of a *Hand*, become *Mony'd Men*, and the *Confidants* of *Princes*. Nay, and Not Only to *Continue False*, and *Scandalous*, but to *Grow Wickeder After* their *Conversion* then they were *Before*. And for That Monster *Otes*, to go on *Buggering*, and Yet at the same Time *Celebrated* in *Despite* of *Common Sense*, and *Shame*, as a *Vessel of the Holy Ghost*. But not to spread the Matter too Thin, I shall Entertain the Reader here with *Two Bills of Monyes* laid out in *his Majesties Service*; The *One* by *Otes*, at a Time when he was not VVorth a *Brumigem-Groat* to *Sponge* for a *Dish of Coffee*: The *Other*, by *Bedloe*, out of his *Savings*, when he liv'd a Little before in the *Marshallsea* upon the *Charity* of the *Alms-Basket*.

Otes

## Otes's Bill of Expences, Feb. 11. 1678.

	l. s. d.
<b>I</b> mprimis, My Journey into Spain, besides the Ten Pounds given me	} 15—00—00
<b>I</b> tem, My Manuscript of the <i>Alexandrian Version</i> of the <i>Septuagint</i> , which I gave them	} 50—00—00
<b>I</b> tem, For a Journey to <i>Madrid</i> more then was allowed me	} 05—00—00
<b>I</b> tem, For a Journey to <i>Villa Garcia</i> more then was allowed me	} 01—00—00
<b>I</b> tem, For a Journey to <i>Salamanca</i> more then was allowed me	} 04—00—00
<b>I</b> tem, for my Expence to <i>Madrid</i> in a Second Journey more then was Allowed me	} 10—10—00
<b>I</b> tem, For my Expences in Intelligence from <i>Sevill</i> and other parts in <i>Spain</i> , more then was known	} 12—00—00
<b>I</b> tem, For a Present of <i>Twezers</i> , and a Case of <i>Knives</i> to <i>Father Sweetman</i> at <i>Madrid</i> , and 2 Cases of <i>Spectacles</i>	} 02—10—00
<b>I</b> tem, For a <i>Watch</i> to present to the <i>Archbishop of Tuam</i> when at <i>Madrid</i>	} 08—10—00
<b>I</b> tem, For a Case of <i>Knives</i> to the Rector of the <i>English College</i> at <i>Valladolid</i>	} 01—00—00
More for a Dozen of <i>Gloves</i> to be presented to him	} 01—10—00
<b>I</b> tem, For my Expences home to <i>England</i> more then was allow'd me	} 12—10—00
<b>I</b> tem, For my Expences for the Time I was in <i>London</i> more then was allowed me	} 02—00—00
	<i>Item,</i>

l. s. d.

Item, For my Expences from London to St. Omers more then was allowed me	3	04	00	00
Item For Gloves and Knives to present to the Rector of St. Omers	3	02	10	00
Item, For my Journey to Paris more then was allowed me	3	03	10	06
Item, For my Journey to Ghent more then was allowed me	3	05	00	00
Item, For my Expences in St. Omers	3	08	00	00
Item, For my Expences in my Journey to, and in doing Bus'ness in England, in APRIL more then was allow'd me	3	10	00	00
And for my Journey Back again	3	03	00	00
Item, For my Expences home to England in June, more then was allow'd me	3	07	04	00
Item, For my Expences from the 17th. June, to the 14th of August last	3	50	00	00
Item, From the 14th of August to the 8th of September	3	70	10	00
Item, From the 8th of September, to the 28th of September	3	46	10	00
Item, From the 28th of September, to the 21th of October	3	38	18	00
For Cloths		10	10	00
For Linnen		02	00	00
Item, For Expences from October 21. to December 29.		90	00	00
Item, From December 29. to February 8.		40	08	00
For Necessaries for Winter		20	10	00
For Books which the Jesuits had of me		40	00	00
Money owed to me by the Jesuits		80	00	00
For my Council		20	00	00
For Witnesses		00	12	00
		678	12	06

To

To say Nothing of his *Alexandrian Version*, his [Intelligence more then was known.] His Accounts with the *Jesuits*; and the other Fopperies that he has Farc'd up his Bill withall. It is very Remarkable, how close he Sticks to his 24th of April, and the Bus'ness of the *Consult*; for he is very Particular in the Expences of his April-Journey into England; and his Journey back again, and so afterward, for his Journey into England again in June, which keeps touch with his Evidence upon the *Tryals*, though never any thing was more Clearly prov'd Then his *Perjury* upon That Point: and that from his going to St. Omers the December before, he never set Foot in England again, till toward the Latter end of June. And now follows a *Concionable Bill* of Beddoes too.

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### Bedloe's Account of Expences, February 15.1678.

An Account of several Expences made by William Bedloe, on Occasion of the Service of his Majesty, and the Kingdom, which as to the Gross Sums he is ready to attest upon Oath, and does most humbly Crave Allowance for the same, that he may repay his poor Friends what he hath Borrowed from them for this publick Service; and which, notwithstanding 90 l. Received from his Majesties Bounty, doth still remain in Arrear, being 123 l. according to the Particulars Following.

<b>N</b> ovemb. 5. Borrowed to bring me up from Bristol	} 20—00—00
Laid out since I came to London in Coach-hire, Water-men and Links	} 43—00—00
	For

	l. s. d.
For several Necessaries in and about my Chamber	} 09—00—00
For several Dinners for my self, and other Witnesses on the Tryal	} 16—00—00
For fetching out of Kent one Mr. Codd and his Maid, who are Material Witnesses upon the Tryal of the Lords	} 10—00—00
For sending for several Witnesses out of the Country, and keeping them in Town, till the King is pleas'd to order their Tryals	} 50—00—00
For several Meetings and Dinners for the Witnesses that brought in, and Testify'd against Prance	} 15—00—00
For several Occasions laying out Mony in Searching Suspected Houses for Priests, and Papers, and other suspected Persons	} 20—00—00
Mony laid out to have the Advice of an honest Councillor, in many great and weighty Matters, and for a Clerk to write, and put in Order my Papers, with many other Necessary & Unavoidable Occasions, which I could not omit	} 30—00—00
	213—00—00

Here are Two Accounts now that might pass betwixt Father and Son, and, in my Conscience, their Bills are as true as their Narratives: So much Sworn to a Syllable, and so much Spent to a Penny. Otes sets down in Debts, Books, and Presents to the Jesuits, 186 l. And Bedloe Reckons 91 l. for Witnesses. But People will be apt to Cry out now, What's All this to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Murther? Why Truly, if there were no more in't then a bare Curiosity, the very Memorial would

would be worth the *Ink* and *Paper* that's bestowed upon't. Beside that in This Place it falls in most Naturally with my *Purpose*, and *Text*: First, as it is *Another Branch* of *Roguery apart* from the *Plot*, and shews them to be *Pick-pockets* as well as *Knights of the Post*; which may serve to Illustrate what *Credit* is to be given them in *Other Cases*. 2ly. It gives any Man to understand, that at a Time when such *Fellows*, and such *Nonsensical Impostures* could keep a *Government* in *Ave*, it was not for any *Private Man*, with a *Single Voice*, and *Reason*, to oppose an *Epidemical Madness*; for the *Reck'ning* carry'd *Fraud*, and *Insolence* in the *Face* on't, and the *Witnesses* knew before-hand, that it would be no more *Believ'd* by *Others*, than *They Believ'd* it *Themselves*. But they Push'd on the Affront never the less; and though I never heard of a *Tally* struck upon that Account, it was yet a kind of *Victory* to come off *Gratis*.

But Thirdly; The *Timing* of it was the Great Point of All; for the whole Nation was then at *Gaze* upon the *Tryals* of the *Pretended Murthers* of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, and most People were of Opinion, that the *Suppos'd Popish Plot* was to *Stand or Fall*, upon *That Issue*: But for my own Part, I was never of that Persuasion: If the *Verdict* went against the *Pris'ners*, it was Reasonable Enough to expect that it would make a *Horrible Noise*; Especially considering the *Pompous Solemnities* that had Prepar'd Men Already, for *Wild* and *Dangerous Impressions*. And then on the other hand, if they had been *Acquitted*, it was but *Arraigning the Bench*, the *Jury*, and the *Witnesses*, as they did in other Cases Afterwards to make All *whole again*. This does not *Hinder*, but that *Otes* and *Bedloe* did very Prudently *strike while the Iron was hot*; for the *Tryal* bears Date the 10th. of February, 167<sup>3</sup>. the *Day* of the *Conviction* of the *Three Pris'ners*. And these *Two Blades* put in their *Bills*, the very *same Week* with the *Tryals*; *Otes* on

On the 14th. and Bedloe his on the 15th. And if ever such a Reck'ning was to pass Muster, That Nicking Minute was the Time for't.

As to Prance's Character, All that I shall say of it is This ; that he had a good Will to be Honest, but not the Heart to go thorough with it ; and that he took more Care of his Carcase at First, than he did afterward of his Conscience. I shall do him This Common right yet, to say, that he had not the Brand upon him of an infamous Course of Life, to Blast his Evidence as his Fellow-Witnesses had : And This may serve, in some sort, to Colour the Easiness of Those that gave Credit to him. In one VVord more, If the Murther and the Plot were the only Two Points in Dispute, upon the Credit of his Testimony, his Justice and Faith in other Cases, might Induce a Charitable Softness toward the Believing of him in This : But from his Swearing False in Every Thing Else, (as That's the Case) to Infer that in One Single Point, or Two, he swears True, would be a very Perverse way of Reasoning. To shorten the Bus'nness now, I have a Letter of Prance's upon This Subject, and I cannot better Dispose of it then in This Place ; And there can hardly be a Better Testimony, than that of an Ill Man, who, without either Hope, or Fear of being the Better or the Worse for't, bears Witness against Himself.

SIR,

**H**earing that you are about to Publish something concerning the Death of Sir Edmunbury Godfrey, I think it my Duty to take Shame upon me, and to make a Publicke Declaration to the World of my Confession and Repentance of the Heinous Sins that I have committed against God, and my Offences against his Sacred Majesty, my most Gracious Mi-

Mistress the Queen Dowager, the Noblemen, Gentry, and All others that I have wickedly and wrongfully Accus'd about the Death of That Gentleman. I cannot hope or expect that any thing I say should find Credit in the World; but it will be some Ease to my Conscience, if I may obtain the favour of a Place for this Declaration anywhere among your Papers, if you shall commit any upon This Subject to the Press.

From the time of taking off my Irons, and changing my Lodging, which was upon my Yielding Basely to Forswear my self against those Innocent Persons, Green, Berry, and Hill, that Dy'd upon my Wicked Evidence: Mr. Boyce was the Man that Acted for me, and writ many Things which I Copy'd after him; I found by his Discourse that he had been several Times with my Lord Shaftsbury, and with Bedloe; and he told me, that I would be certainly Hang'd, if I did not agree with Bedloe's Evidence, and own the Periwig, the Men would not be Hang'd; I would not yield to't, so he yielded to mine, and the Periwig was spoke no more on; and bidding me consider what a Condition I should be in, if any of them should confess first. He got me out of Newgate some few Days after the Tryal of Green, &c. But before any of them were Executed, Mr. Boyce told me how much some of Sir Edmund's Relations were troubled that I was out so soon, for fear I should deny all again; and so Mr. Boyce took me to his own House, and watched me, and went with me wheresoever I went, till the Innocent

cent

cent men were Executed. I would fain have had Berry Sav'd, but Mr. Boyce said he was Guilty of the Murther, and could not be sav'd; and that if the King had a mind to pardon him, he might do it without my Troubling my self.

It was purely the fear of Death, and the Misery of my Condition, that wrought upon me to Forswear my self, without any thought of reward, although I was told several Times that Great Things would be done for me. My Lord Shaftsbury told me my Trade should be Better then ever it was, and bought some Plate of me Himself, part whereof was for Otes. This brings to my Mind that in the Time while I Deny'd the Murther, or any Knowledge of it, I was taken out of Newgate, and carry'd to Two Eminent Lawyer's, where I was Upbraided for departing from my Evidence; One of them, wondring much what should make me do it, and speaking to me to this Effect, [ You were affraid, perhaps, of Losing your Trade, that lay mostly among the Papists; or else perchance you did not think your self sure of your Pardon, &c.] which Words were spoken in such a way, that I took them for Hints to me what Excuse I might make upon going off again, and as I am a Christian, This was it that first put That Excuse into my Head. My Lord Shaftsbury gave me Two Guinnea's once, to help off a Man that I had Sworn against for Dangerous Words against the King. I received Thirty Pounds by his Majesties Order, and Five Pounds of Bedloe.

Bed-

As to those I swore against about the Plot; If I may take the Names as they lye in the Narrative: I Accus'd one of the Townleys of Townley in Lancashire, with saying, [ That when his Brothers, who were then at Doway, came back from Flanders, they expected to receive Commissions from the Lord Bellassis, and other Catholick Lords concern'd for the raising of Men to carry on the Catholique Cause; and that I had heard Adamson a Watch-maker several Times speak of this at the Club in Veer-street. I do declare in the Presence of God Almighty, that the Accusation is false in every Point of it, both concerning Mr. Townley and Mr. Adamson. See Narrative, fol. 3. I do declare likewise, That I was no otherwise put upon it, then by a Paper that was brought to me in the Condemn'd Hole, and by the Menaces of Hanging me, if I did not confess more and more, saying, Hang him Rogue, He thinks This shall save him.

I Accus'd Mr. Keightly also, when the Earl of Shaftsbury, &c. was in the Tower, with Rejoicing at their Imprisonment, and the Differences amongst the Lords; and if the Duke of York did but follow the Bus'nes close, they doubted not but the Catholique Religion would be quickly settled, fol. 3. I declare with the same Solemnity as aforesaid, I never knew nor heard that Mr. Keightly said any such Words. This Accusation was drawn up by Mr. B. from General Heads that I gave him, and one drew up the Narrative, wherein they both went further then I directed. They did as the

I accus'd Mr. Singleton a Priest, for saying, He hoped to be settled in a Parish Church within a Twelvemonth ; and that he would make no more to stab Forty Parliament-men, then he would do to eat his Dinner, fol. 4. which Accusation I do declare to be utterly false, and of my own Framing.

And so likemise was that of Mr. Ridley's saying, that He hoped to be Surgeon to the Catholique Army in England, and that he hoped to have the Lord Bellasis to Friend. *Ibid.*

My Accusation of Mr. Paston for saying, That the King was a great Heretick ; but the Lord Bellasis, Arundel, Powis, and Petres would have a gallant Army for Depositing the King ; and that they had already given out Commissions to divers Gentlemen, as Sir Henry Beddingfield, Mr. Talbot, and Mr. Stoner, as was suggested to me by my first Paper of Instructions, but made much more in drawing up the Enformation and Narrative.

My Charge, fol. 5. against Ireland, for saying in the Presence of Fenwick and Grove, That there would be shortly Fifty Thousand Men in Arms, and Fenwick saying thereupon, That they should be commanded by the Lords, Bellasis, Arundel, Powis, and Others, is False in every part of it ; and so is the following Article of Grove's saying, That the Lords, Bellasis, Arundel, Powis, and Petres was to Command this intended Army, and had Commissions for that Purpose. I took Hints toward these Accusations from my first Paper

of

of Instructions, and they that drew up the Instructions made the rest.

I did falsely Accuse Le Phaire also, for a Discourse about the Catholiques Providing Weapons, fol. 6. and likewise Mr. Moor. Ibid. for speaking of Ten Thousand Horse to be shortly rais'd for the Catholique Cause. It was all false, likewise, and of my own Contrivance.

My Charge against Mr. Messenger, ibid. for Boasting, that the Heretiques would e're long be root-ed out, was false, and my own too.

And in like manner that of Lawrence's speaking These Words, I wish with all my Heart that half the Parliament were poysон'd, for they will ruin it is all; which is utterly False, and out of my own Head; and so was my Accusation of my Lord Arundel's Butler, for saying, That Mr. Messenger was to have a vast Reward to kill the King, fol. 7.

And so was my Charge likewise upon Mr. Grove a Schoolmaster, For being privy to the Levy of Fifty Thousand Men, which were suddenly to be Raised, fol. 8.

I shall now speak to the Pretended Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; wherein I Charg'd Gerald, Kelley, Green, Berry, Hill, Lewson, and Vernatti, to be either Actors or Confederates. I do declare for my part. I know nothing of such a Confederacy; neither do I believe there was any such, but that the whole Pretence of the Murther, at

well for the Persons, as for the Place, was all False.  
The Particulars above Written are All True, as I  
hope for Salvation: And Begging your Worships  
Pardon for This Presumption, I Rest

Your most Humble and  
Princes-street,  
Jan. 17. 1677.  
Obedient Servant.

*Miles Prance.*

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### C H A P. XII.

*The Relation of Godfrey's Murther, as it stands in  
the Narratives and Tryals, is one of the most  
Unlikely Stories to be True, that ever was made  
Publique, and Believed.*

The Body was found in the Ditch; Cary'd Thence to the White House; And so they Proceeded upon it to a View, and to a Verdict: This was, in few Words, the Ground-Work of the History: They began, Effectually at the Wrong End, and, by an Inverted Way of Reasoning, instead of Drawing Conclusions from Premises; Their Bus'ness was Subsequently to Frame and Accommodate Premises, to a Fore-laid Conclusion. This Unhappy Gentleman, was, in Truth, Miserably Haunted with an Hereditary and a Fore-boding Melancholy; and it was the Manage of that Season to Improve Every Fit of the Spleen, into a Popish Dagger at the Heart of him: Insomuch, that he was said to be Murther'd by the Papists, ( as in Due Time and Place shall be made appear ) even

even while he was yet *Alive*: Nay, betwixt the Saturday when he went away, and the Thursday Night Following, when he was found, it was in *Every Bodies Mouth*, that the *Papists had Kill'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*. The Resolution being already taken, to make a *Popish Murther* on't, and so to make a *Popish Conspiracy* the *Root of This Popish Murther*. Never was any thing more *Ridiculously Order'd*, from *One End of the Series* to the *Other*. First, for the *Place in General*, it was the *Queens Palace*; and then in *Particular*, where the *Execution* was done. *Prance's Evidence* says it was by the *Stables*; *Bedloe* swears it was by *Shoving him out of the Upper Court*. But whether the *One way*, or the *Other*, it was in a Quarter so *Publique*, that what with the *Guards*, *The Concourse of People*; *The Grooms, Watermen, Passengers*; *The Lights* and the *Windows* thereabouts, there might any *Busle* have been seen, or heard, from *Forty several Places*; and upon the Least *Out-cry*, either at the *One Place*, or the *Other*, *Sir Edmund* had *Infallibly been Rescu'd*, and the *Assassin* taken. Beside that it was now but *between Five and Six*, by *Bedloe's Account*, and *Nine a Clock* at most, by *Prance's*; a Time when *People were every where up*, and *stirring*, and the *Porters Window over the Water-Gate* look'd directly All this While, upon the *Place where the Fact was said to be Committed*.

And then the *Dogging* of him at the Rate, and Manner, that they sayd they did; was a Notable Fetch of a Project too. They had been upon the Heel of him, as *Prance* says, a Matter of *a Week or a Fortnight before he was Murther'd*, *Tryal*, pa. 15. But at last, by the Consent of the *Witnesses* he was fairly *Hunted to Somerset-house*, from *Below-stræt*, says *One*, and from *Above*, says the *Other*; And they brought him in at *Two Several Gates*, And at *Two Several Hours*; *The One, at Five, and the Other at Nine*: and strangled

him as soon as they had him in, *Two Several Ways*, and in *Two Several Places*. Now the Contradictions apart; Nothing could be More Senseless then the very Proposition. For *First*, they might have found a Thousand better *Ways* and *Opportunities* for the doing of his Bus'nes. The Device of getting him into the *Toyle*, was Silly to the *Last Degree* too; under the Pretence of Parting a *Quarrel*; in a place where having No Authority to Meddle, he knew better Things then to Lash out in so Tickle a Point. And was it not Another Notable Piece of *Invention*, to Hound him up and down, (as the VVitneses swear they did) either Bedloe's way, with a *Crevat*, or with a *Hand-kercher*, which Bedloe and Prance had seen before, (they say) as *Predesign'd*, for the *Execution*? Now Methinks the *Point* of a *Sword*, or a *Ponyard* in his *Guts*, or a *Convenient Brace* of *Bullets* in the *Head* of him, might have made every jot as sure VVork, as either the *Handkercher* or the *Crevat*. Or if That Must Needs be the way still, they were Mightily overseen again in the *Choice* of the *Instrument*; for *Green* was a *Little Old Fellow*, and *Godfrey*, a *Tall, Strong Man*; Now the *Handkercher*, was to be *Thrown Over his Head, Hat, and All*, I suppose, Unless they Expected he should *Doff it Himself*, and put his own Neck into the *Noose*. So that the *Life of Every Motivers Child* of them was at stake too upon That Adventure; either if *Green* had *Miss'd his Cast*, or else had not put him out of *Condition of Defence*, Upon the *First Tugg*: But Now they have him down, What's to be done with the *Body*? is the *Next Question*. The Story is too long, and too silly, to bear the Drawing out of the Train at *Length*; but it is Impossible for any Man to Trace the *Passages*, and to Believe the *Evidence*, without turning *Somerset-House* into an *Enchanted Castle*; and Casting a *Mist* before the Eyes of *Forty People*, to render Both the *Body*, and the *Beq-*  
*rers*

vers Invisible: And so, Effectually, it was to *All the World* but *Bedloe*, and *Prance*; who swore they saw the Body lying at the *same Time*, in *Two Several Places*; Though *No Creature* could give Any Tidings of it *Beside*. Nor could *They Themselves* ever find, or *Direct* the way to Those Places again. The *Body*, in fine, (while it lay there) was forc'd, upon Several Occasions to shift for it self; and upon *every Fright*, though but at the Wagging of a Feather, *Whipt away out of One Room into Another*, with as much *Ease* as a *Cat* would Carry-off a *Mouse*. It was kept, from *Saturday*, till *Sunday Night*, (or *Prance* is *Forsworn*) in the Chamber of *Lawrence Hill*, in Dr. *Godden's Lodgings*: And now, to say Nothing of the *Incomprehensible Way*, and *Manner* of getting the *Body* *I thither*, let any Man read but *These Following Depositions*, and then Consider, what a *Place* they had found out for the *Concealment* of such a *Villany*.

*Elizabeth Hill Deposeth, that She this Enformant lay that Saturday Night that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was First Missing, and the Sunday and Monday following, and several Nights before and After in the very Room where Prance Relates the Dead Body of the said Sir Edmund to have been laid: And that This Enformant was in that very Room before mentioned, the Greatest Part of the Sunday and Monday next after the Saturday before spoken of.*

*And This Enformant being Interrogated, if there were not some Hiding Places in or about That Room, where the body might be Conceal'd, Maketh Answer, that the Room was so little, that it would very hardly hold Necessaries for the Chamber, There being but One Little Bed in the Room, and the Place Crowded with Boxes and Trunks under the Bed, so that it was Impossible for such a Body to lye in that Room any where Undiscover'd: the Door of*

the Room being Constantly also with the Key in't, and that Chamber the Common Place for Pen, Ink and Paper, for the Service of the Family: This Enformant also lying there with her Husband and a Child. And that During the Time Aboresaid there was No Dead Body in the said Room, to This Enformants Certain Knowledge.

This Enformant saith further, that upon the Saturday, when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was First Missing, This Enformants Husband being at Cards at the House of Mr. Thomas Cutler, She This Enformant went at about Eight That Evening to fetch her Husband Home, and they went home together Accordingly, This Enformants Husband not going out again That Night.

Elizabeth Hill.

Ann Broadstreet Deposeth, that She this Enformant knew Laurence Hill, a Servant of Dr. Goddens, very well; and that for several Years together, This Enformant Living in the House of the said Dr. Godden, Never knew him to be one Night Missing out of the House: And saith Particularly, that at the time when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first said to be Missing; (being Saturday the 12th. of October) Until the Middle of the Next Week after, Mr. Hill, and his Wife, and his Child, lodged in the very Room, where Prance Affirmed the Dead Body to have been laid. And that the said Room was not Capable of Receiving a Dead Body, beside the Boxes and Trunks that were there before. The Room being found upon Measure to be but Six Foot and Three Inches, Broad; and Nine Foot, wanting Two Inches, Long; there being in it a Bed, a Cupboard-Table; Two or Three Trunks, and several Boxes, under the Bed, and a Little Stool to sit upon.

Ann Broadstreet.

Beside

*Beside the Evidence given upon the Tryal, by Mrs. Mary Tylden, that the Footmen, upon Occasion, were fain to wait in Hill's Chamber, and that she went every Day into That Room for Something or Other ; and that Particularly, on the Sunday, when Sir Edmund was missing, she was in it, and saw No Dead Body there, Tryal, p. 55, 58.*

*Catharine Lee Testifies, That Room of Hills, to have been a Common Place for Footmen ; and that she went into it every Morning, and there was No Dead Body there, p. 58.*

*James Wattier swears, that upon Saturday, the 12th. of October, 1678. coming to his House in the Strand, about Seven a Clock in the Evening he found Robert Green (one of the Pretended Murtherers) sitting by the Fire with his Wife ; and that after that time they did not Part Company till a pretty while After Ten a Clock : And this Warrier's Wife gives Evidence to the very same Effect, which I shall have Occasion to Recite at large in another Place.*

*Thomas Cutler also Swears, That upon the Saturday when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went away from his House, Lawrence Hill, a Servant to Dr. Godden, came to the House of this same Cutler about Four in the Afternoon, and there finding some Company, they went to Whisk, ther being one Mr. Robert Belt, Mr. John Moor, Cutler Himself, and others in the Company ; and that the said Mr. Hill did not stir from Cutler's House till about Eight of the Clock, when Hill's Wife went to fetch him Home.*

*Now this has quite spoil'd the Fashion of Prance's Story of Green and Hill's Dogging of Godfrey from Place to Place, at These very Hours : But a Man can hardly set one Single Step in This Proceeding,*

ing, without a Stumble ; And from the *Monday Night's Remove out of Hill's Chamber*, to the *Twelve-a-Clock-Adventure on the Wednesday Night following*, to *Primrose-Hill*, in the *Face*, and yet out of the *Sight*, it seems, of the *Guards and Watches*, is but the same Unaccountable Foolery all of a Piece.

There was a *Plot* first to make out the *Murther*: To make a *Plot* on't : And *Then*, to throw it up into the Air like a *Paper-Kite*, with *Protestant Religion, Priviledges, Liberty and Property* at the *Tayl* of it ; to set the *Mobile* a *Gaping* : So that it was to be made a *Murther* of the *First Magnitude* ; And they were in *All Conscience, and Reason*, to Assign some *Cause, or Provocation, Answerable* to so *Nefarious a Fact* : And what was This ; but either *Green's Revenge* for Sir *Edmund's* bearing hard upon him about a *Parish-Duty*, as *Prance* has it ; or to Force *Examinations* from him, according to *Bedloe's Project* ; which *Examinations* were Already before the *King and Council*, *Sworn Copies* of them in *several Hands* ; and the *Witnesses* then in *Being*, to swear them over again. Was This a Matter of Moment, to move the *Foundations of Three Kingdoms* ? Or was there ever a more Senseless *Pretext* in Nature, without either *Weight* in the *One*, or *Colour* in the *Other* ? But there was a *Third Reason* yet, which, by the help of a *Popular*, and a *Mercenary Eloquence*, made more *Noise* then the *other Two*. And that was his *Zeal* for the *Discovery* of the *Plot* ; and the *Enmity* he bare to the *Papists* ; when it is yet *Notoriously* known that he believed it a *Sham* from the Beginning, That he took *Tong and Otes* for a Brace of *False Miscreants* ; and that he was so far from being an *Enemy* to the *Papists*, that in *Cases of Need* he did them All the *Good Offices* he could.

And

And now to come to the *Chair-work*. A *Chair* it was, that certainly dropt out of the Clouds for This Particular Service, and went Thither again ; for we do not find that it was either Made a Purpose, or who was the Owner of it ; nor whence it came, nor whether it went at last. Only *Prance* tells us that [they set it in a new House by So-ho, till they came back again, &c. Tr. pag. 20.] And then we are to Imagin a *Tall, Stiff Body* to be Crowded *Into't* ; and then Carry'd off with Ropes to Cut any Man's *Shoulders* to the Bone ; a Brace of *Bearers* to't, that never set one Step in a Chair before ; And 'tis a Thing of *Time* to Break your *Chair-men* to the Work, that they may *March*, and *Trot* together. But the Body is by This Time *Cas'd, Hous'd, Sedann'd, Box'd-up*, or call it what you will. Now the Matter duly Consider'd, the whole Train of the History is but *One Insuperable Difficulty* upon the Heel of *Another*. *Hill* brought the *Sedan*, They put him *Into't* ; and upon a *Hem* in the Queens Court at *Midnight*, *Berry* open'd the *Gate*, fol. 19. In the *Lords Journal*, Dec. 24. It was but *Half the Gate*, and the Single *Wicket* would have serv'd as well too, and with Less Danger of giving the *Alarm*. And this was All to be done, and the *Body* and *Chair-men*, to *Pass Invisibly* too ; for *Nicholas Trollop*, *Nicholas Wright*, and *Gabriel Hesketh*, that were plac'd *Centinels* by *Corporal Collet*, that *Wednesday Night* within the *Gate*, saw nothing of All This ; though *Trollops* stood from *Seven to Ten* ; *Wright* reliev'd him at *Ten*, and staid till *One* ; *Hesketh* reliev'd him at *One*, and staid till *Four*. They all swear to the *Night*, to the *Hour*, to the *Place*, and *Positively*, that they kept to their *Post*, and that there was *No Sedan Pafs'd* out at *Somerset-House that Night*. *Berry's Maid*, *Elizabeth Minshaw*, swears that her Master came Home That Night in the *Dusk*, and was not an Hour Out, 'till he went to Bed about *Twelve*. *Tryal*, pag. 68, 69, 70.

Con-

Consider the *Season* too, when there were Two Plots a-foot at once; One upon the King, and Another upon Godfrey: And a Man could hardly walk the Streets, without being taken for a Suspected Person: And they were to pass in the very Teeth of the *Watch* too: And why so Far, when they went every Moment in Danger of their *Lives*? And the Single Question of *Who goes there?* would have *Hang'd them All*: If they were but met, and *Examin'd*, they were *Lost*: So that wherever they found the Coast Clear, it would have been infinitely more for the Bearers Security, and for the Impostors purpose too, to have thrown the *Body* into the very *Kennel*, before the Gate of the House: Which would have given some Countenance to the *Sham*; or at a Venture, to have left both *Chair*, and *Body* together, Any where in the Open Street to have taken their Fortune.

Would any People in their Right Wits now, ever have sworn such a *Huddle of Inconsistencies and Contradictions*, into the Pretext of a *True History*? where the *Fact* was not only *False*, but so *Easily Prou'd* to be so?

*Hill* was gone abroad to Dog Sir E. Godfrey about Nine or Ten a Clock on Saturday Morning, October 12. 1678. Tryal, p. 17. This is *Prance's Story*: And *Elizabeth Curtis* agrees with Mr. *Prance* Exactly in Point of Time, as Mr. *Attorney Observes*, Tryal, p. 40. And this *Elizabeth Curtis* again, is *Sworn*, and *Examin'd*, Tryal, pag. 38. as Sir *Edmund's Servant*, which was a monstrous great Hazard they ran, to lay the Stress of an *Evidence*, upon her *Priority* to Matters, as a *Servant* in the *House*, when it was *Notorious* that she was never so: But only a *Poor Woman*. that now and then did *Chair-work* for them. Now *Robert How* Swears, That upon That Saturday, *Hill* and *He* were together from about Nine till One, pag. 61, And *Richard Lezenby*

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Confirms How's Testimony, by his Evidence, that they two Din'd with Hill that Saturday. And Lazenby swears again, that upon the Wednesday Night following, he was with him from Five to Seven: And yet this was the Hour that Girald, Green, and Hill had Dogg'd him into St. Clements, Tryal, pag. 20. And so for Elizabeth Curtis, that swears Directly to the Particular Knowledge of Green and Hill, fol. 39. Judith Pamphlin, that liv'd in the House with Sir Edmund, deposeth quite another Matter: And Avis Warrier does very notably Corroborate Pamphlin's Evidence. Pamphlin's Depositio-  
n is This.

*Judith Pamphlin Deposeth, That she This Enformant, with her Daughter; Elizabeth Draper, (or Eliz. Curtis) going to Newgate by direction from Henry Moor, to take a view of Green, Berry, and Hill, (at that time Prisoners there) to see if they could Remember that they had seen These Persons, or any of them, at Sir Edmunds House: she This Enformant did not remember any of them, and the said Eliz. Draper declar'd, at the same time, that she had not seen any of them Neither.*

Now this same Judith Pamphlin that had Liv'd a year and a half in the Family, would have been a frow'd Evidence against Curtis, as well as to many other Material Points then in Question; But she was kept safe enough, from Appearing. Her Evidence as to This Point, however, is most Particularly Confirm'd, by a Passage in a Letter of Hills to his Wife out of Newgate, as follows.

*On the Thursday after I came to This Place, there came Two Grave Men like Justices, to Examine me; they call'd me not a few Rogues, and Order'd me to be Chain'd to Boards; but was set at Liberty in the Night.*

The

The Monday after, they came again, and brought Two Women with them, which I suppose, were Sir Edmunds Servants. At first, when they came, they declar'd they had never seen me in their Lives: and said, it was a Lesser Man, and had Another kind of Face that brought the Letret. So I was sent up, but Immediately sent for down again, and a Barber sent for to Shave me, and when he had done they Whisper'd; what they said God knows; &c.

And then the Enformation of Avis Warrier Deliv'red upon Oath, March 18. 1685. runs in These Words.

Avis Warrier Depoileth, That one Robert Green belonging to the Queens Chappel, came to This Enformants House to Lodge some few days before Michaelmas-day, 1678. And to the best of the Enformants Memory, it was the Fryday before the said Michaelmas-day; And that the said Green Continued a Lodger in the House aforesaid, without Lying out of the House One Night; to the Best of This Enformants Memory and Knowledge; for the Space of about Five or Six Weeks: At which time, there came an Order to This Enformant, to give an account what Lodgers she had in the House, and who and what they were: Whereupon, the said Green Departed from his Lodging; and This Enformant gave an Account of the Rest.

This Enformant being Interrogated, if she remembers, upon what Day it was Reported that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey left his House; maketh Answer, That it was said to be upon a Saturday, that he was first Missing. And being likewise Interrogated, if she rememb'reth that she saw Robert Green above-said, upon the said Saturday. And at what Time, and How Long? And being demanded to give a Particular Answer to These Questions, She did

This Enformant saith, That she did see Robert Green upon the same Saturday, when the said Sir Edmund was said first to be Missing; And that she well remembreth that it was the second Saturday following the Michaelmas-day aforesaid.

And saith further, That she this Enformant Particularly remembreth that the said Saturday was very Rainy, especially toward the Evening; And that about Six a Clock in the Evening, to this Enformants Best Remembrance, the said Robert Green came into the House of This Enformant, very wet; and took off his Hat, and Shuck it to Drain the Wet from it, and hung it upon the Door; The said Green asking for his Wife, and she not being within; be bad This Enformant tell his Wife when she came in, that he was gone to Georges Coffee-house, within Four Doors of the House of This Enformant, whither he went, as This Enformant Believes, and after about a Quarter of an hours stay, return'd to This Enformant again; and about half an hour afterward This Enformants Husband came home. And then This Enformant, with her Husband, the said Robert Green, and Robert Green's Wife, were in Company together, till a Good While after Ten.

And This Enformant being further Interrogated, how she Comes to Remember that Saturday so particularly, after so many years, This Enformant answereth, that she This Enformant remembreth very well, that she had bought Pigeons that very Saturday, that was intended for the Next days Dinner, with the said Robert Green and his Wife. And that hearing afterward the Name of the said Green mentioned, as one of the Murtherers of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, she This Enformant, together with her Husband, and others in the Family, enter'd into a Discourse upon the Matter, while the Time was yet fresh in their Memory, and they all agreed with This Enformant upon the Saturday before mention'd: And that the said Robert Green was in the House of This Enformant, in Manner

as

as is above-said, that very Saturday that Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey was said to be First Missing.

And saith further, That she This Enformant being Subpoena'd by Mrs. Green above mentioned, to give Evidence at the Tryal of the above said Robert Green, &c. to the Effect above-mention'd, there was an Elderly Woman in Mourning, that seeing This Enformant waiting to be call'd in for a Witness, among other Questions, ask'd This Enformant for whom she was to be a Witness? This Enformant making Answer, She did not know whom her words might serve for. And then asking This Enformant where she Liv'd? and being told that This Enformant Liv'd in the Strand, Oh then said the other, you come to give Evidence for my Master; This Enformant asking her who her Master was; the Woman made Answer to This Effect, The Gentleman that is Dead: This Enformant Asked the said Woman in Mourning, herewpon, Whether she had ever seen Robert Green before-spoken of, at her Masters House? Who Answer'd, That he had been twice at her Masters House that Day he was First Missing; This Enformant then bidding her have a Care, for there were Three Mens Lives at Stake, and there might be many more. And that she This Enformant had heard the said Green declare several times, before he was accus'd, that he never saw Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey in his Life. To which the other reply'd, If it was not Green, 'twas Hill.

This Enformant saith further, upon Recollection, that the said Woman in Mourning Describ'd the said Robert Green by wearing a Black Periwig, instead of a Light Reddish Wig.

But then the Fancy of Horsing away the Corps from So-ho to Prim-rose Hill, Carry'd as many Absurdities in the Face on't as ever met perhaps in an action of That

**T**hat Compas. The Body must be First Ply'd for the Chair ; and then made stiff, and freight again, for the Horse. Now either it was stumbling-dark, that it was in Danger of a Tumble every step they sat ; Or if light, in a Greater Danger of Discovery : But for the state of the Moon, My Almanack says, that it was the First Quarter upon Sunday 23. Minutes past 3. in the Morning ; And it was Wednesday Night following, when the Body was Pack'd away. A Man can hardly frame to himself a more surprizing Figure ; or a more Uncouth Contrivance. A Merry-Andrew in fine, or a Scaramouchi could never have Presented any thing more Ridiculous : Over and Above the Almost-Impassable Foulness of the Way ; The Difficulties of Hedge and Ditch, Nay and of finding the very Way to the Place Design'd. A Dead Body Mounted Astride, and a Living Man behind him, Holding him up, with his Hat, his Sword, his Stick, his Gloves, and All his Little Bus'nesses about him : as if they had been rather upon a Freak to fright People with a Fantome, and make 'em Believe the Place was Haunted, then to save their Necks by the Concealment of a Murther : But Whence came This Horse ? Whose Horse was he ? Where did Hill get him ? What Became of him Afterwards ? Prance before the Lords was ask'd the Colour of the Horse, December 24. 1678. And gave This Answer [that though it was Dark, Yet he could Discern the Horse to be a Brown Horse.] And in his Deposition of the Date above, he says likewise of the Sedan, that it was left in One of the New Built houses, and They took it up and brought it home as they came back : But the Horse Disappear'd, it seems, and so did the Chair too After the Jobb was over, for it was never heard of again. Now the Horse had like to have been How's Horse : And thereby Hangs a Story.

L

And

And then, to My thinking, they were Out a Little in their Reck'ning, upon the very Timing of it. They set out at Twelve, and Considering that they were but Young Chair-men ; Ill settled in their Geere's ; a Long Jobb, and a Heavy Burden ; The Ways Dirty, The Night Darks. And, in fine, laying All Circumstances together, they could not be well less then Two hours and a half upon the Way ; And what with the Time spent in fidling about the Body, and setting things to Rights, a Man may honestly Reckon it five a Clock before they got back again. Prance swears that he came home again, so soon as they had Mounted the Corps. Hill was a Horse-back, while Green, Gerald, and the Irish Man were left to bring home the Chair. And why did they bring it home again, to Betray themselves Backward as well as Forward ? They tell us Nothing of Restoring the Chair, as if it had been Borrow'd or Taken by stealth : Neither was the Sedan Ever heard of After That Time : Nor do they Tell us where That same Home was : But the story of the Horse that I was speaking of, Iyes so fit for my Hand in This Place, that it will be VVorth the VWhile to give the Enformation here at Length that I have upon This Subject.

Thomas Whitfield Deposeth, That in or about the Month of March 1680. This Enformant standing at his own Door in Cranborn-street near Leicester-Fields, one William Boyce, (well known to This Enformant) passing by, told this Enformant, that he was Carrying a Couple of Glass-Eyes into the Square, and would be with This Enformant again presently : and within less then half an hour, he the said William Boyce call'd at This Enformant's house accordingly.

And that the said William Boyce, and This Enformant, drank, and smok'd a Pipe together in the Fore-Room

Room of the said House, where, among other Discourses, He asked the Enformant if he had heard of the Difference betwixt him the said Boyce and Miles Prance : This Enformant replying that he had heard Nothing of it : Whereupon, Boyce told this Enformant, that Prance was a Great Rogue : This Enformant telling the said Boyce again, that He the said Boyce knew best, for He had had the Tutoring of him. Boyce going on, to Confirm it, that he was a Great Rogue ; for, says Boyce, Prance and I dyn'd Together, and we did not Part, till betwixt Eleven and Twelve at Night, that very Day that Prance swore He was at the Murthering of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey at Nine of the Clock at Night ; when He was so Drunk, that I'm sure he was not able to Murther a Cock-Chicken.

And that as This Enformant was sitting with the said Boyce in the Fore-Room as above ; One Robert Howes pass'd by into the Kitchin, the said Boyce saying, that he thought he should know That Man : to which This Enformant made Answer, Yes, it may be you May, Boyce asking if he was not a Carpenter ? This Enformant telling him, Yes. Boyce asking again, if he did not belong to Somerset-house ? This Enformant said, Yes, He was one of the Queens Carpenters. Well ! says Boyce ; he may thank me for his Life. This Enformant asking him, Why thank him for his Life ? Boyce Answer'd, that if it had not been for Him (the said Boyce,) Prance would have sworn that it was Howes's Horse that Carry'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey to Primrose-hill.

Upon This, the Enformant went and Call'd Howes out of the Kitchin, into the Fore-Room, and there told him, in the Presence, and hearing of Boyce. Here Howes ; Here's your saver, he that sav'd your Life : for if it had not been for Him, Prance would have sworn that it was Your Horse that Carry'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey to Primrose-hill. My Horse, says Howes ? Why I have

sold my Horse Three Years agone : Boyce telling Howes, that Prance had brought in the said Howes, but for Him.

*The Under-written Robert Whitfield of St. Martins in the Fields, declares upon his Oath, That Thomas Whitfield above mention'd, told the said Whitfield the effect of the foregoing Enformation for so much as concerns the Relation of what past betwixt the said Thoms Whitfield, and William Boyce ; and that he told it to This Enformant about the time assign'd in the aforesaid Enformation.*

To bring this Long Paper to an end at last. *This Part of the Confederacy seems to have been as Weak, and as Short in the Contrivance, and Manage of it, as it was Malicious in the Project ; and there does not hitherto appear so much as One Glimpse of a Probability to keep it in Countenance.* To say Nothing on the other Hand, of the Dying Testimony of Mr. Coleman, Hill, Green, Berry, Harcourt, Fenwick, &c. who did all Declare upon the Faith of Dying Men, that they were Innocent of that Murther. And I cannot Close This Section Better now, then with the Christian, and the Charitable Resignation of Poor Hill, in a Letter to his Wife upon *This Occasion.*

My Dear Wife,

I Recommend you to that Good God of Heaven, who, I hope, will be both a Husband to you, and a Father to my Poor Child ; If you Serve and Love him as you ought to do : And the first Thing you are to do, is Heartily to Forgive him that is the Occasion of my Death ; and not bear him any Malice, but leave the Revenge wholly to God, who knows best how to Revenge the Innocent. This I earnestly beg of you to do, and likewise to Desire all my Friends to pray to God Almighty, that if it be his Divine Will

*Will, that this Little Suffering may Mitigate his Just Wrath  
against me for my heinous Sins.*

We have Proceeded thus far, in so *Full*, so *Clear*, so *Particular*, and so *Faithful* a *Deduction* of Matters, that there's hardly Any thing more Left for a Man to wish for, toward the Satisfaction, either of his *Curiosity*, or his *Judgment*, upon *This Subject*. The *Imposture* from One End to the Other, is made up of *Unlikely-hoods*, *Incoherences*, and *Contradictions*, without so much as One Point in the whole Story that will bear a *Colour*. Take each of the *Witnesses*, *a-part*, and he gives himself the *Lye* to his own Teeth ; Take them *Together*, and they dash one another to pieces. But 'tis to be hoped, that the *Two Principals* were well Seconded as to the *Credit*, both of the *Matter*, and of the *Evidence*; and it will be but *Fair Dealing* to Examine the *Ballance*.

The First Witness that opens upon the Tryal for the *King* (as they call it) as to the Point here in Question, is *Otes* : And the Short of his Evidence is *This, That Two Days after the Swearing of his Depositions*, Sir Godfrey came to him, and told him of *Affronts* he had Receiv'd from some Great Persons for being so *Zealous*, and of others Threatning him for being too *Remiss* : telling him a while after, how he had been Menac'd by several Popish Lords; and that he went in fear of his Life, by the Popish Party, that had been Dogging him several Days, Tryal, fol. 12. The use made of *This Evidence* was to shew that his *Forwardness* in the *Discovery* of the *Popish Plot*, was the Thing that set them on to *Murther* him ; and that he Dreaded Mischief from them *Himself* upon *That Account*. *Ibid.*

Now instead of Sir *Edmund's* being too *Forward*, in *One Page*, he was, it seems, too *Backward* in *Another*; for he told Mr. *Robinson*, *That he took Otes's Examination*

tion very unwillingly, and would fain have had it done by others. And then upon Mr. Robinson's wishing, That the Depth of the Matter were found out. I am afraid (said he) of That, that it Is not. But Discoursing further, he said These Words, Upon my Conscience, I believe I shall be the first Martyr. Now Sir Godfrey's Apprehension was not from the Papists for fear of a Discovery, but partly for incurring the Danger of a Misprision, upon the Concealment of it ; and partly for Another Reason, as will be more Expressly set forth hereafter.

Brown the Constable swears to the Posture they found the Body in ; The Sword, the Bruises, the Neck, the Stick, and the Gloves, and to No Blood in the Witch : And Five Lines Afterwards, That there was No Blood at all when the Sword was taken out ; He does not say [Where] but [When] fol. 36. and so saves himself by the Reservation of Meaning the Witch still ; for he Swears elsewhere, to a Great Quantity of Blood that came Gushing out. But People were over-aw'd, and made the best Shift they could to keep themselves in a Whole Skin. Beside that there lies No Stress at all upon This Testimony.

The Attorney General call'd then for the Surgeons that Kiew'd, and Open'd the Body ; That is, Mr. Skillarn, and Mr. Cambridge, who were both Sworn, fol. 36. This Hint made the Court take it for Granted, that the Body was Open'd, as it ought to have been, whereas it was not Open'd at All, any further, then with a Little Incision to let out some Corrupt Matter : Nay, Skillarn May'd the Godfreys to have it Open'd : and could not get any Answer from them. Mr. Skillarn speaks to the Bruises ; The Distortion of the Neck ; The Two Wounds ; and that there was More done to his Neck then an ordinary Suffocation. If the Wounds had Kill'd him

him, his Muscles would have been Turgid, he says. He observ'd, that Strangled People never Swell. If he had Dy'd of the Wound, there would have been Some Evacuation of Blood, at least, which there was Not; And then again, That the Wound went through his very Heart; and there would have appear'd some Blood, if it had been done quickly after his Death: So that the Main Point in Issue is This, Whether there was any Evacuation of Blood, or No.

Mr. Cambridge speaks also to the Bruises; Two Punctures; His Neck Dislocated; and delivers his Opinion, That the Wound was given him after his Death, fol. 38. but without shewing any Reason for't. Now These Two Evidences are so far from Proving the Strangulation, that if they Prove the Blood, They do, Effectually, give up the Cause.

The next Person call'd for, is Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Maid, Elizabeth Curtis. She knows Green, saw him, and talk'd with him at her Master's, about a Fortnight before his Death; spoke to him in French, which she could not understand, it seems, pag. 38. and yet, swears 'twas French; Swears Positively to the Knowledge of the Man; The Colour of his Periwig: How Long he was with her Master, &c. And then immediately Charges Hill with coming to her Master That Saturday Morning; and Talking in the Parlour with him: She saw him afterward in Newgate; and so she turns it off with a Sleeveless Story of some Body that brought a Note to the House upon the Friday before; and there the Question was very Civilly dropt. Now this is an Oath to go for Nothing, as well as Otes's. For in Taking upon her to know Green and Hill, she's Forsworn upon the Testimony of Two or Three Informations, already Produc'd. I must not pass over a Deposition of this Elizabeth Curtis, or Draper, bearing Date the 8th. of January, 167<sup>2</sup>. before the Lords Committees in the

Council-Chamber, where she swears, [That she Lived off and on for about Six Years with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey before his Death.] This Off and On, must be taken for her Chare-Days, when she came to help Scour the Pewter, or Clean the House; for she never was a Servant in That Family in all her Days.

She Swears further, that Green came to her Master's House a Fortnight before he was Murther'd, bringing with him in his Company, one in a Purple-Colour'd Livery, who stood at the Door; and that the said Green spake to her Master, First, in French, and Afterwards in English. We have No News now of the Purple Livery, in the Tryal; And that which was first in French, and Afterwards in English, in the Council-Chamber, was turn'd Cross at the King's Bench. [Green said, Good Morrow, Sir, in English, and Afterwards spake to Sir E.B. Godfrey in French, Tryal, pag. 38.]

We are to make room now for the *Master and Man at the Plow Ale-house*. Prance swears to a Discourse therewith Green, Hill, and Girald, about the Murther of Godfrey; The House Proves that they had been There together, and the very Meeting Presumes the Design.

Here's the Collateral Evidence that was offer'd, in Favour of Bedloe's, and Prance's Testimony, which I shall Leave fairly before the Reader, to weigh one against the other.

## C H A P. XIV.

*The Extreme Difficulty of Reconciling the History  
of the Murther at Somerset-House, to the Mat-  
ters of Fact as they appear'd in the Ditch at  
Primrose-Hill; and upon the Verdict. The Rea-  
sons of That Difficulty, and how it might have  
been in some Measure Prevented.*

After so many *Several Tales*, and *Those Several Tales*, so many *Several Ways Told* too, of one and the same Thing. After the *Saying* and *Swearing* of That same [Same] Thing, to be done in so many *Several Places*, *Shaves*, and *Manners*; At so many *Several Times*; By so many *Several Methods* and *Persons*, upon such and such *Several Reasons*; and to so many *Several Ends*: It can be no Longer a *Question*, I say, upon the Whole Matter; After These *Diversities*, *Disagreements* and *Contradictions*, Whether the Point in Issue be *True*, or *False*; For *Truth* is *Simple*, *Uni- form*, *Consistent* with it self, and in Every *Line* and *Ar- ticle* of it, *Still*, and *Ever the same*. This is the very *Case*, betwixt the History of the *Somerset-House-Mur- ther* upon *Saturday*, and That of the *Dead Body* that was found the *Thursday* following. They are, without more ado, so *Unlike*; so *Forreign*; Nay so *Contrary*, *One to Another*, in *many Passages* even of the *Greatest Weight*; that they Agree only in the *Name* of the *Ju- stice*; Insomuch, that Supposing Two Sir *Edmund Godfreys*, the Relation might very well Pass for an *Ac- count* of *Two several Persons*.

Now since it is a Thing Utterly *Impossible* to *Unite* *These Variations*, and *Oppositions* in the *same Point*; and to make good *Evidence* to the *VWorld*; of *Those Al- legations*

legations that are Never to be Reconcil'd; I am, in This Chapter, to Ask Beddes and Branges Rardon, for having made such Fools of a Couple of the Kings Witnesses in some Half a dozen Chapters before, as if it had been VVholy Their Fault, that Things and Things Cottont'd No better together; when, in very Deed, Their Present Circumstances, and the Parts they had in the Plot, Duty Consider'd, they were at That Time, Under a Moral Necessity, either of laying themselves open, or of doing Things not to be Done: So, that for want of Well-grounded Presumptions, and Authentique Proofs to move mens Understandings, they were fain to Content Themselves with Dazzling the Peoples Eyes, and Rousing up their Passions, by the most Popular, and Plausible ~~as~~ the Matter would bear. Where the Sham was not strong enough to stand upon its own Legs, the Secrecy of his Majesties Person, and the Protestant Religion; the Honour of so many Parliaments, the Wisdom of the Nation, and the Credit of the Kings Witnesses, were All Called in to the Upholding of it; and the Restless Alarums off Popish Fires, Massacres, and Faggots, were like so many Rods in Riss, for Those Infidels, that had not the Grace to give Credit to a Forgery, so Necessary to be Believ'd. VVhen I speak of the Diffculty of Reconciling the History to the Fiction, in This Present Instance, I do not Mean, that the making a Plausible Impression of it, was a Thing Utterly Impossible, if it had been Attended in Time; though I am very well aware, too, that Falsity can Never Pass for Truth, but for want of Means, and Industry to find out where the Inconciliable Difference Lyes. But the Difficulties to be Treated of in This Place are of Another Quality; and not so much arising from the Contradictions in the Nature of True and False, as Peculiar to the State of Things in That Juncture, and to the Matter in Hand.

The

The Body was found out of Town yonder, in a Ditch ; and the Murther was laid at Somerset-House. The Death of Sir Edmund was made a Murther ; Nay, and a Popish Murther ; as is formerly Observ'd, even while he was yet Alive. Now this could be no other, then an Ominous Foreboding upon a Desperate Melancholy, which he had then upon him. For there was No Talk of any Apprehension he had of the Papists, 'till the very day that he lost his House. We shall speak in Another Place, to the Bus'ness of his Saying, that he should be the first Martyr, or the first Man that should suffer. The Faction had no sooner made a Popish Murther of this Disaster, but it dropt Naturally into the Common Receptacle of All Rogueries, the Pretended Popish Plot. This Occasion lay so fair, for the Hand of the Republican Conspirators, who under Another Pretext, were at that time Designing upon the King, the Royal Line, and the Monarchy it self, that having drawn his Royal Highness, the Queen Consort, and Almost the Late Blessed King Himself into the Confederacy, they thought they could not do better, then to make her Majesties Palace the Scene of the Villany.

This was the Ground-work of the Mock-Tragedy, that Our Knights of the Post, Bedloe and Prance. (Nay, Quo came in for a Snack too) afterward, Play'd their Parts in, upon That Stage. In one Syllable, the Plot Cabal Lodg'd it there, and Bedloe took them at their Word, and Spore to't there; by which Unlucky Blunder, the Project was as good as Curs'd in the Cradle; for when it was once Lodg'd within Those Walls, there was no removing of it, at least, without taking the House for Company. The Story, 'tis true, went off well enough at Volley, for a good while, and pass'd Current among the People, upon Content, without either Weighing, or Computing it : But when they came once to Confront Matters, and to Adjust Things to Things, they

they found themselves Horribly out in their Measures, and that they might as well pretend to bring Heaven and Hell together, as to Tally the Two Stories of Somerset-house and Primrose-Hill. There was the Hat, the Gloves, the Stick, the Sword, the Ditch, the Posture, the Two Wounds, the Bruises, the Fly-blows, the Blood, the Linen Cloth, the Looseness of his Neck, and the Circles about it, &c. Now All these Cases and Accidents were to be Obviated, and Provided for in the Counter-part: As in some sort they were too. There was a Twisted Hankercher and a Crevat to Answer the Linen Cloth: Green to Wring his Neck about: Hill and the rest to Punch him, to Encounter the Bruises, Tryal, fol. 17. Hill, Kelly, and Gerald to run him through with his own Sword, throw him into a Ditch, and lay his Gloves, and other Things upon the Bank, Tryal, fol. 20. to make the Tale Square with the Original. To say nothing of the Risque of Discovery upon the Place, or upon the Way; and the Vanity of so much as Hoping to Prevail upon any Man in his Right Wits, either to Undertake, or Believe so Ridiculous an Adventure. Upon the whole Matter, If People had but taken Half the Pains to Detect, and to Crush this Imposture, that they did to Countenance, and Conceal it, the Cheat could never have stood a Six Minutes Close Examination: For the Witnesses Launch'd out into such a Variety of Circumstances, and Matters, that it was wholly Impossible for them so to Concert their Lessons, as not to lye open to a Hundred Surprises.

It was a kind of Fantastical, if not an Unaccountable Resolution taken, to send the Body away to Primrose-hill, and just to such a Ditch there; A Place that 'tis odds none of the Assassins ever so much as heard of Before; and to give such Orders as they pretend they did, about the Disposing of things with the Body, the Sword, the Stick, the Gloves, &c. Now whether this was History, or

or *Forgery*, let the *World Judge*. But in *Fact*, the *Body* was *there*: So and so *Found*; and, in the *Congruity* of the *Counterfeit*, it must be *thither carry'd*, and so and so *Laid*. The *Distance*, the *Danger*, the *Chair*, and the *Difficulties of the Way* thither, are the *Soberest* part of the *Foolery*. Nay, and by the *strangest Consent of Thought* that ever was heard of, the *Murtherers* Pitch'd upon the very *Place*, upon the *Wednesday Night*, that Sir Godfrey Enquir'd the *Way to*, the *Saturday Morning* before.

There were, in fine, a Number of *Inextricable Difficulties* in the *Way*, as they had order'd the *Contrivance*. But the *Mother-Over-sight*, and in *Truth*, the *Root* of all the *Difficulties*, and *Cross Accidents*, that Follow'd, was the laying of the *Murther* so far at first from the *Place* where the *Body* was *found*. For if they had but Hounded him to *Primrose-Hill*, instead of *Doggging* him to *Somerset-House*, and open'd the *Intrigue* upon the very *Spot*; the *Mystery of This Project* might have remain'd a *Secret to the Day of Judgment*: Especially, having so fair a *Pretence to Look* for him *That Way*: for this was not only known to be Sir *Edmund's Usual Walk*, but he was seen *Going thitherward*, and taken *Notice* of to *Enquire* which was the *way* to *That Place*, *that very Morning*: So that for *Brevities sake*, they should have *Smother'd*, or *Stifled*, or *Strangled* him, or what they would have call'd it else, and *then* have run him through with *his own Sword*, in the very *Ditch it self*, which would have Prevented all the *ensuing Dangers* betwixt the *Cup* and the *Lip*, as they say. If they had gone that way to *Work*, there would have been no need of a *Comment* upon the *Text of Somerset-housc*. The Story of the *Crevats*, the *Pistols*, and the *twisted Handkercher*; the *Water-Gate*, and the *Court-Gate*; the *Plotters*, and the *Quarrels*; the *Stable-yard*, the *Upper Court*, the *Invisible Chair*, and the *Dead Body a-Cock-borse*,

horse, would have been All out of Doors. There would have been no need of *Witch-craft* to cast *Mists* before the *Eyes* of the *Guards*. But in fine, *All these Plunges*, and a *Hundred and Fifty more*, might have been sav'd, and the *VVitnesses* might have brought *Green, Berry, and Hill* as *Cheap* to the *Ditch*; Especially when they had him ( as *Prance* says ) in *Red-Lyon-Fields already*, and have *Sworn* as *trait* to the *One*, as they did to the *Other*; But This was the Fault of the *First Discoverer*. *Bedloe's heart* was so set upon the *Five Hundred Pound*, that he thought of nothing else ; and when the *Word* was once *pass'd*, and the *Charge Rivetted* to *Somerset-House*, there was *No Recalling*, *No Unclinching* of it. But now if he had thought on't tine enough, to have *Order'd* the *Regulation* of This *Murther* in the *Chappel-Gallery* ; and the *Execution* of it about the *White-House*, the *History* might have been kept up to the *Decorum* of a *Probable Truth*. I must not slip the Occasion here of *Obviating* a *Question* that very frequently offers it self in this *Cafe* [ *If this was Sir Edmund's usual Walk, why should he ask the Way to a Place that he knew as well as any body could tell him ?* ] There's no *Divining* upon Men's *Thoughts* ; but since it is certain he knew the *way* ; and no less certain, that he did *Ask* the *VWay* ; and that he did not *Ask* it *Neither*, as *Ignorant* of it, or as *Needing* the *Enformation*. VWhy might not his *Enquiry* be intended for a *Hint*, or a *Light* to People where they should look for him, when they should afterwards come to *miss* him ?

## C H A P. XV.

*Supposing the Murther of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey to have been a Branch of the Popish Plot; (as it was Commonly Reputed) If there was no such Plot, there was No such Murther.*

THERE was a Time, when a *Popish Murther* was Trumpt up for the Proof of a *Popish Plot*; but we are Now as hard put to't for want of a *Plot* to Prove *That Murther*, as we were Formerly for want of a *Murther* to Prove *That Plot*: In short, there's no Reconciling Either of them to it self, *Apart*; or *Both*, *Each* to the *Other*. If there was *No Popish Plot*, There was Consequently *No Popish Murther*; at least upon *That Bottom*: Unless a Man shall suppose a *Branch* without a *Root*; or an *Effect*, without a *Cause*. If there were *No Treasonous Consults*, how should there be *Murderous Practices Grounded upon Imaginary Councils*? The Equity of Otes's Conviction of *Wilful, Malicious, and Corrupt Perjury*, at the King's Bench Bar, Westminster, the 8th. of May 1685. upon the *Jesuits Tryal* in the Busyness of *That Plot*, lyes every Jot as strong, in Parity of Reason, and of Justice, against *Prance* and *Bedloe*, for *This Pretended Branch* of *That Pretended Conspiracy*. They Hang both upon the same String, and whoever Overthrows the *One*, Trips up the *Heels* of the *Other*. That is to say, where the Matter of *Fact* is *False* in the *foundarion*, All *Inferences* from it must be so likewise, in the *Superstructure*: and whatsoever *Bedloe* and *Prance* have Sworn upon a *Plot* where there was *None*, is only the *Seconding* of one *Perjury* with *Another*; For the *Profligate Improbability* of the *Witness Blast's* the *Credit* of the *Murther*, as well as of the *Treason*. I do not say

say but that there might be a *Murther*, and yet *No Conspiracy*: Nay, I say there might be a *Murther Executed by Papists* too; and yet *That Murther not a Popish Assassinate* neither, for I would *Distinguish the Wicked Practices* of some particulars in *All Religions*, from the *Wicked Principles of a Whole Body of Men*, of *This, or That Persuasion*; so that we have a Great Many Steps to make, before we come to a *Resolution upon This Question*. We take it for Granted, *First*, (as we find it upon Record) that *Otes's Popish Plot* was an *Imposture*. *2dly*, That if there was *No Popish Plot*, there could be *No Popish Branch* of it: From whence it will Now Follow, that *Prance* and *Bedloe* are Manifestly *forsworn* in *Every Tittle* of their *Evidence*, that either *Imputes the Murther to the Conspiracy*, or lends a helping hand to the *Confirming of the Forgery*. They *Sware the Murther* into the *Plot*, for the *Sake of the Plot*; Not the *Plot* into the *Murther*, for the *Sake of the Murther*. And though *Bedloe* came in to give *Evidence* to the *Murther*, 'twas his *Swearing to the Plot*, that got him the *gool*. And to make the best on't, his *Perjury* in the *One Case* made him *Incompetent* in the *Other*.

To Sum up All in a Little, (for I am Now about to Close the First Part of This Discourse) *Was Godfrey Murther'd at Somerset-house*, according to the *Depositions of Bedloe, and Prance*, or was he *Not*? What *Inducement* have we to *believe it?* or what *Arguments, or Objections to the Contrary?* As to the *Credibility* of the *Fact in Issue*; There were so many *Contradictions* in the *Watching, and Dogging* of him, in the *Manner of Destroying* him; in the *Concealing, and Removing* of him; in the *Means of Carrying him away*; and in other *Circumstances of Time, and Place*, as Never were heard of in This World from the *Mouths of Two Credible Witnesses*. They Might as well have *Sworn to the Conveying* of him into the *Ditch in a Mist*, or upon a *Broom-*

*Broom-stick*, as in a *Chair*, or on *Horse-back*. *Bedloe* swears against *Bedloe* and *Prance*; and *Prance* swears against *Prance* and *Bedloe*. They swear *One* thing before the *Lords Committees*, and quite *Another* thing at the *Tryals*. Insomuch, that *Light* and *Darkness* might as well have been *Reconcil'd*, as *These Testimonies*, either *severally*, or *One to Another*. In one Word: What shall I need to say more on't, then Effectually is said Already? The *Story* is *Wholly Inconsistent* with it self; never any thing more *Ridiculously Projected*, more *scandalously Arrested*; or, upon Comparing of *Evidences*, more *Impossible* to be *True*. So that here's the First Question of *Sir Godfrey's being Murther'd at Somerset-house*, Clear'd beyond All Dispute, or Contradiction. And Consequently the *End of This My First Part*, *Answer'd*, to *All Intents and Purposes*. For we are not more Certain of any thing, then we are *Morally Sure*, that the *Pompous History* of This *Pretended Villany*, has been, from End to End of it, a *State-Cheat*, and *No other*, then a *Palpable Imposture*.

But some People will not Content themselves perhaps, with a *Negative* upon the *Abuse*; in satisfying the World that he was *Not kill'd* in the *Place*, and *Manner*, as is laid in the *Indictment*; Unless they may receive *Further Satisfaction*, *How*, *Where*, and by *Whom*, he was brought to his *End*. Now This Case Lyes so much in the *Dark*, by what Hand soever it was done, that *Reasonable Collections*, *Inferences* and *Pregnant Presumptions*, are *All* in the very *Nature* of the *Thing*, the *Matter in Question* will bear: But I shall leave the Reader to his own Freedom of *Belief*, or *Judgment*, upon a Fair Report of the Fact, as he shall find it *Impartially Deliver'd* in the *Second Part of This Discourse*.

*The End of the First Book.*



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THE  
MYSTERY  
OF THE  
DEATH  
OF  
**Sir E. B. Godfrey**  
UNFOLDED.

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PART. II.

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C H A P. I.

*The Vindication of Green, Berry, and Hill, upon  
the Ground of Sir William Jones's Law and  
Equity.*

**T**HE Whole Sum of the Matter here in Issue, lies within This Compafs; Either Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murther'd in Somerſet-Houſe, according to the Oaths of Bedloe and Prance, or he was

M 2

Not,

*Not.* Whoever supposes that he *Was*, must take This Along with him, that he was *Murther'd* in Several Places ; by Several Instruments, Ways, and Means, for Differing Reasons, and with Differing Ends, and Designs. And in short, that he was Murther'd One Way before the Lords Committees, and Several Other Ways upon the Tryals of the Pretended Criminals. These Contradictions and Inconsistencies are layd as open as the Day, in the Former Part of This Little History ; and the Witnesses turn'd Naked into the World, without so much as a Fig-leaf to cover their Shame. Nay, and without so much as an Advocate, to Excuse them from a Deliberate, and Wilful Perjury. We are all satisfy'd, they cry, that he was Not Kill'd at Somerset-House ; and that the whole History of it is an Imposture : But it will be a harder piece of Work to make it out, How, Where, and by Whom he Was Kill'd, then How, Where, and by Whom he was Not. Conjecture, they say, is No Evidence, and we have not the least Glimmering of any Light toward the Certain Truth, and Knowledge of This Matter.

The World cannot give a Better Answer to *This Objection*, then what Sir William Jones has put in my Mouth ; upon the Summing up of the Evidence at the Tryal of *That Cause*.

[*Mr. Attorney General.*] My Lord, I shall be bold to say, here is certainly as much Evidence at the Matter as Capable of. It is not to be Expected, that they should call Witnesses to be By, when they do such Foul Facts : so that None can swear directly the Fact, but such a One, as was an *Actor* in't : All Circumstances relating to the Fact, both Before, and After, are made out by Concurrent Testimony. *Greens Tryal, pag. 72.*]

Now

Now if the Matter here in hand be of the *same Quality*, and the *same Secrecy*; (with Sir William Jones's Instance) and supported by More, and by stronger *Circumstances*, relating to the *Fact*, both *Before*, and *After*; Why may not *my Circumstances* go as far toward the *Vindicating of the memory of Three Innocents*, as Mr. *Attorneys Circumstances* did, toward the taking away of their *Lives*? And why may not *my Concurrent Testimonies*, with the Great *Odds of Weight*, and *Number*, do as much toward the *Retrieving*, and the *Establishing of a Truth*, as the *Concurrent Testimony* that Mr. *Attorney* here speaks of, did toward the *Supporting*, and the *Authorizing of an Imposture*? He that *Kills Himself*, goes as *Privately to Work* as Any *Other Man* would do that were to *Kill him*. And if none but an *Actor* can swear Directly to the *Fact*, it were *madness* to require a *Witness* to a *Felo de se*, when there's no *Man left alive to bear Testimony*: And I have This Advantage Over and Above, (as I say) that I shall here set up a *Greater Number of Fairer Likelyhoods*, and *more Pregnant Presumptions of Subornation, and Perjury*; to Supply the *Want of a Point-Blank-Evidence*: And Leave No room for *Doubting* to any *Man*, that would not stretch his Belief further in favour of *Falshood and Oppression*, then to *Assert the Cause of Truth, and Justice*.

The Paragraph above-Cited has so many *Remarkable strokes* in't, that 'tis pity any of it should be Lost, and so I'll go on with it.

My Lord, I must Observe, that it was a Murther, Committed through Zeal to a False Religion; and That Religion was a Bond of Secrecy. We all know his Majesty hath been Graciously pleased by his Proclamation to Propose a Pardon, and a Reward to the Discoverers. And yet almost without Effect; Their Zeal to a False Religion was a Greater Obstacle, then the Proclamation

was an Incitement to the Discovery. And I do believe, if Mr. Prance had not had some Inclination to Change his Religion, You had still been without so Clear a Discovery of This Work of Darkness, as now you have. Ibid.

Here's a Murther Presum'd, upon the Evidence of a False Oath; Religion made the Ground and the Bond of That Murther; And yet at the same Time, Three Other Murthers Design'd, Carry'd-on and Accomplished, upon the Credit of it; beside Innumerable Other Mischiefs that lay out of sight, under the Veil of Hidden Events. The King's Proclamation did, in Truth, fall short of Producing a Discovery; but the Five Hundred Pound Promis'd in't, prov'd a Temptation to a Most Damnable Cheat: (for that was the Lure that brought Bedloe down.) To say Nothing of an Evidence-Proselte: in making Prance's Forswearing himself, to be the Test of his Conversion.. Only once again now, and I have done.

I shall say no more, but Conclude to the Jury, with That saying, that I remember in the Book of Judges (in the Case of a Murther too, though of Another Nature) Judg. 19. 30. (The People said, there was No such Deed Done, Nor seen, from the Day that the Children of Israel came out of Egypt:] And I may say, There was Never such a Barbarous Murther Committed in England, since the People of England were freed from the Yoke of the Pope's Tyranny; And as 'tis said There, so say I, Now, Consider of it; Take Advice; and speak your Minds. Ibid.]

A Man should have been very sure of his Point, before he Laſh'd out into so Bold a Figure; for here is Scripture call'd into his Aid, for the Illustrating of a Forgery,

*Forgery.* Here's *One Notorious Murther*, (in the *False Witnesses*, That is) *Supported*, under the *Colour of Arraigning Another*. And here's the *Actual*, the *Treasonous*, and the *Sacrilegious Murther* of a *Pious*, a *Gracious*, and a *Merciful King*, set in *Ballance*, with the *Futitious Murther* of a *Malancholique Justice*; and found *Light upon the Comparison*. But be it as it will, here's *Case against Case*: And so long as I have the *Authority* and *Opinion* of Sir William Jones on my Side, as to the *Legal Competency* of *Circumstantial and Presumptive Evidences*, I'll make no Difficulty of casting my Reputation upon the *Merits of the Cause*. Only a Word or Two by way of Preparatory, that I may slide Naturally into my Bus'ness.

'Tis out of Doubt, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Dy'd a *Violent Death*; but whether by *Another Hand*, or by his *Own*, is the *Single Question*: Now One of the Two it must be; though Which of them, is not as yet *Determin'd*: If by the *Former*, there must have been some *Notorious Grudge, Quarrel, or Controversie*, whereupon to ground so Mortal a Malice, and Revenge. If by the *Latter*, 'tis no New Thing for a Man that lyes under either the Load of a *Hideous Melancholy*, or the Power of a *Temptation* that he has not Strength to *Resist*, (though otherwise of never so Fair a Life and Conversation) to sink under the *Horror* of his own *Thoughts*, and to *Lay Violent Hands upon Himself*. Now how far any thing of This might appear in the Circumstances of his *Temper and Condition*, is a Point that a Thinking Man would not on either hand wholly pass over without loooking both ways upon This Occasion.

First, as to any Matter of *Grudge, Quarrel, Controversie, or Rancorous Animosity, Private, and Personal*; I cannot Learn that there has been any Thing of This, either *Observ'd, Apprehended, or Suggested*: Nor in

Truth (which was a wonderful Thing) that any of his Family were ever so much as Examin'd to That Point. But in a Word, for want of a Personal Pretence, they have turn'd it to the Spleen of a Party, and Grafted the Murther into the Conspiracy: However; for Colour sake, There were Two Reasons Assign'd; The One, Special; and the Other, General; as the Inducements to This Barbarous Fact. The Former was the taking of Tong's and Otes's Depositions; which (as I have it elsewhere) would not have Signify'd a Single Hair of a Man's Head; if Ten Thousand Lives had depended upon the Matter there Depos'd. The Other Reason was as Groundless as the Former was Frivolous: [The Murther (says the Kings Council) was Committed upon a Gentleman, and upon a Magistrate; and I wish he had not Therefore been Murther'd, because he was a Protestant Magistrate. Greens Tryal, fol. 7. And he was very Industrious in finding out the Principal Actors in this Plot. Ibid. This was the Song in all the Narratives, Pamphlets, and Tryals; That the Papists Murther'd him; and Principally, for the Hatred he bore That Party.

Now This is so Notorious a Mistake, that he Liv'd in a strict Confidence, and Friendship, with Divers Roman Catholiques of No mean Quality, and Character: He was so far from Promoting the Plot, that he took it for a Cheat from the Beginning; Gave his Royal Highness an Account of Otes's Depositions; and so likewise to some Other Men of Honour of the Roman Communion upon the First Taking of them: Nay he was so Tender of any Oppression That way, that upon the bringing of one Mr. Burnet a Priest before him to be Examin'd, and Proceeded against according to Law, Sir Edmund made his Application to Dr. Godden (then belonging to the Queen) about him; told him how it was, and, though at That Time a Stranger to him, desir'd

desir'd him to use what Means he could, either by her Majesty, or by a *Secretary of State*, to Prevent his going to *Prison*; and in the mean while, he Himself would put the Bus'ness off as long as he could.

So that hitherto, there appears neither *Interest*, nor *Provocation*, *Private*, or *Publique*, toward the taking away This Gentleman's Life; but, for want of a more Plausible Pretext, there has been Objected over and over the *Frequency* of his *Exclamations*, that he should be the *First Martyr*; *That he should be the first Man to suffer in the Cause*; and other various Readings upon Words of his to That Purpose, according to the *Relish* of the People's *Fancy*, or *Palate*, that *Heard* them. Now this was an Expression that Carry'd the Best Countenance of a *Favourable Insinuation* of any that they made use of: But there's Nothing said in all these *Fore-bodings*, from what *Quarter* it was that the *Danger Threaten'd* him; only he told *Otes* (if *Otes* does not Bely him) [*That he was in a great Fright, and went in fear of his Life by the Popish Party.* Greens Tryal, fol. 12.] Wherein, *Ote's Sagacity* supply'd a *Dark Text*, (to speak in his own fine way) with an *Elucidating Comment*, worth Twenty of the *Alexandrian Version* of the *Septuagint* that he presented the *Jesuits* with. But why he should be affraid of his *Known Friends*, and of Those that knew him to be *Their Friend*: And why should he be Affraid of the *Papists*, for fear of *Spoiling Their Plot*, when he had Already, so much as in Him lay, *Spoil'd Otes's Plot*, by Discovering the Roguery of it upon the first Instance; Why, I say, the *Papists* should *Murther* Sir Edmundbury Godfrey contrary to all the Rules of *Morality*, *Humanity*, *Gratitude*, *Justice*, and *Common Prudence*; and do All This to *No Manner of Purpose* too; is a *Mystery* wholly *Unaccountable*. We shall speak to his *Exclamations* by and by: But *First* to his *Melancholy*; and *Then*, Leave the *World* to *Judge*,

Judge whether These Ejaculatory Starts, and Apprehensions took their Rise from Splenetic Vapours, or from any Reasonable Fears.

In the Handling of This Subject, I shall Range what I have to say under These Following Heads; and Assign to every Head a Chapter by it self, for the avoiding of either Prolixity, or Confusion.

First, *What Humour was Sir E. B. Godfrey observ'd to be in upon the Morning, and Day, when he last left his House?*

2ly. *What Notice was taken of Sir E. B. Godfrey's Melancholy, before he left his House? And what Opinion, or Apprehension had People of it?*

3ly. *What Opinion, or Apprehension had Sir E. B. Godfrey Himself of his Melancholy before he went away?*

4ly. *What did Sir E. B. Godfrey's Friends, Relations, Servants, and Acquaintance think was become of him, from the time of his going away to the Time when the Body was found?*

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## C H A P. II.

*What Humour was Sir E. B. Godfrey Observ'd to be in upon the Morning and Day when he last Left his House?*

SIR E. B. Godfrey went away from his House in Harts-horn-Lane, upon Saturday Morning, the 12th of October, 1678. People are Divided about the Hour, but most Agree that it was Early. Now from the Time of his Departure, we shall Date the Entrance into our Discourse upon This Subject, and begin with the

Evi.

Evidence of his Clark, Henry Moor; as to Some Passages of That Morning.

**Henry Moor** Deposeth, That he was Sole Clerk to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey for a year and half before his Death; and that after the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had taken the several Depositions of Tong and Otes, he This Deponent Observ'd him to be Under Great Discontent, and in Disorder many times, and wished they had never come to him.

And further This Deponent faith, That between the Hours of Nine and Ten in the Morning, on the same Saturday that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, in the year One Thousand Six Hundred Seventy and Eight, Left his House, He This Deponent was in the Parlour with him, and he bid this Informant help him on with a New Chamblet Coat, which he did; but presently after, Order'd him to help him on with an Old Chamblet Coat, which he told this Deponent would Serve that Day well enough; and Immediately after his said Coat was put on, he went out of the Room, and was going abroad, and at the Gate, going out of the Yard into the Lane, he Suddenly Stopt, and turn'd Himself toward this Deponent, and Looked Seriously upon him, as if he would have said something to this Deponent; and in That Posture he Stood a small Time, but Immediately went his Way, Not Speaking to this Deponent; and after That time He this Deponent never saw him Alive.

There will need no Hand in the Margent here, to bespeak a Note upon the Disorder This Unhappy Gentleman was in upon his Last Farewel to his House and Family: But I could wish the Clerk had been Call'd upon (who is since Dead) to Explain himself upon the Last Words of This Paragraph; where he says, that [After that Time he never saw his Master [Alive.] And

And why not as well that he never saw him after, till he saw the Body at the White-house, or in Hartshorn-Lane, when it was brought home? as that [afterward he never saw him ALIVE. The Stresſ lies upon the Word [ALIVE ;] for Moor acknowledged upon the Examination above, that he had been to look for his Master about Primrose-Hill upon the Enformation of one Parsons, a Coach-maker, who told him that upon Saturday Morning, Sir Edmund Asked him the way thither; Moor Declaring further, [That he was looking for him within a little from the Place where the Body was found.] Now Considering the Distraction that Moor, and the Rest of the Family were in, upon his First going away; and taking Moor's Expression along with it, that he had been Looking for him about Those Fields; It must be Naturally Understood, that he looked for him in Ditches, and Retired Places; unless he should think to find him a Grazing among the Cows, or the Sheep; a Day, Two, or Three after he was Missing: So that in All Likelihood Moor found the Body in the very Ditch, and Covers the Concealment under the Disguise of Not having seen him Alive. I lay no Stresſ upon This; but it may, or it may not be, and no great matter which.

There are Two Enformations of Mr. Cooper, and Mrs. Leeson, that speak to his Ill Humour of That Morning.

*Richard Cooper Deposeth, That He this Enformant well remembreth Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and that he met him in St. Martins Lane, going toward Newstreet, betwixt That and the Crown and Scepter; and that This Enformant saluted him by his Name; and the Said Sir Edmund returning the Civility to this Enformant, saying, Good Morrow, Mr. Cooper. This Enformant's Sister being in Company with him, and one James Lowen, Keeper of Hatfield Park. This was about Eight a Clock in the*

the Morning ; but this Enformant cannot Positively speak to the Certain Day ; only he saith, that he this Enformant did hear the day following, that the said Sir Edmund was Missing, and did not come-in All Night.

And saith, That to the best of this Enformants Memory, the said Sir Edmund was in Black Cloths, Stockings, and Hat, and that he walked with his Cane Dangling before him, and that the said Sir Edmund, having been formerly us'd to speak Freely, and Pleasantly to this Enformant upon all Occasions, this Enformant's Sister took notice of his Change of Humour, and that he spake Melancholy, and Discontented.

Mary Leeson Deposeth, That about Eight a Clock in the Morning (to the best of this Enformants Memory) when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first missing from his House, as this Enformant heard it reported : This Enformant being in Company with Mr. Richard Cooper, and one Lowen, met the said Sir Edmund in St. Martins Lane ; He going up toward New-street, and this Enformant going toward the Strand. This Enformant telling the said Mr. Cooper, There comes Justice Godfrey ; The said Mr. Cooper Answering, So he does ; and Mr. Cooper, when he came up to him, saluting him saying, Good Morrow Sir Edmund ; the said Sir Edmund replying in a Grave, Formal Way, Good Morrow Mr. Cooper : which gave this Enformant Occasion to say, The Justice is Melancholy. Mr. Cooper replying, No, He is Studying.

Mr. Joseph Radcliffe speaks to the Same Point also, and his Wife agrees with him in the same Thought, upon the Humour they observ'd him to be in, about One of the Clock the same Saturday. See the Enformation at Lage, cap. 18.

I have Three Other Depositions that speak to the same Day, and to the same Purpose ; and with them I shall Conclude This Chapter.

*Thomas Snell Deposeth, That He this Enformant had no Personal Knowledge of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey ; but that Living in Holborn, over against Turni-Style, he hath seen a Person often passing by his House into the Red-Lyon-Fields, and hath been told Several Times (but by whom this Enformant doth not remember) that the said Person was Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.*

*He saith further, That upon the Day (as he Remembreth and Believeth) whereon Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first missing, he saw (about Noon as he remembreth) the same Person (as he verily believeth) which he had formerly been told was Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, pass by the House of This Enformant, into Red-Lyon-Fields.*

*And further, That hearing afterward that the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found, This Enformant Reflected upon the Person that he had seen as aforesaid ; and upon the Melancholique Appearance of him, as he pass'd by This Enformants House at the Time aforesaid.*

*Thomas Grundy Deposeth, That He This Enformant walking out towards Hampstead, in Company with Mr. Huysman a Painter, upon the Saturday when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first missing ; being (to the best of This Enformants Memory) the 12th of October, 1678. He This Enformant about Two or Three in the Afternoon of the Day aforesaid, (as he remembreth) Seeing a Tall Person walking alone, towards the White-House near Primrose-Hill, He this Enformant said to Mr. Huysman, there goes Dr. Barwick ; But this Enformant observing him further, told the said Mr. Huysman, that it was not Dr. Barwick : but wondring a little with*

with himself, to see a Person alone thereabouts, This Enformant having often taken that Walk, but very rarely seeing any Body thereabouts before : This Enformant followed him in the same way, at the matter of Twenty Yards distance, for near a Quarter of a Mile ; and observed, that his Stockings were a kind of a Rusty Black, and his Shoes seemed to be Old, and his Coat of a Dark-Couleur'd Mixed Chamblet ( as this Enformant Remembreth.)

And further, That this Enformant going to take the same Walk some Days after, and going by So-ho, this Enformant was there told the First News he had heard of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, being found Murther'd upon Primrose-Hill. Upon which, this Enformant reflected on the Person that he had taken upon the Saturday for Dr. Barwick, and concluded within himself, that the Person whom he first took for Dr. Barwick, was Sir E. Godfrey. This Enformant knowing Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and remembiring that he had seen him in such a Colour'd Coat ; which Struck this Enformant with an Apprehension as he Declar'd to Several Others, that the said Sir Edmund had laid Violent Hands upon Himself.

James Huysman Deposeth, That he this Enformant hearing that the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found, at, or near Primrose Hill ; and that the said Sir Edmund had been missing ever since the Saturday before ; This Enformant reflected upon it, that he had seen a Person in a very Melancholique Posture, and way of Walking, near the said Place, upon the Day when Sir Edmund was reported to have been first missing ; And (as this Enformant remembreth) it was betwixt Two and Three that Afternoon. He was a Tall, slender Man, in a Black or Dark Coat, which this Enformant took to be Chamblet ; This Enformant wondring within himself to See a Person of his Appearance walking in so Lonesom a Place. And

And faith, That this Enformant speaking with one Mr. Grundy, after the Body was found, about the said Sir Edmund, the said Mr. Grundy having been with this Enformant at the Time when they saw the said Person that is above described; He the said Mr. Grundy, and This Enformant, Comparing the Person of the Man with the Circumstances of the Day, the Place, and the Appearing Sadness in the said Persons Gate and Motion, did Joyntly Agree in an Apprehension, that the Person above Described, and whom they had seen Together as aforesaid, was Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. And that this Enformant going afterward to the White-house, Asked the Woman of the House, Whether Sir Edmunds Body had been brought Thither, and if any Bloud came from it; the said Woman Answer'd This Enformant, that it was Laid there upon the Table, and that the Bloud Dreyned from the Body into the Cellar; and that Clots of Bloud were found about the Body, to the Best of This Enformants Memory.

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### C H A P. III.

*What Notice was taken of Sir E. B. Godfrey's Melancholy before he went away from his House; And what Opinion, or Apprehension People had Concerning it.*

This Topique is the very Hinge of the Main Question. There's a Great deal to be said upon't; And I shall rather Adventure to be thought Tedious, then to fall short in any thing that's very Particular, and very Material; for it is not with such a Tryal as This, in a Book, as it is with a Tryal at Bar in a

Court

Court of Justice ; Where All that's over and above a Legal Competency of Witnesses for Probity, and for Number, is Burden som and Superfluous, and only so much Idioty, or Time thrown away. Now I am not in This Place to contend with Rules, and Forms of Law and Equity ; but Common Fame sits Judge of the Controversie, while Reason is to be Try'd by Noise, and Prejudice. So that I must, both in Necessity, and in Discretion, make use of All Honest Aids to my Advantage, though I prove the same thing over and over again, by Twenty several Hands, in as many several Ways ; and so, as to leave no Place for Prepossession : For when Men of All Sorts and Conditions ; Men of Several Qualities and Persuasions ; And Men of Credit, in fine, of what Judgment soever ; When All These, I say, shall agree, as with One Voice, to the Truth of what I deliver ; I have no more to Ask, but the Readers Patience for a Candid Report of the Fact ; and Every Man then is at Liberty to make his Own Inference : We shall now Begin our Remarques upon the Eve to That Fatal Saturday before mentioned.

Mr. Richard Wheeler of St. Martins in the Fields, Deposeth, That upon Friday, October 11. 1678. being at a Vestry in St. Martins, Sir E. B. Godfrey, who was commonly the Mouth of the Bord, sate Leaning, with his Face upon his Hand, without a Word speaking, saving that he once Lifted up his Head, and Uttered These, or the like Words [That will not do.] Captain Bridal being there present : That the Company Adjourn'd from thence to a Tavern, where, upon Discourse of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, it was Agreed, that he Was not, or had not been Well ; his Countenance, and Behaviour being very much Alter'd.

Mr. Joseph Radcliffe gives an Account of a *Hu-mour* of his at Mr. Weldens in York-Buildings, That very Night after the rising of the Vestry. See it at large, Cap. 18.

Mr. Edward Birthy Deposeth, That about Four or Five in the Afternoon of the Friday Next before the Saturday that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was First Missing. This Enformant, with his Wife, and Another Person since Dead, going to Cross the Street from the Red-Lyon-Inn in Drury-Lane, saw Sir Edmundbury Godfrey walking down Drury-Lane to the Strand-ward, Close by the side of the Kennel, looking still upon the Ground, seeming to be Extremely Pensive, and Melancholique.

And that as This Enforrant was just about to Pass the Kennel, He this Enformant with his Company stopt, till Sir Edmund might go by, who happened to be Passing, just at That Place ; this Enformant saluting him with his Hat ; as being very well known to him : Whereupon, the said Sir Edmund made a very strange, and a sudden Pause, Setting one Foot forward with a stamp, Catching hold of the Brims of his Hat, as if he were to look at something, and star'd this Enforrant in the Face a while, without a Word speaking : This Enformant and the Company Passing by him while he stood in this Posture, and so continued a little while after, This Enformant observing the said Sir Edmund to continue his Course by the side of the Kennel, 'till This Enformant and his Company went out of the Lane into a Little Alley, a good Way from thence. This Enformant telling his Company there-upon, This is Sir Edmundbury Godfrey ; This looks strangely ; Pray God Bless him, or to that Effect. This Enformant being at that Time much Troubled to see him in such

such a Disorder; and the Company at That Time making the same Reflexion upon it.

Mary Gibbons, Junior, Deposeth, That Judith Pamphlin (who lived in the House with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.) told this Enformant, that Sir Edmund was the most Melancholique, Alter'd Man of Late that could be; and how upon the Day before he was Missing, he brought down, in a Great Discontent, as many Papers as she thought would fill her Apron, and threw them into the Fire.

Mrs. Gibbons, the Mother, saith also, That Mrs. Pamphlin told her, that Sir Edmund had been so very Discontented, and out of his Ordinary Temper of Late, that he Quarrel'd with his very Band: Saying further, That the said Sir Edmund was in so great a Disorder the Friday Night before he went away, that he Tumbled over his Drawers, and Trunks, and burnt as many Papers as her Apron would hold.

To pass a short Reflexion now upon the Matters above; His Disorder at the Vestry was Manifest; The Wildness of his Discourse, and Actions at Welden's, seem'd to Point Directly at what Follow'd. His Behaviour in Drury-Lane was as Freakish as any of the Rest; and as much Wondred at, by Those that were meer Strangers to him. It must be Somewhat Extraordinary too, the Account that Pamphlin gives of Burning his Papers. And it was as Extravagant Perhaps as any thing else; his odd manner of coming to my Lady Prats That Day, and behaving himself at a rate, to put the whole Company in Amazement. This was the Action of Friday: But now to look further back a little:

Mr. Thomas Wyllyell Deposeth, That having many Occasions of Bus'ness with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, as well at the Enformants House at Cranbrook in Essex, as at the House of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, in Harts-horn-Lane in the Strand: He this Enformant took Notice many Times, that Sir Edmund was very much Disorder'd and Troubled in his Mind; and particularly, some Two or Three Days before this last Appointmeat, (i. e. of Dining together that Saturday.) Informeth, that this Enformant did often Reason the Matter with the said Sir Edmund; and use all the Means, and Arguments he could, to remove that Extreme Sadness, and Melancholy that he Labour'd Under. The said Sir Edmund still persisting in That Disconsolate Temper of Mind; and often expressing the Deep Sense he had of the Unhappiness of his Condition, and that he had not Long to Live.

Captain Thomas Gibbon Deposeth, that about Ten of the Clock in the Morning, upon the Thursday before Sir E. B. Godfrey left his House, the said Sir Edmund having sent for the Wife of this Enformant, who could not at that Time leave her sick Muther: He this Enformant went into Harts-horn-Lane, to the said Sir Edmund, whom he found by his Dress, Looks, and Actions, to be in great Disorder. And this Enformant finding his Company Uneasie to the said Sir Edmund, soon took his Leave, and returning home to his Wife, he this Enformant told her his Thoughts of Sir Edmund; Expressing Great Trouble for his Condition, the said Sir Edmund being This Enformants Particular Friend.

Mary Gibbons, the Daughter of the Captain above-nam'd, Deposeth, That some Few Days before Sir Edmund was Missing, the Father of This Enformant told her, that he had been to Visit Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and

and that he found him in so great Disorder, that he was affraid he would make some Attempt upon Himself, as his Father had done.

Mary, the Wife of Captain Thomas Gibbons, Depo-  
feth as above, and tells of a Remarkable Extravagance  
of Sir Godfrey, at her House the Tuesday was Senight  
before he went away, of which we shall speak more  
particularly in the Last Chapter of This Book.

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## C H A P. IV.

*What Opinion or Apprehension had Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Himself of his Melancholy before he went away? And what was it that made him use That Expression so often, I shall be the First Martyr; Or, I shall not Live Long.*

Mary Gibbons, Senior, Depofeth, That she observed Sir Edmundbury Godfrey very Sad and Pensive, some time before his Death; and that the said Sir Edmund hath lamented his Condition to this Enformant, saying, [Oh! Cozen, I do inherit my Fathers Deep Melancholy: I cannot get it off. I have taken away a great many Ounces of Bloud, but I cannot get the Victory. These Words, or Words to this effect, the said Sir Edmund hath spoken very many times, saying, I am best Alone; I cannot get off This Melancholy; and the Like Expressions.

And says, that not long before his Death, he being Ill, Sent for her to make him some Jelly, and that a Day or Two after, she going to Visit him, she found him drinking Whey with Brown Bread in it; and then she said to him, Sir,

I make Jelly for you one Day, and you Drink Whey another. Oh Cozen (*said he*) throwing the Pot one way, and the Spoon Another) My Fathers Dark Melancholy hath Seized me; It is Hereditary, and I cannot get it out of me.

*Mary Gibbons the Yonger Deposeth, That this Enformant hath heard Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, not long before his Death, say, that He Inherited his Fathers Melancholy, and that he had been let Bloud, but it did him no Good.*

*William Church of the Inner Temple, Gent. Deposeth, That this Enformant was very well acquainted with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey for many Years before he Dy'd. And that the said Sir Edmund coming often to Richmond, had Lodgings there within Four or Five Doors of the House of this Enformant; where this Enformant observ'd him to walk much Alone, and to shun the Company of the Gentry thereabouts: And this Enformant taking Notice that the said Sir Edmund did usually exercise himself upon the Bowling-Green with Ordinary Company; sometimes with Mr. Gofton's Footman; at other Times, with the Man that helps to Roll, and Make the Ground: And this Enformant meeting him, did ask him the Reason, Why he did not afford this Enformant, and the Gentry of the Town his Conversation, but kept Company with Footmen and Ordinary Fellows, which were a Scandal to him.. To which the said Sir Edmund Reply'd, That Company was very Irksom to him; That he Bowld and Exercis'd with those mean People, that he might run up and down, and do what he would, to divert Melancholy, for he was so Overpower'd with Melancholy, that his Life was very Uneasie and Burdensome to him.*

*The Substance of the Enformation above, hath run much in the Mind of this Enformant, and he hath upon several Occasions, and for several Years past, in Publicke Places made*

Made the same Observations; and spoke to the same effect, of what he here Delivers. These Expressions of the said Sir Edmund (to the Best of this Enformants Memory) were about a Year before he Dy'd.

I shall Force Nothing beyond the Genuine Signification and Import of Words, and Actions, in the Simplicity of their Meaning. Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was too well acquainted with the Dismal State and Effects of his Fathers Melancholy, to lay such an Emphasis upon his Own, as still to call it Hereditary; and at the same time, not to have Other Apprehensions about him then the Fear of being Murther'd by the Papists. There were No Tong's, nor Otes's in his Fathers Days; No Whole-sale Narrative men to deal for Treason by the Gross; and yet so often as he found himself in any Extraordinary Distress, and Anguish of Thought, it was still his Fathers Melancholy, that he Inherited; That Dark Melancholy, as he calls it; and nothing but the Instance of his Fathers Melancholy would serve him for the Illustration of his Own. This was sure a very Unhappy President, for him to Copy out the Resemblance of his Own Distemper by; for I find it Asserted upon Oath, by Mrs. Gibbon (and No Body knew the Family Better) that the Father of This Miserable Gentleman (though otherwise a very Good Man) was so Overcome with Melancholy, that he attempted several Times to kill Himself; that she had seen him Bound in his Bed; and that in One Fit of Distraction, he wounded three of his Children, almost mortally, with a Cleaver. This, in Substance, is Confirm'd by many Others; And I could carry it further, but it is a Calamity to be Compassionated; and even This alone would have been too much, if the Necessity of the Case and of the Argument had not Required it. He says, *He was afraid of his Fathers Melancholy;* and this is only to shew what kind of Melancholy it was that he was

afraid of. Harry Moor, the Clark, speaks of the Father to the same effect.

To bring my Matters Now a little Nearer, If it be True, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Dy'd a violent Death; and Certain, that He was Kill'd, either by Some body else, or by Himself; If No Animosity Private, or Publique, appear'd to make it either a Personal Act, or the Malice of a Conspiracy: Nay, and that the Gentleman was Manifestly a Friend to That Party, which the Faction would perswade the World he had so much reason to be afraid of; it will be as hard to Believe at Last, that This Gentleman Dy'd by the Hands of Papists, as that he Dy'd the Somerset-House-Way; which is as Impossible to be True, as that Fire and Water should Joyn in one and the same Body, to Drown and Burn the World, Both at Once.

I shall Leave it now to the Reader to Consider, that if he did not Dye by Other Hands, he Dy'd by his own; and if there was No Likelyhood at all, of his being Cut off by the Papists, whether there was any Ground or Not, to fear he might be Destroy'd by his Melancholy. Or in fine; Since of Necessity it must be One of the Two; Whether of the Two was yet the more Probable.

But People are still at a Los, they say, how to bring him off from That Ordinary Ejaculation of his, that upon all Discourses of his Uneasiness and Trouble of Mind, was itill the Burthen of the Song. Mr. Robinson (afterward Sir Thomas) gave Evidence [ as I have Noted ] at Greens Tryal, of a Discourse he had with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and of Sir Edmunds speaking These Words to him: [ Upon my Conscience I believe I shall be the first Martyr, Tryal, pa. 14 ] In short, Mr. Wynnel, Captain Gibbons; his Wife; and Daughter, Coll. Welden, ( and indeed who Not) have heard him speck Many and Many a Time to the same Effect. Now 'tis a Strange Thing, if he reckon'd him-

himself in Danger from the *Papists*, that he should never so much as Mention This but to *Otes*; Whose very *Oath in the Affirmative*; Blasts the Credit of the thing he *Swore to*: Especially, as it was Hook'd in to serve the Turn of his *Plot*. A man might very well Content himself, after what is said Already upon the *Ambiguity of This Expression*, and the *Weakness of laying more Weight upon't then 'twould bear*; to Pass over the *Question without any more ado*. But yet though it may seem a Thing Wholly *Frivolous*, to *Reason upon*, there is somewhat in it however, upon the Point of *Curiosity*, that may Deserve a Place in This Account of Things, though but for *Common Satisfaction*.

Upon taking *Tongs* and *Otes's Depositions*, upon Sept. 28. 1678. (though very Unwillingly, as appears over and over Already) Sir Godfrey reflected upon it, that he had made *No Formal Discovery of the Pretended Treason*; and finding now that the Bus'ness was come to be *Publique*: the Matter being then brought before the *Council*, he came to be Every day more and more Sensible of the Danger of the Misprision, and not without Several *Hints*, by the *By*, that he was like to be call'd to an *Account for't*, There being near a Month *Past*, from his *First Enformation*, Sept. 6. without any *Regular*, or *Effectual Notification* of the Matter: And he was the More Frighten'd upon it, for the *Disservice* that he did to the *Design of making a Plot on't*: for he never Believ'd one Word of the *Story*; and told All People as much, where he thought he might Safely Declare Himself. So that the *Martyrdom* he fear'd, was the being made a *Sacrifice to the Faction*. He was *Sufficiently Sensible* how Greedily the *Multitude* swallow'd This Bait of a *Plot*; what *Labour* was us'd to make a *Parliament Cause on't*: And how Heartily Dispos'd the Majority, even of That *Parliament*, were, to -

En-

Entertain All Colourable Suggestions, under so Popular a Pretence. It must be added now, that This Terrible Parliament it Self was to meet upon the 21<sup>st</sup> of That October: So that Sir Edmund had but a Matter of Three Weeks Time to Consider on't. There was an Unlucky Circumstance More too, in the Kings going to New-market upon the Second of That October; When the Faction had Effectually the Shuffling, Cutting, and Dealing of their own Game; and All things working toward a Common Ruine. There never was a Concourse of more Critical, and Mortal Accidents toward the Ruine of One Poor Justice of Peace, then met upon This Single Occasion; Adding to All the Rest an Hereditary, and an Inseparable Melancholy to Work upon; a Melancholy that he Complain'd of long before These Depositions came into the World; as is Set forth already in the Depositions of Mr. Church: But upon the Whole Matter, however, the Last day of his Life was the 12<sup>th</sup> of October: The 15<sup>th</sup> Day from the bringing of the Plot before the King and Council; and the 9<sup>th</sup> from the Meeting of the Parliament.

This was the Pinch of his Condition; His Case lay Open to the Worst of Constructions, and he was Morally Sure that his Enemies would make the most of any Advantage against him. The Man was No Fool; and his Head as well as his Humour, lay for Practice and Bus'ness: And who knows if he had Liv'd 'till the Meeting of the Parliament, Whether he should not have been brought in as a Party to the Conspiracy, rather then for a Bare Misprision? For his Royal Highness was made the *Causa sine qua non*, of the Plot it self; and the Communicating of These Enformations to the Duke of York, would never have been Forgiven him. To Conclude, if he had Surviv'd, he should, in All Likelihood, have Suffer'd the Law as a Popish Traitor; Whereas, by This Intervening Disappointment,

ment, he has pass'd now these several years, for a Protestant Martyr: So that in Truth, the Parliament were the Papists that He Fear'd; which agrees with an Enformation above-mentioned of Mrs. Gibbon, Deliver'd upon Oath, to a Secretary of State, long before ever I saw the Face of her. See the Particulars of This Relation, Cap. 20.

Mr. Wynnel Deposes as Follows; That going toward Mr. Goodwins (a Councillor at Law) with Sir E. B. Godfrey, about the Time of the Lords Commitment to the Tower; The Enformant was telling Sir Edmund, that the Lords could not be such Fools as to Think of such a Thing; or What Power had the Pope, in such or Such a Case? Sir Edmund Replying, No; He has None: The Lords are as Innocent as You or I: Coleman will Dye; but not the Lords. To which This Enformant said, If so, Where are we then? Sir Edmund Replying, Otes is Sworn, and is Perjur'd. This Enformant bad him then Speak the Truth, and tell the Meanning on't. [ Why (says Sir Edmund) Consults about a Toleration; Nothing against the King; but there is a Design upon the Duke of York; and This will come to a Dispute among them. You may Live to see an End on't, but I shall not.

Mr. Wynnel says further; That upon his asking Sir E. B. Godfrey some time why he was so Melancholy; his Answer has been, that he was Master of a Dangerous Secret, that would be Fatal to him: That his Security was Otes's Deposition, that he the said Otes had first Declar'd it to a Puplicque Minister: And 2ly. That he came to Sir Edmund by His Direction.

I could add More Instances, but This is a Redundance purely Superogatory; for the Case is Clear without it.

## C H A P. V.

*What did Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Friends, Relations, Servants and Acquaintance think was become of him, from the time of his going away, to the Time when the Body was found?*

**R**ichard Adams Senior of Lincoln's Inne, Esquire, Deposeth; Octob. 4. 1684. That upon the Saturday Morning, betwixt Six and Seven, being the Day (as he conceives) whereupon Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first Missing; He This Enformant went to the House of the said Sir Edmund, and Enquiring for him, received Answer, from some of the House, that he was gone abroad Early in the Morning: and so This Enformant went from Thence to Westminster, from whence he Return'd, and call'd at the House of the said Sir Edmund toward Eleven the same Day, and Enquiring for Sir Edmund again, the People of the House seem'd to be in Great Consternation; which gave Occasion to This Enformant to Enquire what the Matter was, receiving for Answer, that they had Cause to fear that he was made away.

Mr. Thomas Wynnell Deposeth; that having been Intimately acquainted with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the said Sir Edmund made a proposal to This Enformant (as on the behalf of a Friend) for the buying of some houses of this Enformant's in Brewers Yard: And they proceeded so far upon the Agreement, that they applyed themselves, by Consent, to Mr. Goodwin a Councillor at Law, then living near the Temple-Gate, to draw up the Conveyance between them: and appointed to Dine together at one Collonel Welden's in York-Buildings, on the Saturday

turday the 12. of October 1678. To the best of This Enformants Memory; Intending, after Dinner, to go to Council together to finish the Writings.

This Enformant saith further, that coming to the Place and not finding Sir Edmundbury Godfrey there, he desired Collonel Welden to send his Servant to his house for him; it being then past Twelve a Clock at Noon. The Servant went to call the said Sir Edmund, and brought word back that he was not at home: After which, this Enformant staid for some time Expecting him; and then told Welden that he would go himself to his house, Whether this Enformant went accordingly.

And saith further, that he This Enformant coming towards the Door of the house, saw the Maid-Servant of the House (an Elderly Tall Person) Leaning upon the Rail without the Door: and the Man-Servant (which he took to be his Clerk, and his Name, Moor) Leaning against the Door-Post: And both of them appearing to This Enformant sad, and surpriz'd.

This Enformant did then Demand of them where their Master was; or whether he was at home or No? To which they, or one of them made Answer, that he was gone out about two hours before; This Enformant asking them whether he was gone, it was Answered, that they could not tell: Whereupon, This Enformant said to them, Your Master Promised to Dine with me to Day at Collonel Welden's, Will be not be There, think Ye? To which the Man replied, Truly he could not tell. Upon This the Enformant bad the Servant tell his Master when he came in, that he was gone to Collonel Welden's, and Expected him There, according to his appointment. To which the Man Answered, Ay Sir, when I see him, so I will. There appear'd to This Deponent so much Disorder in their Countenances; Their Manner of speaking, and their Behaviour, that it made an Impression of Heaviness upon him.

Here-

Hereupon the Enformant went his way, and in less then an hour return'd to Welden's, and told him he could not find him, and they had best go to Dinner; for they said he was gone out, and No body knew where he was.

Sir Edmund's Clerk remembers Mr. Wynell's Enquiring for his Master, as above.

Mr. Thomas Buttier Deposeth, That He This Enformant hath often heard Mr. Thomas Wynell speak of the very Great Melancholy, and Disorder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey for some short time before he left his House; and particularly, that upon the very Morning that Sir Edmund went away, Mr. Wynell calling at his House, saw a Servant, or Servants of the said Family, in a very sad, and Disconsolate Appearance, at the said Sir Edmund's Door, which gave Mr. Wynell an Apprehension, as if some Great Mischief had Befall'n the said Sir Edmund.

Mary Gibbon the Elder Deposeth, That upon the Sunday, the Day after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went from his House, Mrs. Pamphlin came to This Enformant, and Weeping, asked her where Sir Edmund was.

Upon Monday (the Day following) the Two Brothers of the said Sir Edmund came to This Enformant's House, and Enquired for their Brother; telling her, that he din'd with her the Day before, and lay there all Night: Mr. Michael Godfrey saying, I am sure he is here; This Enformant Declaring that he was Not; and why should she deny it, if it were Otherwise? The Brother hereupon ask'd This Enformant when she saw him, and what Discourse they had? so This Enformant told them of his Locking himself up, and of his Discourse; and how much he was out of Humour: Upon the Hearing whereof, Mr. Michael fell to stamping, and Crying-out, O Lord! We are Ruin'd, What shall we do? The Brother

Brother Benjamin lifting up his eyes ; Wringing his Hands ; and breaking out into Exclamations : What will become of us ! This Enformant asked them then what the Matter was ! they said [Nothing.] But they said he was not at Church, and so they thought he might have been with Her, telling This Enformant also that she should bear More.

Henry Moore Deposeth, That his Master not coming home That Saturday Night, he went Early the Next day, being Sunday Morning, to the House of Mr. Michael Godfrey, to acquaint him with his Masters Absence ; whereupon the said Mr. Godfrey brake out into This Expression : [ God have Mercy upon us ; I pray God we hear good News of him . ]

Let any Man Consider now, upon what Apprehension it was that the Brothers should be so Transported upon the Story of This Extravagance of the said Sir Edmund. It will not be said, I hope, that This Wild Behaviour of his was a Symptom of any Danger he lay in from the Papists.

Mary Gibbon Junior Deposeth, That some Day betwixt Sir Edmund's Leaving his House, and the finding of the Body, she This Enformant saw the Two Brothers of Sir Edmund come into her Fathers House ; but she did not hear their Discourse : only This Enformants Mother told her afterwards, that upon some Discourse with them of the Strange Behaviour of their Brother a Matter of Ten Days before, they brake out into Exclamations, Crying out, they were Ruin'd ; What should they do ! What would become of them !

Mary Gibbon Senior further Deposeth, That on Tuesday Morning, the Enformant came to the House of Sir Edmund

Edmund, where she found Mrs. Pamphlin Crying, and saying, We shall never see Sir Edmund More: And asking her what was become of him, she said, she durst not trust her.

And further saith, That about a Fortnight after the Burial of Sir Edmund's Body, Mrs. Pamphlin came to This Enformant, saying, It is a very sad thing that I should not be examin'd about the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey: This Enformant telling her, the said Pamphlin; If you do know how he came by his Death, and do not discover it, you will be Damn'd to All Eternity: The said Pamphlin replying to this Effect; If his Clerk and I were Examined upon Oath, we could say a Great Deal, which I will not do Voluntarily; but if I be put to my Oath, I will speak what I know. The Clerk knows more then you can Imagin, This Enformant wrote down some Notes of what Mrs. Pamphlin said, which were Deliver'd (as this Enformant believeth) either to the Lords Committees, or to the Earl of Shaftsbury. This Enformant well Remembreth, that Mr. Pamphlin took Notice to her of Sir Edmund's being much out of Order some Weeks before his Death.

Captain Thomas Gibbon Deposeth, That upon the Munday after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went away, he went to Collonel Weldens, and asked him what he thought of Sir Edmund? Whose Answer was, I Dare not tell you my Thoughts; for I have observ'd him to be much out of his Ordinary Temper, ever since his Examination of Otes: This Enformant telling his Wife, what he had heard, at his Return.

This Enformant went the Day Following, to Sir Edmund's to know what News; where Mrs. Pamphlin said, that She could not tell him, but bad him go into the Kitchin, where the Clerk was, and he would tell him more.

Mary

Mary Gibbon Junior, Deposeth, That after Sir Edmunds Dead Body was found, and that in the Time betwixt the Burial of the said Sir Edmund, and the coming in of Bedloe, and Prance ; and before any News of a Discovery how he came by his Death ; the said Pamphlin, came to the House of This Enformants Father, and was saying, How strange a Thing it was that she should not be examin'd ; For I was warn'd (said she) as well as Moor, and Curtis, and they were examin'd ; and I was not : Pamphlin telling her this Enformant, that they were not willing she should appear ; Meaning, as this Enformant understood her, the Relations of Sir Edmund ; but the said Pamphlin told this Enformant, that upon a Second Warning, they agreed that she should Appear ; but bad her speak sparingly ; and telling her, that she might safely swear, That the Pa-  
pists had Murther'd him. This Enformant was at that Time waiting upon her Grandinother in her Death-Sick-  
ness, who after the Departure of the said Pamphlin, spake to the Enformant to this effect, [Mrs. Pamphlin has made such a Discourse here, that I think you are bound in Conscience to enform a Magistrate of it ; for I am Confident Sir Edmund kill'd Himself.] This Enformant Inclining also to have some Justice of the Peace acquaint-  
ed with it.

And this Enformant well remembreth, that the said Pamphlin asked her, [If Sir Edmund has Murther'd himself, d'ye think he is damn'd ] which she this Enfor-  
mant much wondered at ; there being no occasion given for such a Question : So that this Enformant asked the said Pamphlin thereupon, Why d'ye say these Things to me ? You frighten me ; If you know any thing your self, you ought to discover it to the Next Magistrate. To which the said Pamphlin made Answer, Let Old Moor be examin'd with me, and I'll say what I know ; for

I have no reason to run my self voluntarily into an Inconveniency : for you know I have a Dependency upon the Brothers, (*which this Enformant understood to be a Pension*) and I am loth to Anger them : But if I be compell'd, I'll speak what I know. *This Enformant telling her again, That if she knew any thing, she might be examin'd in such a manner, as it might appear a Force upon her : For there was a Severity or a Persecution that lay heavy upon a Suffering People ; and she did not know what Inconveniences might follow upon it.*

*Judith Pamphlin Deposeth, That soon after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's withdrawing from his House, this Enformant heard the Wife of Sir Edmund's Clark say, Oh ! That ever it should be said that such a Man as Sir Edmund should Murther Himself ! This being spoken some Days before the Dead Body was found.*

*William Fall, Gent. Deposeth, That at the Time when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing from his House, and to the best of this Enformants Memory, before the Dead Body of the said Sir Edmund was found ; the Two Brothers of the said Sir Edmund, Merchants in London, came several times to the Lord Chancellor Nottingham's House in Queenstreet, to speak with his Lordship.*

And faith further, *That the Enformant enquiring of his said Brothers, what was become of Sir Edmund ? He this Enformant apprehended by their Discourse ; that they were in some Apprehension that he had made himself away.*

To say Nothing of Mr. Grundy, Mr. Huyfman, Mr. Birtby, and Mr. Snells Reflexions, as appears, expressly in their Enformations so soon as ever they heard the

the Body was found, upon the Melancholique Walk, and Actions of the Persons, the last Time they saw him.

## C H A P. VI.

### *What Endeavours were Used to lay the Death of Sir E.B. Godfrey upon the Papists.*

They began early to lay the Foundation of this Imposture, by dealing it up and down among the People, that somewhere or other Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murther'd by the Papists: But sometime it was at One House, sometime at Another; and they were as much Puzzled at First, with the Shifting of the Story from This Place to That, as Bedloe and Prance were afterward, with the Removing of the Body; but there was no Confidence, or Industry wanting however toward Preparing the Multitude to swallow the Cheat: As will appear by the Following Enformations.

*Mr. Thomas Wynell Deposeth, That enquiring of Mr. Welden for Sir E. B. Godfrey, on Saturday, early Afternoon, when Sir Edmund was first Missing; Mr. Welden looking this Enformant in the Face, said to him, to this effect; Ah! Mr. Wynell! You will never see him more. This Enformant hereupon demanded of him, What Ground he had to say so? Adding withal, to this effect, You and I know very well that 'tis a common thing for the said Sir Edmund to go out in a Morning so soon as his Justice Bus'ness is over, and not come home till Night; and no Apprehension all this while of any hurt to befall him. Why should you be so suspicioſ then of any Ill, for Two Hours Absence, and at this time of the day? Unto which the said Welden made*

O. 2

*Answer,*

*Answer to this Purpose ; To tell you the Truth, (says Mr. Welden) His Brothers have been with me, and are just now gone : And they say the Papists have been watching for him a long time, and that now they are very confident they have got him ; to which this Enformant objected, to this effect, Why should the Papists do Him any Hurt ? He was never observ'd to be an Enemy to them ; the said VVelden Persisting in the same Opinion as before.*

This Enformant saith moreover, *That laying the Circumstances together, of the Servants appearing at the Door, as if all were not well in the House ; The Discourse of the said VVelden to this Enformant ; and a Remarkable Sadness which this Enformant observed upon the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Two or Three Days before ; he this Enformant was struck with an extraordinary Apprehension of some Fatal Disaster upon him.*

This Enformant Finally saith, *that he bath often Discoursed all the Particulars in This Paper mentioned, relating to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, from Time to Time, in several Companies.*

Mr. Thomas Burdet Deposeth, *That this Enformant well remembreth, that Sir E. B. Godfrey and Mr. Wynell were by Appointment to Dine together That Saturday, when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was said to be first Missing. And saith, That in an Afternoon about Two or Three of the Clock, this Enformant met Mr. VVynell not far from Green-Lane, in the Strand, who said to this Enformant, to this effect. What have your People done with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey ? The Town says you have Murther'd him : To which this Enformant Answered something with Admiralation, That he knew not what he meant. To which Mr. Wynell Replyed, That he had been at Sir E. B. Godfrey's House, and at*

*Collonel*

*Colonel Weldens*, where they were to have Din'd ; and that it was a Report, that the News of Sir Edmund's being Murther'd by the Papists, came from his Brothers. This Enformant verily believes, that it was upon That Saturday when Sir Edmund was first Missing, that This Enformant met Mr. VVynell ; the said Mr. VVynell speaking of it as a thing newly told him : And this Enformant having heard nothing of the said Sir Edmund's having Absented himself, till (as above) it was told him by Mr. VVynell.

Richard Adams Deposeth, Pursuant to the Discourse above; That he met the Earl, now Marquis of Powis, at the End of Lombard-street, with whom the Enformant had some Discourse ; and seeing one Mr. Harrison, Nephew to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, on the other side of the Way ; He this Enformant begg'd my Lords Pardon, to speak a Word to That Gentleman, to enquire concerning the Truth of That Report (Implying some Preceding Discourse of a Report.) Whereupon This Enformant pass'd over to Mr. Harrison, enquiring of him the Truth of the Report concerning Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's being murther'd ; who Replyed to this Enformant, That he doubted the Report was too True ; and that he was Murther'd by the Papists : And hereupon this Enformant return'd to the said Earl of Powis, and told him what he heard from the said Mr. Harrison.

Mr. Edward Birtby also Deposeth, That upon the Thursday after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went from his House, this Enformant went out of Town toward Leicestershire, and came to North-Killworth in the Evening of the Day Following, where this Enformant being in Company with one Mr. Belgrave, and some others, about Nine or Ten at Night ; while they were there together, came &

*Letter to Mr. Belgrave, Dated the Day before, to the Best of This Enformants Memory; and was brought by the Harborough Post, to North Killworth, being some Five Mile out of the Post-Road.*

*Mr. Belgrave read the Contents of the said Letter to the Company, for so much as concern'd an Account of the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; saying Positively, to the Best of this Enformants Memory, That he was Murther'd by Papists. Whereupon, this Enformant reflected upon his having seen him in Drury-Lane, as aforesaid, and brake out into an Exclamation to this effect, I pray God he has not Murther'd himself; for he looked upon the Friday before, as if he were really Distraited; This Enformant telling the said Company the Story, as it is above Related. Whereupon Mr. Belgrave observ'd upon it, That if this Enformant had seen him so Lately, and heard Nothing of it before he came out of Town, he Hoped it was not True.*

This Enformant saith further, That he wondred at the Letters of Thursday's Post being brought that Night; for he never Remembred any Letters of That Post, in the Ordinary Course, to come to Killworth before Saturday.

And further saith, That this Enformant Travelling Two or Three Hundred Miles up and down the Country, before his Return to London, found the same Intelligence by the same Post in All Places where he came.

And saith also, That the Letter before spoken of, to Mr. Belgrave, to the best of this Enformants Memory, came from a Brother of the said Mr. Belgrave's in London, who liveth at Present (as this Enformant believeth) at Husbands Bosworth in Leicester-shire.

The Reader will observe, I presume, how quick they were in their Intelligence, and what Care was taken to Change the very Course, and Method of the Post, to spread it so much the sooner.

Mr.

Mr. Robert Whitehall Deposeth, That upon the Sunday or Monday Next following the Saturday Whereupon Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was First Missing; being at Georges Coffee-house in Freemans-yard, a Considerable Citizen told him This Enformant upon Discourse, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murther'd by the Papists; and that the Report came from his Brothers, or One of them.

Mary Gibbons the Elder, Deposeth, That a Master of Two Days after Sir Edmunds Body was found, Two of his Relations, Mrs. H. and Mrs. P. came to This Enformants House, and told her, that he was Certainly Murther'd at the Duke of Norfolk's House, for they were all in Mourning; and there was a Mourning Coach met in the Night, with Four Horses coming from Primrose-Hill.: Mrs. H. desired This Enformant to speak Favourably of Sir Edmund, saying, that This Enformant knew more of his Mind then any Body, &c.

This Enformant went to Sir Edmunds House in Hartshorn-Lane the Next day, and having seen the Body, Mrs. H. asked This Enformant, If she did not Now Believe that the Papists had Murther'd him? This Enformant told her, That she did not Believe it; for to her This Enformants Knowledg, Sir Edmund had done many kindnesses for some Papists, that had Liv'd with her This Enformant.

Mary Gibbons Junior Deposeth, That upon Talk of This Enformants Mothers coming to an Examination, one Mrs. H. a Relation of Sir Edmunds, desired This Enformant, that if her Mother came to be Examined again, that there might be as little said of Sir Edmund as could be, Whatever she knew: Mrs. H. having said before that Time, in the Hearing of this Enformant, that Sir Edmund

was Murther'd by the Papists; And that they had great Reason to Believe, that he was Murther'd in the Duke of Norfolk's House; for the Duke of Norfolks Mourning Coach with White-Horses, were Seen to come from Primrose-Hill, the Saturday that Sir Edmund was Missing.

And this Enformant waited upon her Mother, to one Mrs. G. the Tuesday before Sir Edmunds Body was found, where Mrs. G. said, that Sir Edmund was Certainly Murther'd by the Papists, They had a Spleen at him, and they had done it.

Judith Pamphlin Deposeth, That a Maid-Servant to a Relation of Sir Edmunds, whose Name was Jane (to this Enformants Best Remembrance) taking Notice that this Enformant was to Attend a Committee, to be Examin'd about the said Sir Edmund, she the said Servant said unto this Enformant, You may safely Swear that the Papists Kill'd him. This Enformant replying, that she would not Swear to more then she knew.

Mr. William Collinson Deposeth, That coming to the Feathers at Charing-Cross, one Sunday Morning in October, 1678. to Drink his Mornings Draught, the Enformant saw several of the Neighbourhood there, and giving them the Time of the Day, asked them what News? To which some of the Company Reply'd, Here's brave News for you Papists: Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went from his House yesterday, and did not come home last Night, &c. And it was in All Peoples Mouths in That Quarter, that he was Murther'd by the Papists at Somerset-House.

Captain Thomas Paulden Deposeth, That being at Mrs. Dukes Coffee-house, next to Northumberland-House about Three or Four a Clock in the Afternoon,

on the Saturday when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first said to be Missing from his House, there was a Discourse in the said Coffee-House to this Effect, That the said Sir Edmund said when he went out in the Morning, that if he Liv'd, he would be at home again by One a Clock: but not being at that Time heard of, it was believed that he was kill'd by the Papists: This Enformant doth not Remember Who they were that said it, but well Remembreth, that he himself upon that Occasion asked the Company, To what End the Papists should Murther him. To which, it was Reply'd by some of the Company, That it was so Believ'd; This Enformant therupon Speaking to this Purpose, I am Confident if he be Kill'd, that it is either by Thieves, or he has done it Himself.

And further, That this Enformant being on the Thursday following at Night in the Coffee-house above-said, News was brought up into the Coffee-Room, That Sir Edmundbury Godfreys Body was found; And that there were Two Men on Horse-back Below, that had been at the finding of him: Whereupon, the Company went down into the Street, and this Enformant among the Rest; Serjeant Ramsey being One of the Company: This Enformant then seeing the Two Horsemen above-mentioned at the Doors, Asked one of them, if he had found Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Body: and Where? Who Answered, Yes, at Primrose-Hill. This Enformant asking further, in what Place, and Posture? The said Horse-men making Answer, that they found him in a Ditch, run through with his own Sword, which appear'd a Handfull out of His Back; with his Head downward, and his Heels upward; And (as they said) as if he had fall'n upon his own Sword: There were by this Time Crowds of People got about them, and upon the Horse-man's Speaking the Words Last above-mentioned, there was a Muttering among the People, That These

These are the Rogues that Murther'd him Themselves, and would make People believe, that he did it himself.

Mr. White the Coroner, was held in hand by *Welden* with the same Story of the *Papists*; Nay and with so Particular a Note upon't, that the Action was Precisely laid between the *Pall-Mall*, and *Arundel-House*, as shall be shewn by and By. But Once for All; The *Belief* or *Dis-belief* of This Story was at This Time become Effectually the *Test* of a *Protestant*, or a *Papist*; and the Credit of it Promoted by All ways Imaginable By *Reports*, and *Post-Letters*, as appears by Mr. *Birtby*: By *Menaces*, *Promises* and *Extreme Cruelties*, as in the Case of Mrs. *Gibbons*, *Walters*, *Bromwell*, *Corall*, *Prance*: And in one word; *All the Considerable Jayles of England were crowded with Instances of this Kind.*

## C H A P. VII.

*How Matters were manag'd while Sir E. B. Godfrey was missing, toward the finding out what was become of him.*

**I**T was now Break of Day toward the Opening of a Parliament. Sir *Edmund* left his House on the 12th of October. The Body was found the 17th. and the Parliament to Meet on the 21th. A *Popish Plot* already a foot, but so *Weakly* and *Scandalously Supported*, that nothing could fall out more Opportunely to the Present *Humour*, and *Purpose*, then a *Popish Murther*, or at least a *Popish Something else to Second* it. This was the Reason,

*Reason, and the Policy of the Sham; but the Bus'ness of the Imposture apart; We are in this Place upon an Enquiry what was done toward the Discovery of the Truth; and we cannot begin better then with the Clerks Narrative upon This Subject.*

*Henry Moor Deposeth, That his Master not coming home upon Saturday Night, Mr. Michael Godfrey obliged him upon Sunday Morning to keep his Masters Absence very Private, and Secret, and not to Communicate it to any Person, till He and his Brother came to him in the Afternoon: After which, he this Deponent returning home to his said Masters House about Nine of the Clock, and before Morning Service, Mrs. Pamphlin asked this Deponent, Where his Master was? To whom this Deponent replied, That he was got up, and gone abroad Two Hours before; which Answer this Deponent did make, being by the said Mr. Michael Godfrey enjoy'd Secrecy, as aforesaid. And that on the Same Day, after Evening Service, Mr. Michael Godfrey, and Mr. Benjamin Godfrey came to their Brothers House to this Deponent, as Mr. Michael Godfrey had Promis'd; and then they did agree to make Enquiry at all Places where they knew the said Sir E. Godfrey did use to frequent, to make Discovery of him; but without, did then likewise Oblige this Deponent to Secrecy: And amongst the Places, where They with This Deponent did make Enquiry, they went to the House of one Captain Gibbons, and did enquire of Mrs. Gibbons for him, as This Deponent believes; for as soon as they came out from Mrs. Gibbons, they told this Deponent that Mrs. Gibbons said he had not been there That Day; and the same Day they went to my Lady Prats, living near Charing Cross, and several other Houses, but could not bear any thing of him, upon which, Both the said Mr. Godfreys commanded him, This Deponent, to keep his Masters Absence Secret, untill the Next Morning, being Monday,* when

when they would come to this Deponent again; and so they continued their Search, and Enquiry after his said Master, all That Day, and at Night they return'd home, charging him this Deponent still to keep it Secret: But that Night, after their Departure, he this Deponent hearing of a great Funeral that was to be Next Night, he writ to Mr. Michael Godfrey, to know whether it would not be convenient to have his said Masters Absence Divulg'd abroad amongst that Number of People, which would be there together; to which he return'd for Answer, That he should Divulge it at the Funeral; but the next morning being Tuesday, he was Countermanded by a Messenger from the said Mr. Michael Godfrey, not to Divulge it, till they both had Communicated it to my Lord Chancellor, which after they had done, he this Deponent did make known the Absence of his said Master at the said Funeral.

Here are Five Several Injunctions of Secrecy; And Nothing to be Divulg'd, 'till the Brothers had been with the Lord Chancellor. Now there may seem to be Another Secret yet, even in the Mystery of This Secrecy; for they were enquiring after him all This while, and the Town Rung on't, that he was Gone; and that the Papists had Murther'd him: So that the Secrecy seems to look rather toward a Concealment of their Opinion what was Become of him, then to the Concealment of his Absence. But it hangs very strangely together, for People to run up and down Enquiring after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and yet not so much as own that he is Missing. And a Man might as well Suppose the Publishing of a Proclamation, or a Hue and Cry, upon the Caution of making No Words on't, as such an Order given to Enquire up and down after him, upon the same Condition: which looks like a Design, rather of Concealing One thing, then of Discovering Another. But however, as to the Inquisitive Part,

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Heark'ning after him, was a Thing Natural, and Proper to be done; and as much as Could be done upon That Occasion. Mrs. Gibbon speaks to the Same Effect.

Mrs. Gibbon Senior Deposeth, That upon Tuesday Morning, as she was going down Stairs from Mrs. Pamphlin, she met Henry Moor, desiring him to tell her the Truth, how Sir Edmund did, and whether he was Alive, or Not? the said Mr. Moor Swearing, that he was as well in Health, as he himself.

It was Order'd, That at the Funeral, this Enformant should be led to Church by the said Sir Edmund's Clark; And This Enformant asked him by the Way, Why he made such Protestations to her, as aforesaid, that Sir Edmund was Alive? Who reply'd, that Sir Edmund's Brothers had commanded him to keep All Things Private, and Charg'd him to say so, to Save the Estate.

Judith Pamphlin Deposeth, That upon Tuesday Morning after Sir Edmunds Going away, she ask'd Henry Moor what was become of his Master? To which the said Moor reply'd; To tell you the Truth, We are affraid he is Murther'd; and his Brothers have been with the Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Privy Seal, about it, and they are to attend the Council this Morning.

Mr. Aaron Pengry Deposeth, That about the Time of the Prosecution against Mr. Payne, Mr. Farwell, and Thompson, about the Letters pretended to be written to France, upon the Account of the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, he This Enformant being in Company of Several Persons, where mention was made about the said Prosecution, one of the said Company, to the best of This Informants Knowledge, said, That the Brothers of the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had been to Wait upon the late Lord Chancellor Nottingham, about Saving their Brothers Estate.

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But this Enformant not well rememb'ring who it was that said those words, and discourse, about two Months since, upon that account being had between This Enformant and several others in Company, among whom was Mr. William Fall, who was formerly related to the said Lord High Chancellor: as one of his Gentlemen attending him, This Enformant ask'd the said Mr. Fall before the said Company, Whether he had not Utter'd such or the like Words; who Answer'd to him this Enformant, and the rest of the said Company then present, that he had Declar'd as much, and would at any time Testify the same, if occasion should be given, or Words to that or the like Effect.

Mr. William Fall Deposeth, That at the Time when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing from his House, Two of his Brothers came several times to the Lord Chancellor Notinghams; and that it was a Common Talk in the Family, that their Bus'nes with the Lord Chancellor was, to beg his Lordships Assistance to secure their Brother's Estate, in case he should be found to have made Himself away.

And then again there's an Enformation of Mr. White's the Coroner of Westminster, that looks a Little This way too.

Robert White Deposeth, That this Enformant hearing that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing, went to Mr. Weldens to Enquire after him, where he found Sir Edmund's Clark, Sitting by the Fire-side in Mr. Welden's Private Room, Smoaking a Pipe of Tobacco. This Enformant reproving him for spending his Time There, since there was such an Uproar in the Town about his Masters Absence; To which he gave very little Answer.

And

And further, That this Enformant then discoursing with Mr. Welden about the said Sir Edmunds Absence, The said Welden said, He could not tell what to think of it : And This Enformant Frequenting the House of the said Welden afterward, to bear what News of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the said Mr. Welden, at the last told This Enformant, that he did very much suspect him to be Murther'd by the Papists. And That between the Pall-Mall, and Arundel-House ; And that if there were a Search made, he the said Welden doubted not but it would appear so. Upon which, This Enformant told the said Welden, That if Sir Edmundbury Godfreys Brother ( This Enformant knowing but of One Brother ) had a Desire to have Search made, that He This Enformant did not Doubt but forthwith to Procure a Warrant from the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs ; being at That Time at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bayly. And then left the said Welden : And soon after, This Enformant repairing to the said Welden, He asked the said Welden, Whether he had acquainted Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Brother of What he had told him, touching a Warrant to Search ; and the said Welden Answered to This Effect ; You talk of Searching, but they are Searching more after something else then Him. After which This Enformant beard no more of the Matter.

It is now High time to go off from This Point ; and the Matter is so Plain, there will need no Explanation upon the Text ; But to do Things in Order, Harry Moor says, they were upon the Search, and it would do well to Enquire in This Place, what Discoveries they made, and we shall afterwards see how far they Emprov'd These Discoveries.

Henry Moor Deposes, That He, by the Order of Mr. Michael Godfrey, did go to a Great Funeral on the Tuesday

day Night next after the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Absent from his House, to Divalge his Absence; and to hear if any Person among the Number of People that were there, could make any Discovery, or give any Account of him: And when he was at the said Funeral, and Discovering of the said Sir Edmunds Absence, there was one Parsons amongst the said Company, who did then and there Declare, that he met with the said Sir Edmund on the Saturday Morning before Nine, in St. Martins Lane, who then enquired of him the said Parsons, the way to Primrose-Hill; saying further, that he had been Searching within a Little of the Place where the Body was found.

*Judith Pamphlin Deposeth, That upon the Next Tuesday after Sir Edmund was Missing, to the Best of This Enformants Remembrance, Henry Moor the Clark of Sir Edmund told This Enformant, that one Parsons said to the said Moor, that upon the Saturday Morning then last Past; He the said Parsons met Sir Edmund in St. Martins Lane, who Asked the said Parsons the Way to some Woods, which This Enformant doth Not remember; somewhere about Primrose Hill.*

*Mary Gibbon Senior Deposeth, That she had it from Judith Pamphlin, that One Mr. Parsons, a Coachmaker, told Sir Edmund's Clark, that he met Sir Edmund the same Saturday when he went away, and Sir Edmund ask ed him the way to Primrose Hill.*

*And saith, that Mrs. Pamphlin told This Enformant, that the Clark told her, that he was within Few Rods of the Body at Primrose Hill the Day before (being Monday) when he was in the Search of Sir Edmund.*

*Now to take These Pieces as they lye; a Body would think by Moors Enformation, that the First News of*

of his Master had been the Account he had from Parsons at that Funeral; whereas it Appears, both by the Enformation of Judith Pamphlin, from the Mouth of Moor, and of Mrs. Gibbon from the Relation of Pamphlin, that the Clark had been Searching for his Master about Primrose Hill the Day before: Nay, and from the Clarks own Mouth too, that he had the very Direction from Parsons Himself; which is most Particularly Confirm'd and Enlarg'd upon, by Mr. Wheeler.

Mr. Richard Wheeler Deposeth, that on Tuesday, (October 15th.) This Enformant went about Noon to the House of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey (He having been Missing ever since Saturday) to enquire if They had heard of him; while the Mace-Bearer to the Lord Chancellor was talking to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Clark at the same time; And (as it appear'd) being there, upon the same Errand. The Clark making answer, that they had heard Nothing of him, but what they had from Mr. Parsons, a Coachmaker, (then Church-Warden of St. Martin's) and from a Fellow that was w'd to Light him home, that was sawing a Piece of Timber in So-Ho Fields. The same Clark said also, the same Tuesday, that Parsons said at the Burial, that he walked with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, up St. Martin's Lane, the Saturday Morning (Octob. 12. 1678.) between Eight and Nine of the Clock; and that much about the same time, the Sawyer saw Sir Edmund in So-Ho; And Described his Cloaths and his Band. And further, that Mr. Cooper, and his Sister-in-Law, Mrs. Lowen (now Leeson) coming out of Mr. Cook's door in St. Martin's Lane, met Sir Edmund, and spake to him.

Now the Evidence of Thomas Mason serves to Illustrate and strengthen All the Rest.

Thomas Mason of Marybone Deposeth, that he knew the Person of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey very well; And  
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had Custom'd Him, and one Kemp that was his Partner, for Coles ; and that he This Enformant saw the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey upon the Saturday, whereon This Enformant heard the said Sir Edmund was first Missing ; That is to say, That He This Enformant (as he was going from London to his own House) met the said Sir Edmund about Ten a Clock the Saturday Morning aforesaid ; The said Sir Edmund coming toward London, in the Fields, betwixt Mary-bone Pound, and Mary-bone Street : This Enformant likewise giving the said Sir Edmund the Time of the Day, Who (as This Enformant Remembreth) was All in Black Cloaths.

And saith, that as This Enformant was walking with his Wife Under a Hedge near his House upon the Monday Morning, next after the Saturday aforesaid, about Ten of the Clock, there came a short Man in Black Cloaths, in Appearance about Fifty Years of Age, to Enquire of This Enformant whether he had seen his Master, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey in the Fields since Saturday Last ; for he had Lost his Master, and knew not what was become of him ; The said Person being very sad, and telling This Enformant, that he was Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Clark. This Enformant giving the said Person this Answer ; That He This Enformant did see him upon Saturday (as aforesaid) and had not seen him since.

He was by Ten a Clock upon the Monday Morning gotten as far as the Half-way House to Enquire for his Master about Those very Fields, where afterwards his Body was found. Mason told him as above, that he met him upon Saturday going towards London, and had not seen him since : but This did not Hinder Moor yet ; (as appears by his own Relation) from Going-on and Prosecuting his Search. Now there were No Arundel-Houses, No Somerset-Houses in That Walk ; but his very Fancy wrought upon him, even Contrary to the Direction of his

his Reason; for he would have come back else, and turn'd his Thought Another way. But the *Ghastly Impression* of his *Last Farewell* upon *Saturday Morning* stuck so Close to him, that he thought it more likely to find him in a *Ditch*, then *any where else*. His Bus'ness into Those *Fields*, was, out of All Dispute, to search the *Ditches* for him; upon a *strong Apprehension* that he had kill'd *Himself*. It was but *Coasting the Mounds* to make the *Discovery*; And *There*, Undoubtedly, he *Lock'd* for him; and *There*, 'tis Forty to One, he *Found* him. This *Collation of Testimonies* makes *Moor's own Enformation*, *Pamphlin's Enformation*, of what *Moor* and his *Wife* said to *Her*; *Mrs Gibbon's Enformation* of what she had from *Pamphlin*, and *Sir Edmund's Apprehension* of himself to be *All of a Piece*.

There are a *Couple of Questions* now, that Hang one upon the Link of Another; which, the Reader, I presume, will Take into his Consideration. *First*, *VVhy* should *Moor* make a *Countenance*, as if he had known *Nothing* 'till *Tuesday Night* at the *Burial*, of *Parson's Talk* with his *Master* upon *Saturday morning*, when it appears most *Evidently*, that he knew it, either upon the *Sunday*, or *Early the Monday morning before*? *2dly*, *VVhy* could *No Resolution* be *Taken* for the *Divulging* of the *Secret*, (as he calls it) 'till he had spoken with *my Lord Chancellor*, and *my Lord Privy Seal* about it? This looks, as if there had been an eye rather to the *Saving of the Estate*, then to the *Discovery* of a *murther*; for what *Light* could their *Lordships* give, toward the finding of the *Body*; Or what *Reason* could any man give, for the making of it a *Secret*? unless they were *afraid that Truth should come out*? But I am now coming to an end. Here's *Mr. Wynel*, *Captain Gibbon* with his *Wife* and *two Daughters*; *Mr. Wheeler*, *Mr. Radcliffe*, *Harry Moor Himself*, and *Judith Pamphlin*: They speak *All of them to very Great Points*; To say *Nothing* of

*Forty and Forty Witnesses of Unquestionable Probity besides: but most of them, rather Collateral, then Point Blank Evidences.* We shall see in good Time, when the main Cause comes to an Issue, what use shall be made of Their Testimonies.

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## C H A P. VIII.

*When, How, Where, and in What Manner the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Found; And what pass'd till the Coroners Inquest sat upon the View of it.*

ON the 17th. of October, 1678. One Bromwell, and Walters passing toward the White-house about Three or Four Afternoon, saw a Cane and a Pair of Gloves lying upon a Bank, on a Ditch side; and Talking of it Afterwards at the House, they went back by Consent, with John Rawson, the Master of the House, to see if they were there still. See their Enformations at Length, Part I. Cap. 10. The Master stooping to take up the Gloves, Discover'd a Dead Body; Whereupon they went Immediately to One Brown, a Constable, to give him Notice of it. Who gives This following Enformation upon the Matter.

John Bydon Deposeth, that This Enformant very well knew Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; And that about Six or Seven of the Clock (to the Best of This Enformants Memory) on the Thursday Evening, after the said Sir Edmund went from his House, there came unto This Enformant, into This Enformants House, One William Bromwell a Baker, and John Walters a Farrier, both

of

of St. Giles's in the Fields, who told this Enformant that there was a Man Dead in a Ditch, with a Sword run through him near Primrose-Hill : Making mention likewise of a Stick, and a Pair of Gloves, a Scabbard, and Belt, that lay there not far from the Body. Whereupon, this Enformant took several of the Neighbours to his Assistance, some on Horseback, and others a-foot, and went forthwith to the Place where the Body lay ; which Place was so Cover'd with Bushes, and Brambles, in and about the Ditch, that it was a hard matter to see the Body, till one were come just upon it.

That having found the Body laid the Length-ways of the Ditch; The Left Hand under the Head upon the Bottom of the Ditch; The Right Hand a little stretcht out, and touching the Bank on the Right-side; The Knees touching the Bottom of the Ditch, and his Feet not touching the Ground, but Resting upon the Brambles; The Pummel of the Sword not reaching to the Bottom of the Ditch; The Body lying in so Crooked a Posture, keeping it from the Ground; The Periwig and the Hat, lying in the Bottom of the Ditch, a little before the Body; The Body being thus found, as aforesaid, this Enformant bestrid the Corps, as it lay in the Ditch, and put his Hands about it to find how the Sword was Plac'd.

That after whats Above-said, This Enformant spake to the Company to Hand the Body out of the Ditch, this Enformant helping likewise, Himself; and they remov'd it about Five or Six Yards, to the best of this Enformants Conjecture, from the Ditch, where the said Body lay: And that upon the Drawing of the Body out, some of the Company saying it was a Tall Man, this Enformant reflecting upon it, sayd to this Effect, Pray God it be not Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, for he hath been for some time Missing; and some others also had the same Apprehension. It was then very Dark, and this Enformant Kneeling down to take the best View of the Face that he could, continued in

the Suspicion, but could no be as yet Positive, that it was the Body of the said Sir Edmund.

This Enformant enter'd then into a Consideration with the Company, how they might best get the Body up to the White-House; and concluding that it would endanger the Breaking the Sword, to carry the Body All the Way with the Sword in't: It was resolved rather to take out the Sword, which was accordingly done, having first Cautioned the Company to take particular Notice of every Circumstance, how the Sword and the Body were. This Enformant hereupon, took out the Sword, which was somewhat hard in the Drawing, and Crash'd upon the Bone, in the Plucking of it forth.

And faith, That upon this, the Enformant and the Company layd the Body a-Cross two Watchmens Staves, and so carry'd it to-Rights up to the White-House, where they layd him down upon the Floor in the House: And this Enformant caused the Money, and the Papers, and what was found in the Pockets, to be enter'd into a Note, and a Duplicate to be taken thereof, to prevent any Mistakes.

That immediately after taking of the said Notes, the Body was laid upon the Table, and no doubt any longer but it was the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

This being done, This Enformant gave Order, that the Watch-men that were there a-foot, should stay with the Body, and not suffer any Medling with it, till they should hear further from This Enformant: And so he this Enformant, and the rest of the Horsemen, (being about Seven in Number) rode away to Hartshorn-Lane, to the House of the Late Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and enquired for the Justice: But after Words Pass'd, a Woman there telling this Enformant, that the Brothers were above; This Enformant sent to desire to speak with them; and they came presently down, there being in the Company Mr. Benjamin, and Mr. Michael Godfrey, one Mr. Plucknet,

net, and one Mr. Ramfy, whom this Enformant saw to go into the House before him.

And that this Enformant told the said Company, that they had found the Body in a Ditch near Primrose-Hill, with a Sword through it : And that they had remov'd the said Body to the White-House. The said Brothers strictly enquiring of this Enformant, How he was sure that it was Sir Edmund's Body ? Who Reply'd, That he knew him very well. The Brothers and Mr. Ramsey had some Discourse by themselves together ; after which, Mr. Plucknet told this Enformant, that he would go along with him to the Body. Hereupon this Enformant and the said Mr. Plucknet rode away to the White-House, it being then Ten a Clock, or thereabouts ; Mr. Ramsey telling this Enformant, that he would immediately give the King Notice of it, and appointed this Enformant to meet him at the Chequer Inn about One of the Clock.

This Enformant being Demanded, What Persons he can call to Mind of Those that went with him to Hartshorn-Lane, when he carry'd the First News of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Body being found, to the Brothers there & He maketh Answer, That there was Joseph Girle, William Whitcomb, John James, William Lock, John Paris ; And that all the Persons above mentioned, Assisted, more or less, in the carrying off the Body from the Ditch where it was found, to the White-House, and John Rawson, with others, whom he cannot remember.

John Hartwell Deposeth, That being told that there was a Person found Dead in a Ditch in the Parish, with a Sword through the Body, He this Enformant, with some other Company, went to see the Body where it lay in the Ditch, with a Sword above a Handful out at the Back : One Hand Extended before him, with the Face leaning upon it, and the other Hand lying Backwards ; A Hat and Periwig before him ; His Cane, Gloves, and Sword

lying behind him upon a Bank ; A Dark Colour'd Stuff Coat on ; It was a Tempestuous Night, that they could have No Light to see the Body by ; And that upon This View of the Body, the Constable desired the People to take Notice, how the Body lay, and how far the Sword was through him : And thereupon, the said Constable Order'd the Body to be taken out of the Ditch : And it was accordingly Handed out a matter of Eight or Ten Yards from the Place.

And that the Sword being as yet in the Body, the Constable either took it, or order'd it to be taken out of the Body ; And so the Body was laid upon Two Watchmens Staves, and carry'd up to the White House, where the said Body was layd in the House upon the Floor.

John Rawson, Joseph Girle, John Paris, and others, Speak to the same Effect about the Finding and Removing of the Body, and the Drawing of the Sword, which was a way of Proceeding very Extraordinary, and enough, not only to Puzzle the Inquest upon Examination of the Matter ; but to put any Thinking Man hard to't, to find a Warrantable Reason for what they did ; for the Position of the Body in the Ditch, and the Circumstances that went along with it, would have been the Best Light the Matter would bear, toward the Guiding of them in their Verdict. But I am persuaded, that it was an Error without Malice,

The Body however, is now Lodg'd at the White-House, and the next Thing in the Course of Law, is to pass a View upon't : But it will do well in the mean time to see what Matter the Coroner has to work upon,

The Enformation that Mr. Wheeler gives upon this Subject, is very Pertinent, and very Particular.

Mr.

Mr. Wheeler Deposes, That on Wednesday, October 16. there was a Vestry in St. Martins, where this Informant, Mr. James Supples, and Mr. Wilson were Present. Upon the Rising, they Adjourn'd thence to the Fleece Tavern in St. Martins Lane, and sent Notice to the Church-Wardens, Mr. Parsons, and Mr. Monk, that they were there, and the said Church-Wardens came immediately thither; and presently after them, in came Dean Lloyd, to know what was become of Sir Edmund; saying, That he had been led into some Mistakes, or to that Effect, already; but he would make no more if he could help it. It was then said by some of the Company, that Mr. Radcliffe walked out of London with Sir Edmund about One of the Clock upon the Saturday before, or about Twelve: Whereupon Dr. Lloyd said, he would go and enquire of him; but the Company Desired him to stay, and said they would send for Mr. Radcliffe, which they did, and he came accordingly: And the said Radcliffe being come, somebody asked him, whether he walked out of London with Sir Edmund, as is above said? To which the said Radcliffe replied, No: But that Sir Edmund was at his Door about One of the Clock That Saturday; for he was taking in of Goods that came out of London.

Mr. Wheeler was told by Parsons, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Asked him Three Times that Saturday Morning, in St. Martins Lane, whereabouts Paddington-Woods were.

The People that are found upon Proof to have seen Sir Edmundbury Godfrey the Saturday that he went away, are Richard Cooper, Mary Leeson, Joshua Foxley, John Parsons, All in St. Martins Lane; about Eight or Nine in the Morning. A Sawyer in So-ho. William Collins, and a Milk-woman in Marybone Fields about Nine: Tho. Mason about Ten, Met him in the Fields betwixt

Mary-

*Marybone-Pound* and *Marybone-Street*; coming toward London, Joseph Radcliffe, and his Wife, saw him in the Strand near One: *Mont* saw him Passing by *New-market*: Mr. Richard Bornford saw him about One of the Clock, a very Little Over or Under, Passing through the Back Gate of *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*; and observed him to go forward under the Wall toward the *Portugal Row*, some Three or Fourscore Paces, as he Judges: Mr. Stephen Primate of *Grays-Inn* saw him Walking Cross the Fields toward *Turn-Style*, from the Corner of *Clare-Market*, at, or about Two a Clock, as he conceiveth. Thomas Snell saw him some time about Noon, (according to his Remembrance) passing by the said *Snell's House*, from *Turn-Style* in *Holborn* into the *Red-Lyon-Fields*: Mr. Tho. Grundy, and Mr. James Huyfman saw him about Two or Three in the Afternoon near *Pimrose-Hill*, according to their Enformations, Cap. 2. Part 1. Now in such a Case as This, This Difference of an Hour, More or Less, upon a Conjecture at such a Distance of Time, breaks no Squares, as any Man will find upon his Appealing to his own Memory, and Experience, how often he has been Mistaken himself, Sooner or Later, as much as that comes to, upon a Present Guess at the time of the Day. But after all the Rest, I must not forget what one Baker said upon the Sight of the Body at the *White-House*, [That he saw that Man in a certain Close thereabouts that he Named, upon That Saturday in the Afternoon, or the Devil in his Clothes. To the Truth of which,

Margaret Rawson Deposeth, That this Enformant heard Edward Baker, upon the View of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, speak Words to this Effect, to the Best of this Enformants Memory, Either I saw this Man in my Fathers Forty Acres-Field upon some Day, which This Enformant doth not Remember, or the Devil in his Clothes.

Mr.

Mr. Thomas Burdet Likewise Deposeth, That he was told by the Man and his Wife; that liv'd at That Time in the White-House, That a Person seeing the Body of Sir E.B. Godfrey, in a Crowd of Other Company, said he had seen that Man at Three of the Clock upon the Saturday in the Afternoon, in his Fathers So-many-Acres-Close : ( This Enformant having forgotten the Precise Number of the Acres ) And that upon some Question made, he Confirm'd it again with an Oath, That he knew him well enough ; and that By God it was either he, or the Devil in his Clothes.

Here's Matter in Sight, abundantly enough to Enquire upon ; beside infinitely more, that out of Fear, Faction, and Lazyness, has been Undoubtedly Lost, or Suppress'd ; and it Cannot be Imagin'd, that Any of These Particulars should be kept so Private as not to come to the Knowledge, either of the Jurors Themselves or of Those that were Concern'd to Search out, and to Minister All Fair and Honest Lights toward the Instructing of a Jury ; and I am affraid, that This is The Part of the History that will be found the Important Secret that was given in Charge not to be Discover'd. The Bus'ness of Godfrey was at That Time the Whole Talk of the Town, and the Story of the Brewer, the Coach-maker, a Nurse, and the Milk-Woman, was the very Pinch of the Discourse : He was Seen Here by Such a One, There by Such Another, and hardly any Body set Eye upon him, that did not take Notice of a Troubled Head in his very Look and Gate ; over and above, that even the Course of his Perambulation was not a Jaunt for any man in his Right mind to Take ; Nay, the Distraction of his Thoughts appear'd in the Wandrings, and Irresolutions of his Steps : It did not look like a Walk either for Pleasure, or

or for Bus'ness; But rather the *Whiling away* of so many hours under the *Fluctuation* of Sick and Doubting Thoughts, and in a kind of *Conflict* (as a Man may say) betwixt his *Nature*, and his *Disease*. 'Tis much to be Suspected, that at his First Setting out; he had the very *Thing* in his *Eye*, as well as the *Place*; And that if a Body may *Gather* any thing, either from his *Melancholy*, or from his *Enquiring* the *Way* thither, He went *Probably* to Those very *Fields*; for *Collins*, and the *Milk-woman*, saw him thereabouts, and *Mason* met him then at *Ten That Morning*, coming back again, which in a *Reasonable Construction* was no more then to say, that his *Heart* had not Serv'd him to go thorough with his Work *That Bont*. After his *Return*; we have him again in the *Strand*, *New-market*, *Lincolns-Inn-Back-Gate*, the *Fields*, *Turn-Style*, *Red-Lyon-Fields*; and so forward to the very *Next Close* to That where the *Body* was *found*; Nay, Mr. *Grundy*, and Mr. *Huysman*, lost Sight of him at a *Blind-Passage* over a *Plank* that Struck off directly to the very *Ditch*; and so far from any appearance of being *Dogg'd* all this while, that it look'd as if *Company* had almost shun'd *Him* as much, as *He shun'd Company*.

## C H A P. IX.

*A Jury Summoned to Sit upon the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and some Difficulty Started about it.*

**U**pon the finding of the *Body*; the First Thing to be done according to *Reason*, *Equity*, and *Practice*, should have been the *Securing* of it 'till a Formal *View* might have been taken of the *Body* it Self, and

and every thing about it, or Relating to it, in the very same State, and under the very same Circumstances wherein it was found. Descriptions, or Reports, upon either Fancy, or Memory, are Short and Faint; Compar'd with the Lights we receive from Visible Effects, Operations, and Dispositions of Things in a Course of Nature: But the Body being Remov'd, the Sword taken out, The Place it self Trampled upon, and Disorder'd; The True Judgment of the Case lay at the Mercy of the Reporters; So that they might Represent, Alter, Disguise, Add, or Diminish as they pleas'd. The Jury in short, were fain to Content Themselves with such an Account of the Matter, as the Constable, and his Assistants thought fit to give them; or perhaps as they were able to give them: Considering that All This was done in a Dark Tempestuous Night, without either Link, Lanthorn, or the Help of any other Light whatsoever. There was Great Stress laid upon't, that they saw No Blond in the Ditch; No Mark of the Pummel of the Sword: when yet if there had been both the One, and the Other, it could hardly be Expected, after so much muddling of the Earth to get the Body out, that there should remain any Sign of Either. Or however, if they had a Mind to be Partial, there was Pretence Enough for the Hiding, and the Smothering of it, without any Colour of Suspicion. Nay, and the Constable was half Oblig'd to Palliate the Bus'ness, even in his own Defence; and as some sort of Atonement for so Unwarrantable a Proceeding. In few words, the Judgment of the Case, Depended greatly upon the Particulars of the Relation: Insomuch, that upon being found in One Posture, he would have been thought to have kill'd Himself, and the Presumption would have been as Strong in Another Case, that he had been Murther'd by some body else. This Irregularity would lye Open to very strong Exceptions, if a Body should Mea-

Measure the Government of This Part of the Story, by the Manage of the Rest : but I am verily persuaded, that the *Constables Fault in Carrying off the Body*, was only a *Rash*, and an *Officious Ignorance*, without any sort of *Malice*.

But to take Things *de bene esse*, and as we find them : The *Body* is now at the *White-House*; *Brown* the *Constable* has given the *Brothers Notice* of it at *Harts-horn-Lane*, and brought *Mr. Plucknet* back with him to see it upon the *Place*.

*Brown Deposeth, That Mr. Plucknet, casting his Eyes upon the Face, Cry'd out presently, This is my Brother Godfrey; and they immediately resolved to go down with a Candle and Lanthorn to the Place where the Body was found : The said Mr. Plucknet, This Enformant, and one Rawson, the Master of the White-House, going down together.*

*This Enformant, after Viewing the Body, and the Place where it was found, went with Mr. Plucknet to the Chequer-Inn at Charing-Cross ( According to an Appointment mention'd Cap. 8: ( being near Two in the Morning ) where Mr. Ramsey met according to his Appointment, and told This Enformant, That he had Enformed his Majesty of the Matter, and that This Enformant need Trouble himself no further, but that a Coroner should be order'd to come to This Enformant, Early the same Morning ; which he did, and brought This Enformant a Warrant for the Summisioning of a Jury to go forthwith to the White-house, and Sit upon the Body aforesaid : The Jurors Names being as followeth.*

## St. Giles's.

Mr. Tho. Harris.  
Mr. Philip Wine.  
Mr. John Cowsey.  
Mr. William Collens.  
Mr. Tho. Woollam.  
Mr. John Carvel.  
Mr. Anthony Fryer.  
Mr. Christ. Jarvis.  
Mr. Robert Trotton.

## Mary-bone.

Mr. Joseph Girle.  
Mr. John Hartwell.  
Mr. William Lock.  
Mr. John Owen.  
Mr. Simon Standever.  
Mr. Thomas Mason.  
Mr. Paul Harding.  
*Padington.*  
Mr. Matthew Haines.  
Mr. John Davies.

And Saith, *That the Jury met accordingly at the White-House, and after Sitting a While, they Adjourn'd without Coming to a Verdict.*

The *Jury Met*, we See ; but could not come to an *Agreement* That *Meeting* ; for what *Reason* they *Adjourn'd* ; and upon what *Grounds* they proceeded afterward to a *Verdict*, shall be seen in the *Proper Place* : But it may be Reasonably Collected yet, that there was Somewhat more then *Ordinary* in the Wind, from the Earnest Application that was made for the Joyning of Mr. *White* the *Coroner of Westminster*, to the Assistance of Mr. *Cooper*, who was then *Sitting* upon the *Body* : And the *Presumption* is so much the stronger, because they were so far *Enter'd*, and so much *Divided* upon the *Matter* before them ; which might seem to *Insinuate* either the *Partiality* of a *Practice*, or a *Nicety* in the *Question* ; and taking it either the *One* way, or the *Other*, it had the *Face* of a very *Honest*, and a very *Seasonable Council*. But the *Fact* will be Better Set forth in the *Following Enformation*.

Robert

*Robert White Deposeth, That upon the Discovery of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, there were Two Persons of the Acquaintance of the said Sir Edmund, To wit; One Wigg a Grocer; and one Bookey ( or some such Name ) a Linnen-Draper; Who came together to the House of Thir Enformant; And told him, that they were much Troubled; And, so were divers others of the Parish, that This Enformant was not the Coronner to sit upon the said Body: And then Desired This Enformant very Pressingly to Enquire into the Bus'nes: To which, This Enformant told them, that he did not Love to Thrust himself into Such a Bus'ness, without the request of the Coronner. But the aforesaid Persons not being Satisfy'd with This Answer, and still Pressing him to be Concern'd in the Enquiry; This Enformant told them, That if the Brother of the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, should desire This Enformant to be Assisting to him the said Brother, that then This Enformant would be willing to Assist. Whereupon the said Wigg and Bookey took their Leaves of This Enformant, and told him that they would Endeavour with all Expedition to Speak to the Brother of the said Sir Edmund about it. And within an hour or two after, This Enformant had Notice brought him to his House, Desiring him to be at the Greyhound-Tavern in the Strand, about Two or Three a Clock That Saturday in the Afternoon: And This Enformant went thither accordingly, where he found Mr. Wigg, and Mr. Bookey, and staid with him 'till a Certain Gentleman came to him, whom he took to be Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Brother, who took This Enformant into a Coach, and away they went together to a House in St. Giles'es, where the Coronner, and his Inquest were together. Then this Enformant desired the said Brother to Acquaint the Coronner, that He this Enformant was there Present; And the said Brother Whisper'd*

per'd to the Coroner in This Enformant's Presence ; but This Enformant did not hear what he said. And the said Brother returning presently to This Enformant, told him, that the Coroner did not desire his being there. Whereupon This Enformant went down ; Sir Edmond's said Brother following, who gave This Enformant a Guinea at the Door, for his Trouble, and so This Enformant went away.

These Two Persons, Wigg and Bookey are since Dead ; but they have left a Good Name behind them, for Men of Substance, and Reputation ; and it was at the Common Instance of Others of the Parishioners too, that This Desire or Proposition was set afoot ; and the very Hint of it does Necessarily presume some Dissatisfaction they had in the Former way of Proceeding. But the Bus'ness went forward Never the Less ; And the Neighbourhood of Paddington it self was as Little Pleas'd after the Verdict, as Others were Before : and they Mutter'd at it sufficiently, so far as they durst, but the Barbarous Usage of Cromwell and Walters, for only Finding the Body, Ty'd up other Peoples Tongues from speaking their Thoughts out-right in so Dangerous a Story.

This was a Cause, perchance, that in a Reasonable Prospect of the Issue of it, was to have as Powerful an Influence upon the Honour, and Safety of the King and his Government, as ever any Disaster since the Creation, that appear'd to be so Little and Inconsiderable, in sight ; and therefore No Care could have been too much, for the bringing of This Matter to a Clear Light ; In respect either of the Openness, and Candor of the Proceeding ; a strict, and Industrious Enquiry ; All Warrentable Ways and Means of gaining Full, and Credible Enformations : The Pertinence and Sufficiency of the Proofs : The Qualification of the Witnesses ; and the

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like;

like. To Conclude, a Man methinks should be Glad, and Forward, in an Instance of This Quality, to take in what Help he Can, fairly, to Assist him in the Scrutiny toward the Discharge of his Conscience: and to Secure himself of a safe Appeal from the Censure and Envy that commonly Attends Resolutions of This Nature.

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## C H A P. X.

### *The Subject of the Debate; and First of the Position of the Body, as it lay in the Ditch.*

THE Cause being now before the Jury, we shall speak to the several Parts of it in Order, and Begin with a Consideration of the Position of the Body in the Ditch, as we have it by Tradition from the Constable, and his Assistants. The Description of it in, Mr. Pain, and Mr. Farwell's First Letter, to Mr. Miles Prance, is Allowed, without Contradiction, to be exactly Correct, and Just, and therefore I cannot do Better, than to Deliver it to the World as I find it ready drawn to my hand.

*His Breast was Unbutton'd, his Waistcoat, and Shirt put by, his Sword run in under his Left Arm, next his Skin, the Point Coming out at his Right Shoulder, about Six Inches, his Left Arm doubled under him, (on which his Head seemed to Lean.) And his Right Arm, stiff, stretcht out upon the Bank; his Belly and Breast being supported by the side of the Bank; his Knees Knit together, and with his Hips a little Bending, or Doubling under him.*

No Painter could have drawn a Man that had Cast himself in a Ditch upon his own Sword, more according to Nature, then the Publisher of This Description has done This Unhappy Person: Neither was it *Morally Possible*, for People in the Dark to *Dispose* of a Body, and every Part of it, into so Proper and Congruous a Position. And it was *as Little Possible*, to bring a Dead Body and the several Parts of it, to Comply with the Circumstances of This Figure. His Right Arm was stiff, and his Left Arm doubled under him in the Ditch; and afterward, upon the Table, in the White-house, Both Arms so stiff, that Fisher was fain to Tear off the shirt, when he helped to strip him.

Let but any Man Fancy to himself now a Lively Image of This Disposition of the Body, and the several Parts of it; and say if he thinks it possible, for People (Nay, and it was in the Dark too) to Place every Thing in a Posture so Proper, and so Congruous to the Occasion. No Painter could have Design'd so Natural a Resolurion as This Chance-Cast of Prances, dropt into. [They Threw him into a Ditch, (says Prante) and Layd his Gloves and Other Things upon the Bank, Tryal, fol. 20.] So that there was more Care taken, it seems, of his Trinkets, then of his Body. And it was not All, Neither, that Every Line and Point in the Composition of That Figure, seem'd to speak as Plainly as the Voice of Nature it self could have done; that he dy'd upon That Spot: But the Whole World could not have put his Head, Neck, Body, and Limbs, into That Position, if Death had Not Left him just in That Manner, and in That Place where afterward they Found him. The Witnesses will have it that the Murtherers Convey'd the Body from Somerset-house to the Ditch; and There left him (as is said Already) with his Money in his Pocket, that it might be thought that he Kill'd Himself. Now if the Whole Fretence of the Somerset-house Murther was

an *Imposture*, as *Truth it self* is not more *Certain*; it is by their own Argument, a very Reasonable Thing, to Believe, upon This appearance of Matters, that he did *Kill Himself*; Unlesſ they can Produce some Colour at lealt, that *some body else Kill'd him*; for Never was a Thing better Prov'd by Secondary Circumstances, then That he *Threw Himself upon his Own Sword*. And no Man can Doubt it, that Considers the Contradictions of the Evidence; the Distance betwixt Somerset-houſe and Primrose-hill; The Bearers that *Carry'd him*; Their Accoutrements; The Watches, and the Almost Impassable Difficulties in the Way; The Chairing of him *One Half* of his Journey, and the Horsing of him Toher. To say Nothing of a Thousand Fopperies more to come; that were Utterly as *Incredible*, as any of the Rest.

The First Question, Naturally in All These Cases, is the Condition, and the Posture of the Body: And so, What Evidence of any Weapon, Instrument, or Accident, by which the Person might come or be brought to his end: And whether by *Himself*, or, by *Another Hand*. After These Enquiries, the Circumstances to be Well-weighed; and all such Witnesses call'd in to give Evidence; as were either of his Relations, or Familiar Acquaintances, or otherwise suppos'd, or Presum'd to be most Privy to his Affairs: either in General, or with a Regard to the Particular that is here in Question. It is a very Great Light (as I was a saying) that may be taken from such a Description of the State, and Appearance of the Body, as the Jury had before them: There are some Mortal Hurts, or Wounds that a Body can not be suppos'd to have given *Himself*: There are some Others of so ſpecial an Application, and Direction, that One can hardly believe them to have been given by *Another Hand*. Now it is very Remarkable, that This Consideration, for ought that I have been hitherto able to Learn, was never Yet brought upon the

the Carpet; either before the Coroner, or in Truth, at the King's Bench Bar, at the Tryal of the Pretended Murtherers; But in Both Places they leapt over the Preliminaries in the Ditch, saving only the Two Negatives, that there was ~~No~~ Blood found there; nor any Dint of the Pummel of the Sword. [Pray (says Mr. Recorder to the Constable) in what Posture did You find Sir Edmundbury Godfrey? [Mr. Brown] I found him my Lord in a Ditch, with his Sword thorongh him, and the end of it was Two handfuls out of his back. Green's Tryal, pa. 35.] Now This was a very short Answer, to a Home Question; And Nothing at all to the Posture, but only to the Weapon, and the Wound. If Brown had come up to the Interrogatory, He should have said that he lay Greveling Upon That Sword; and he should have given the Court an Account of Twenty Other Whats and Hows Beside; but the Posture, and all that belonged to't, was Blown off presently, and the Eyes and the Thoughts of the People Carry'd away, to the Question of Blood, or No Blood, in the Ditch; And to the Gold and Silver that was Left in his Pocket, to Persuade the World that he Kild Himself; and that the Killers of him made more Conscience of Picking a Pocket, than of Committing a Murther. Nay Brown has worded his Deposition in the Next Page, as if he were Delivering a Verdict, rather then an Evidence; where he Determines the Point, in saying, That They had run it into another Place, but that happen'd to be against a Rib: But we shall let That pass for a Slip too, as we did the Former. After This, They call'd in Two Surgeons to their Aid, but they were upon a View of the Body still, as it lay upon the Table, not as 'twas found in the Ditch; and therefore to say no more of it, they were extremely short in Passing over the Bus'nes of the Ditch; which, in Effect, was the Best Guide they had to the Truth of the Matter, and the most Convincing Part of their Evidence.

dence. The Other Scruples, were, at the Fairest, but Dubious; and Confounded with Incoherences, and Unlikely-hoods in abundance; whereas the Position of the Body, and the Parts of it in the Ditch, was so certain an Indication of his Dying by his Own Sword, that they might, have Counterfeited Nature in any thing else, as well as in That Figure: Beside, that the Wound could very hardly have been Given him by Another Hand; for it pass'd from under the Left Pap through the Blade, or some Bony Part of his Left Shoulder: Insomuch, that in Brown's own Words, *It was somewhat hard in the Drawing, and Crash'd upon the Bone in the Plucking of it forth,* See Chap. 8. There lies One Objection in the Way, and it is Easily Answered. The Pummel of the Sword, as Brown says, *Did not touch the Bottom of the Ditch;* but Imputes it to the Crooked Posture of his Body, and the Thickness of the Bushes upon the Place. Now, if the Pummel of the Sword was Pitched upon the Side of the Ditch, it could not be expected that it should still Rest there after the doing of the Execution; for what with the Preponderating Weight of his Body, and the Struggling of Nature upon the Last Convulsion, it must of Necessity, remove: And then his Body being Otherwise Supported by his Knees at the Bottom of the Ditch, and the Weight of it bearing upon his Left Arm, lying Doubled under his Head, the Pummel of the Sword could not well touch the Bottom of the Ditch. But Mr. Skillarne, one of the Surgeons that Assisted upon the View of the Body, Speaks most Expressly to this Part of the Question.

Zachariah Skillarne Deposeth, That he this Enfavouring taking a strict View of the Ditch where Sir Edmund's Body was found, he observed an Impression upon the Side of the Ditch, about a Foot above the Bottom of it, according to the Best Judgment this Enfor-

mane

man is able to make of it, which he took to be the Dint of the Pummel of the Sword.

This is a Great Deal more then Needed, for the *Killing of a Dead Cause*: But the Plain Short of the Matter in fine, is neither Better nor Worse, then *This*. If the Question of the *Ditch* has been Omitted, as a *Point forgotten*, 'tis such Another *Slip* as the Point that the *Atheistical Penitent* forgot in his *Confession*, which was, *That he did not Believe in God*; for it was the *Key of the Whole Work*. If it was pass'd over as a Thing not *Worth the minding*, it was a Case of *Blood*, and might have born the *Charge of Interrogatory*, and *Debate*: Especially when so many *Lives* Depended upon the *Consequence of a Right*, or a *Mistaken Sentence*: But if it was neither of These Two, it was a Matter at *That Time*, perhaps, too *Hot* to be *Handled*; and 'tis a *Dangerous Thing* for People to be *Over-Inquisitive* into the *Truth of a Matter* that is *Design'd* for an *Imposture*. We shall pass now from what they *Did Not*, to what they *Did*, and so to the *Next Chapter*.

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## C H A P. XI.

*The Jury found Sir E. B. Godfrey to be Strangled, and not Kill'd with the Sword: The Surgeons were of the same Opinion, and gave their Reasons for it.*

UPON the Evidence and *View* of the *Body* of Sir E. B. Godfrey at the *White-House*, it appeared, upon the *Main*, that it was found at such a *Time* and *Place*, and with his own *Sword* thorough it. They

observ'd the Limberness of the Neck, and the Two Circles about it: His Breast very much Discoloured, as if it had been Beaten, or Bruis'd; Two Wounds under his Left Pap: One stopt at a Rib; the Other quite thorough the Body: They laid Great Weight upon it, that there was No Bloud found in the Ditch, and upon the main Issue, Whether he Dy'd by the Wound, or by Suffocation; or whether by his own Hand, or by some Other Bodies: After a Long Debate, and a Great Deal of Jangling, in Due Course and Form: The Coroner and his Inquest took the Surgeons Advice along with them, and in the Conclusion came to This Result.

That certain Persons to the Jurors unknown, a Certain Piece of Linnen Cloth of No Value, about the Neck of Sir Edmundbury Godfsey, Then, and There, Feloniously, Wilfully, and of their Malice before thought, did Tye and Fassen; and therewith the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Feloniously, Wilfully, and of their Malice before thought, did Suffocate and Strangle, of which said Suffocation, and Strangling, He the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Then and There Instantly Dy'd.

This is according to a Printed Copy of the Verdict published by Faneway in 1682. on the Behalf of the Prosecutors of Mr. Pain and Mr. Farwell, for Publishing certain Letters upon This Subject, directed to Miles Prance. I never heard the Truth of the Copy Question'd: Beside, that when the Bus'ness was fresh, the Story was in every Bodies Mouth, that he was strangled with a Linnen Cloth; and no other way of Suffocation so much as mentioned: And That was the True Reason, of Bedloe's Strifling him with a Pillow; to Answer the Suffocation; and of Prance's doing it with a Twisted Handkercher, to Answer the Linnen Cloth, which Bedloe afterward, very Discreetly turn'd into a Crevat; By the To-

Token, [It was so freight that he could not get his Finger in.] Now the Inquisition taken by the Coroners of Middlesex, upon the View of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, according to a True Copy of it out of the Crown Office, which was Sworn and read in Court, upon the Tryal of the Gentlemen before mentioned, says, that he was Strangled with a Cord, fol. 8. by Persons Unknown: But Right or Wrong, it must be Strangling at Last; for there was no way but That to bring him off from Killing Himself, which would have spoiled more Plots than One: though it was a Huge way about, for People to Choak him at Somerset-House, and then carry him Two Mile out of Town at Midnight to run his Sword through him at Primrose-Hill for a Pretence; When there were so many convenient Boughs, and Beams, to have done his Work Ester Cheap, nearer Home; The Trussing of him up to one of the Timbers in the New Unfinished House, where Prance swears he left the Chair, when they put him a Horseback, would have born a much better Countenance of his Killing Himself, then the Leaving of his Body in a Ditch, with the Marks of Two Several Deaths upon it at Once. When I say [of Two Several Deaths] which Implies the Swallowing of Things Inconsistent; I reflect no Reproach, either upon the Surgeons, or upon the Jurors; for the Former Judg'd according to Common Appearances; and the Latter were only over-rul'd by the Opinions of Men that spake in their own Profession. I do not say yet, that there was not a Secret Practice, and Manage that ran through this whole Affair from one End to the Other; but Time, and Consideration, upon the Opening of the Fact will better Discover that Mystery. The Root, in short, of this Whole Miscarriage, was the removing of the Body; Of which we have spoken sufficiently in the Last Foregoing Chapter. But now to the Merits of the Cause.

The

The Surgeons were of *Opinion*, upon the *View* of the Body at the *White House* (and in Truth for want of a *View* of it in the *Ditch*) that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was *Strangled*, and *Not Kill'd* by the *Sword*. The *Jurors* were *Guided* by the *Surgeons*, and accordingly they *Agreed* upon a *Verdict*. It will be well, in This Place, to consider the Matter of *Fact*, as it lay before them; their *Judgments* upon it, and the *Inducements* that mov'd them to Agree upon the above-mentioned *Verdict*. This will be best done, out of their *Own Mouths*. And to take the Matter in Order, We'll see first what they Deliver'd at the *Coroners Inquest*. 2ly. The *Evidence* they gave at the *Tryals* of *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*. And 3ly. The Short of what was Deliver'd at the *Tryal* of *Mr. Pain*, and *Mr. Farwel*. I call it a *Tryal*, with a Respect to the *Sacredness* of the *Seat of Justice*; though the *Formalities* of the *Court* were *Interrupted*, and the *Dignity* of the *Tribunal* *Affronted*, with such *Clamours*, and *Insults* from the *Rabble*, that a *Man* might *Honestly* enough, at a *Distance*, have taken it for a *Bair-Bating*.

*The Enformation of Zacharias Skillarne, of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, Chirurgeon, taken upon Oath 18th. Day of October, 1678. before Me.*

**H**E faith, That he being sent for as a Chirurgeon, to search the Body of Sir Edmund Godfrey, did in the Presence of the Coroner and Jury, Search the same; and finds, that he was *Strangled*; And that he hath received some Violent Blow upon the top of his Breast; and this Enformant verily believes that the said Sir Edmund did *Not Dye* of the Wound through his Body.

*To. Camper, Coroner.*

*Zac. Skillarn.*

*Zac.*

Zacharias Skillarn Chirurgeon, being further Examined, saith, That when he Searched Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Body, he found that his Neck had been Twisted towards the Left Side; which was One of the Occasions of his Death, as This Enformant believeth.

Jo. Cowper, Coroner.

Zac. Skillarn.

*The Enformation of Nicholas Cambridge of St. Giles in the Fields, Chirurgeon, taken upon Oath the same Day and Year before Me.*

This Enformant saith the same.

Jo. Cowper, Coroner.

Nicholas Cambridge.

Here's the Judgment of the Surgeons upon Oath, before the Coroner, Octob. 18, 19. 1678. and their Evidence was much thereabouts, afterward, at the Tryal of the Pretended Murtherers, Feb. 10. 1678. But the Fairest way will be to Deliver the Colloquy at Large, for so much a concerns This Subject.

I shall only take Notice of One Artificial Insinuation by the Way. [We Desire (says Mr. Attorney) to call the Surgeons that View'd and OPEN'D the Body, Mr. Skillarn, and Mr. Cambridge, Tryal. fol. 30.] Now this was to possess the Audience with a Full Persuasion of the most Reasonable Thing in the World, and that the Body had been Open'd Indeed. Whereas there was No Opening of the Body; but on the contrary, the Thing was Mov'd and Desir'd, but the Brothers would not Permit it; and Mr. Hobbs (as he told me very Frankly, with his own Lips) was Absolutely for it; for, says he, upon the Opening of the Body, you should have known as well what Death he Dy'd, as if you had seen it. But now to the Evidence.

Mr.

Mr. Att. G. Did you observe his Breast? how was it?  
 Mr. Skillarn.] His Breast was All beaten with some  
 Obtuse Weapon, either with the Fist, or Hands, or Some-  
 thing.

Mr. Att. G.] Did you observe his Neck?

Mr. Skillarn.] Yes, It was Distorted.

Mr. Att. G.] How far?

Mr. Skillarn.] You might have taken the Chin, and  
 have set it upon either Shoulder.

Mr. Att. G.] Did you Observe the Wound?

Mr. Skillarn. Yes I did. It went in at one place, and  
 Stopt at a Rib; the Other Place, it was quite through the  
 Body.

Mr. Att. G.] Do you think he was kill'd by That  
 Wound?

Mr. Skillarn. No; for then there would have been some  
 Evacuation of Bloud, which there was Not: And be-  
 sides; his Bosom was open, and he had a Flannel Waist-  
 coat and a Shirt on; and neither Those, nor any of his  
 Clothes were Penetrated.

Mr. Att. Gen.] But are you Sure his Neck had been  
 Broken?

Mr. Skillarn.] Yes, I am sure.

Mr. Att. G.] Because some have been of Opinion, that  
 he Hang'd Himself, and his Relations to Save his Estate,  
 run him through; I would desire to ask the Chirurgeon  
 what he Thinks of it.

Mr. Skillarn.] There was more done to his Neck then  
 an Ordinary Suffocation; the Wound went through his  
 very Heart; and there would have appear'd some Bloud,  
 if it had been done quickly after his Death.

Mr. Att. G.] Did it appear by the View of the Body,  
 that he was Strangled or Hang'd?

Mr. Skillarn.] He was a Lean Man, and his Mus-  
 cles, if he had died of the Wound, would have been Tur-  
 gid; And Then again, All Strangled People never Swell,  
 be-

because there is a Sudden Deprivation of all the Spirits, and a hindring of the Circulation of the Blood.

Mr. Att. G.] How long do you believe he might be dead before you saw him?

Mr. Skillarne.] I believe, four or five days. And they might have kept him a Week, and he never Swell'd at All, being a Lean Man. And when we Ript him up, he began for to Putrify; we made two Incisions to give it Vent; and the Liquor that was in his Body did a Little Smell. The very Lean Flesh was so near turn'd into Putrefaction, that is Stuck to the Instrument when we Cut it.

Mr. Recorder.] My Lord, here is another Chirurgeon, Mr. Cambridge; Pray Sir are you Sworn?

Mr. Cambridge.] Yes, I am.

Mr. Recorder.] When did you see the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey?

Mr. Cambridge.] Upon Friday; the very day the Gentleman did. I found his Neck Dislocated, and his Breast very much Beaten, and Bruised. And I found Two Punctures under his left Pap; the one went against the Rib, the other quite through the Body under the Left Pap.

Mr. Att. G. Do you believe That Wound was the Occasion of his Death?

Mr. Cambridge.] No; I believe it was given him after his Death.

L. C. J.] And his Neck was Broke?

Mr. Cambridge.] His Neck was Dislocated, Sir.

The Matter here Under Consideration was the Distortion of his Neck, His Bruises; No Evacuation of Blood; The Appearance of his Muscles; Insomuch, that they both Agree that the Wound was given him after his Death; And the Bruises are presum'd to have been Occasion'd by the Blows he received from the Murtherers upon Struggling to Defend himself. The Reader is here to take Notice, that Mr. Skillarne, and

Cam-

Cambridge, were the Two only Surgeons that were taken in for Assistants to the Coroner. But however, that there were others Call'd-in who saw him by the By, to give Evidence afterward upon a Tryal at Guildhall, June 20. 1682. As Mr. Hobbs, The Two Mr. Chaces, Father and Son; Mr. Lazenby. Mr. Hobbs Part was This.

E. C. Justice.] Had you any doubt whether he was Strangul'd?

Mr. Hobbs.] Indeed my Lord; I thought he was Strangled; That was my Opinion; I can't tell Whether I was Mistaken. I said to Dr. Goodall, it would be very well if Mr. Godfrey would send for a Surgeon, and a Physician from the Court, and Others from the City, to SATISFY ALL PERSONS.

Mr. Farwell.] What Colour was his Face?

Mr. Hobbs.] My Lord, it was Bloated.

L.C.J. Did it look as if Violence had been us'd to him?

Mr. Hobbs.] Ay my Lord; and the Bloody Vessels of his Eyes were so full, as if he had been Troubled with Sore Eyes. Tryal of Nathaniel Thompson, &c. fol. 23,24.

The Evidence that the Two Mr. Chaces gave upon the Matter here in Question, was to This Effect. Mr. Chace the Son, upon Fryday Morning View'd the Ditch, and saw No Blood in't. He saw the Body in the House; Two Wounds; A Contusion on the Left Ear. He Believ'd he was Strangled, and those Injuries done after he was Dead.

Mr. Chace the Father saw the Body at the White-House on Fryday; a Contusion, and Two Wounds; And the Next day he saw a Swelling on his Left Ear, as if a Knot had been Ty'd, fol. 24.

Mr. Lazenby took him to be Strangled, and gave his Reasons. There was Blood Four Yards from the Ditch, that

that Smelt as Strong as if he had been Dead a Fortnight; He Believ'd he was Strangled: His Stomach and Breast were much Discolour'd, and Black, and his Mouth Discolour'd. He went up-stairs to Drink a Glass of Beer, and was Call'd down again to see Two Great Creases about his Neck, being told that young Mr. Chace had Unbuckon'd the Collar. So being come down, he put the Collar together, and Perceived the Collar made a Mark, like a Streight Ring upon a Finger; the Neck being Swell'd above the Collar, and Below, by the Strangling with a Chord, or Cloth, Tryal, fol. 25, 26.

I must observe here by the way now, that my Citations are from a Tryal Printed by the Lord Chief Justice Pemberton's Order. There was Another Pretended Account of the same Tryal: Published without Order, and said to be Printed for William Mason; Wherein by way of Abstract, the Evidence against the Pris'ners is strain'd, and Falsified, and being much Harder upon them, then That in the Authentique Tryal, 'tis to be presum'd, that for the Honour of the Court, Nothing was Omitted that might give Reputation to the Justice of the Proceeding.

I must take Notice again, that there's an Appendix of Affidavits and Observations Annexed to the Licens'd Tryal in the Course of Signature, and Folio, to support the Credit of Prince's Evidence, which looks as if the Whole had been Printed by the same Authority, Whereas my Lord Chief Justice only Licens'd the Tryal. These surreptitious Pieces are of No Weight; and it is but reason to Reject what is Spurious on the one side, as it is Fair to Allow the Uttermost Force of All that has been, or can be said on the Other. There was a Great stir made about Fly-blows, or No Fly-blows, and whether his eyes were shut, or Open. But I shall touch upon Those Points as they fall in My Way, with-

without laying more stress upon the Matter, than 'tis  
Worth.

To do Right to All Peoples, and to All Things; and  
to All Purposes, I must Recommend here one Note to  
the Reader, upon the Testimonies Deliver'd, and as they  
are here represented by the Gentlemen above Named.  
They do Not speak to the Whole History of the Bus'ness,  
according to the Literal strictness of the Oath, or Duty  
of an Evidence, so as to Expatriate upon All the Minutes  
of their Knowledge, or Thoughts, as to the Thing in  
Question, but according to the Equity, and the Intent  
of Publique Justice; For the Court puts the Questions;  
and it is their Part, Truly to Answer them, without  
running into Masters Forreign to the Interrogatory.  
They Believ'd, upon what they had in Sight, that he  
was strangled; and so That was a safe, and Convenient  
Question: and the Signs of it about his Neck, were em-  
prov'd in favour of That Opinion; if he had Dy'd of the  
Wound, they say, there would have been a Great Eva-  
cuation of Bloud; and so the Question upon That  
Point, was, in a Manner Restraine'd to the Ditch: only  
some superficial Enquiries about the Dreining of it at  
the White-house into the Cellar, and the like: As if the  
Evacuation of a Gallon of Bloud, in Another Place, were  
not as Competent a Ground to Conclude upon, as One  
Drop of Bloud in the Ditch: But if These Gentlemen  
had had the Body before them, in the Ditch, as they  
had it in the House, they would never have troubled  
themselves, with his Neck; his Bruises, or his Circles,  
having so Demonstrative a Certainty of the True Cause of  
his Death, before them: For there was not any Part  
about him; Not so much as a Finger, that they would  
not have read the Workings of Nature in. There would  
have been No Doubt, in fine, Whether he Dy'd by a  
Sword, or by a Crovate; but Who Kill'd him might  
perchance have Yielded Matter for Another Question,

If they could have thought it Possible for Mortal Hands to have Drawn so Accurate, and Natural a Counterfeit of a Man that had Kill'd Himself. To Conclude; the Surgeons were Consulted in their Faculty, upon what Appear'd to Them, without any Obligation upon them to Pronounce upon a Fact that was Wholly out of their Ken: As if a Man should ask the Judgment of the College of Physicians, concerning such or such a Disease. They may be Great Philosophers, and Doctors, and yet Mistake the Distemper; and much more lyable were These Gentlemen to a Mistake, upon the Judgment of This Justice's Death. In one Word more; This Evidence was Effectually, but the Repeating of a Lesson, and the saying of the same Things over again, which they had Declar'd before: They were, in Truth, Leading Questions that Required Following Answers; and, as it happen'd, there was not One Interrogatory that came near the Quick. I will add one Word more; and so make an end of This Chapter. I am, my self, Perswaded, that there were such Signs of Suffocation, as if his Body had been found Hung up in a Room with a Sword thorough it, and an Effusion of Bloud upon the Floor too, supposing the Wound before he was quite Dead, one might have at least divided the Death, betwixt the Sword, and the Halter: But upon the finding of a Sword through a Body in a Ditch, and in such a Position too; and No visible, or Hardly Imaginable Hanging in the Case; to Conclude; that he was strangled, and that the Sword had No Part in his Death, was a Thing, that Most Infallibly These Gentlemen would never have Agreed to, at least 'till they had satisfy'd themselves that there was No Possibility of any. Other Cause for Those Signs of Suffocation; and 'till they had fully Consider'd, whether there Might not be something of Equivalence to such a Suffocation, in the Circumstances of the State, and Condition wherein they found him.

## C H A P. XII.

*The Juror's Reasons for the Verdict they gave, upon  
the View of Sir E. B. Godfrey's Body.*

Thomas Harris Deposeth, That he this Enformant, some few Days after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went Last from his House, heard that he was Missing; And saith, That the said Sir Edmund's Body being found Dead in a Ditch, at, or near Prim-rose-Hill, he this Enformant was Summon'd upon the Coroners Inquest to attend at the White-House, near the said Primrose-Hill, where there were Two Persons suppos'd to be Surgeons, to View, and to Probe the Body. The One's Name was Cambridge; The Other this Enformant doth not know. The said Surgeons, upon Examining the Body, found Two Wounds, which they said they Believ'd were given after the Body was Dead. And observing a Streak about his Neck, they said they Believed he was First Suffocated, and some time afterward, run Through. And this Enformant did not take Notice of any other Surgeons there, than Those Aforesaid. The matter was there Debated by the Jurors, who were not as yet satisfied how he should come to his End: There being Evidence of the Place, and the Manner of finding him, but None of the Particular Manner of his Death. So that the Jury Adjourn'd till they should have a Further Summons.

Upon Saturday the Day following, the Jury met again at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields, where they came, after a Long Debate, to a Verdict, Agreeing, that the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Strangled by Persons Unknown, &c.

And being further asked, How it came to pass, that this Enformant, and the Jury, not being satisfied in the Man-

ner

her of the said Sir Edmund's Death, by any Proofs at the White-House, they came Now to be better Satisfy'd therein, at the Rose and Crown, then they were Before: To which, this Enformant maketh Answer, That an Oyl-man; and Some Others made Oath, That they saw him in the Strand about Twelve or One upon the Day that he was First Missing.

And being further Asked, How they came to find him Strangled with a Linnen Cloth, when there was No Linnen Cloth found, and not rather Kill'd with his own Sword, which was found through him: This Enformant Answereth, That the Surgeons told them, That if he had been run through first, there could never have been a Suffocation Afterwards.

John Cowsey Deposeth, That there were Two Surgeons call'd to View, and Examine the Body, who gave their Opinions upon Oath, (to the best of this Enformants Memory) that he was Suffocated, which they Gather'd from a Circle about his Neck, and the setting of the Bloud about his Breast.

They did not come to a Verdict at That Meeting; But the Coroner told them, that for several Reasons, they should at present Adjourn.

After the Adjournment abovesaid, the Jury met at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields, the next Day, where they stay'd till very Late That Night, before they gave up their Verdict.

And this Enformant being Interrogated, if they found a Linnen Cloth about him: This Enformant Answereth, That he neither saw, nor heard of any.

And this Enformant being Interrogated, if there was any Proof made to the Juty of the Body being found Dead with a Sword through it, This Enformant maketh Answer, That it was Prov'd upon Oath.

*And This Enformant being further Interrogated, how they came to find him Strangled with a Linnen Cloth, when no Linnen Cloth there appear'd ; and why they did not find him to Dye of his Wounds, when 'twas Prov'd upon Oath, that the Body was found with a Sword through it ? He this Enformant maketh Answer, That by the Opinion of the Surgeons, and the Appearance of the Body, they Judg'd that he was Strangled. And touching the Wound given by the Sword, this Enformant Judged that the Wound could not be his Death ; because he saw No Bloud follow.*

*Joseph Circle Deposeth, That being Summoned, &c. One Mrs. Blith, and her Man of St. Giles's, made Oath, They, or One of them had been upon Wednesday up and down thereabouts (where the Body was found) looking for a Calf newly fall'n ; And that at that time, they did not see any Dead Body. This being Wednesday when Sir E. B. Godfrey was Missing. And saith, That the Jurors complain'd much of waiting so long, and Desir'd to be Dismissed ; but the Coroner, John Cowper, urged the staying of it out, till they should see what Evidence would come in.*

*Thomas Woollams Deposeth, That he was Summoned, &c. And that there were Two Surgeons with the Jury, upon the View of the Body ; Who, upon Examination of the Circumstances, Declar'd upon their Oaths, That they Believed the Body was Suffocated ; Giving these Reasons for it, that there was a Circle about the Neck ; The Bloud was Setled within the Skin, and his Neck seemed to be Wrenched. They did not come to a Verdict at That Sitting ; but put it off to another Sitting.*

*Simon Standever Deposeth, that he being Summoned, &c. and the Jury Sworn, they went All, or the greater Part of them,*

them, and this Enformant, one of the Number, to View the Place where the Body was found ; and so Return'd to Sit upon the Body. There were Two Persons, one Cambridge, a Surgeon, and Another Person Unknown to this Enformant, who they said was a Surgeon also, to View, and to Examine the said Body, who Delivered their Opinion upon their Oaths, That they Believed that the said Sir Edmund did Not Dye of the Wound by the Sword ; but that he was Strangled : For his Breast was Black and Bruised ; And there was a List about his Neck : His Neck Limber, and his Chin turn'd upon his Left Shoulder, to the best of This Enformants Memory. That by This Opinion of the Surgeons, and their declaring that he did not Dye by the Wound of the Sword, This Enformant, and others of the Jury (as he Believes) were Persuaded to be of the same Opinion, That he did not Dye of the Wound of the Sword.

And This Enformant saith, That they did not come to a Verdict at the White-House ; But there being a great Crowd of People, and No Evidence as yet appearing (as this Enformant Remembers) but the Two Surgeons, and Mr. Collins, who said that he saw him on the Day that he was First Missing about Nine or Ten a Clock in the Morning, near a Barn of the said Mr. Collins's, hard by Marybone Church ; the Jury was coming at that time to a Verdict. That the Day following, in the Afternoon, the said Jury met at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields, where they sat from the Afternoon, till past Midnight, before they gave up their Verdict.

This Enformant being Interrogated, what Evidence they had at the Rose and Crown, more then they had before at the White-House, to make them think that the Sword was not the Cause of his Death : This Enformant Answereth, That a Shop-keeper, with his Wife, and some body else, gave Enformation upon Oath, That they had seen the said Sir Edmund at the Door of the said Shop-keeper ;

R 3 about

about Twelve a Clock at Noon the First Day that Sir Edmund was Missing; by which, it appear'd, that the said Sir Edmund was back again in London, after Mr. Collins had seen him about Marybone.

*Anthony Fryer Deposeth, being Summoned, &c.*  
*That there were Two Persons, said to be Surgeons, that had*  
*the View of, and the Probing of the Body. The Name of the*  
*One was Nicholas Cambridge, but the Name of the Other*  
*this Enformant doth not Remember: And that upon the*  
*Probing of the said Body, they gave their Opinion that*  
*the Wounds were made after he was Dead; which, to*  
*This Enformants Remembrance, Mow'd This Enfor-*  
*mant, and Others, to be of the same Opinion too.*

*And this Enformant saith, That the Surgeons afore-*  
*said were with the Jury again at the Rose and Crown, (to*  
*the best of his Knowledge;) And that the said Surgeons*  
*Declar'd they Believ'd he was Strangled with a Napkin,*  
*or Some such Thing, which this Enformant saith, was*  
*the Only Reason, together with the Circle about his Neck,*  
*that Induc'd This Enformant to be of That Opin-*  
*ion.*

*Robert Trotton being Summoned, &c. Deposeth,*  
*That being ask'd upon what Evidence they found the said Sir*  
*Edmund to be Strangled with a Linnen Cloth, the Body*  
*being found with a Sword through it, and no Linnen*  
*Cloth appearing, This Enformant maketh Answer, That*  
*He and the Jury could not tell what to Think on't, it*  
*was so Ticklish a Bus'ness: But the Two Surgeons, One*  
*Nicholas Cambridge, and Another, saying, that it was*  
*done by some Linnen Cloth, Sway'd the Jury to find it*  
*so. And that This Enformant verily Believeth, that*  
*if the said Surgeons had not given their Opinions, that*  
*he was kill'd by a Linnen Cloth, the Jury would have*  
*given up the Verdict, that it was done with his own*  
*Sword;* And

And further, That this Enformant doth not Remember any more Surgeons upon the View of the Body with the Jurors, then the Two before spoken of: And he Remembreth that the said Surgeons were with the Jury, both at the White-House, and at the Rose and Crown; And that the Jurors were strongly of Opinion that the said Sir Edmund was Kill'd with the Sword that was found in his Body, 'till the Earnestness of the Surgeons Prevail'd upon them, to give their Verdict Another way.

John Davis Deposeth, That this Enformant was Summon'd to appear upon the Coroners Inquest at the White-House near Primrose-Hill; And there to sit upon the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, which was found Dead near that Place: And This Enformant went thither accordingly, where He this Enformant saw the said Body lying upon the Table: And likewise saw Two Persons there, which he took to be Surgeons.

And faith, That the said Jurors were discoursing how the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey came by his End: And that This Enformant did not understand by any thing he heard there, nor did he ever understand how the said Sir Edmund came by his Death.

And that the said Jury was Adjourn'd from the White-House; and likewise that the Coroner there Declar'd, that the said Body might be bury'd.

And this Enformant remembreth, that the said Jury sat again at the Rose and Crown in St.Giles's in the Fields; And that there they sat Late in the Night, 'till they deliver'd up their Verdict.

And faith, That this Enformant, by all that Pass'd There, could not understand how the said Sir Edmund came by his Death; Neither did he find by any of his Fellow-Jurors, how he came by his Death.

And This Enformant Remembreth, that in Discoursing upon the said Body; Some were of Opinion that he Mur-

ther'd Himself ; Others, that it was done by the Hands of some Other Person, or Persons.

Philip Wyanes Deposeth, being Summon'd, &c. That there was One Cambridge a Surgeon there ; and Another Person who they say was a Profess'd Surgeon, whom This Enformant did not know, which Two Surgeons did upon their Oaths take a View of, and Examine the Body, Lancing the Breast, and the Neck, Declaring their Opinions upon the View and Examination of the said Body ; That it was Impossible for the said Sir Edmund to do That of Himself, but that it was done by other Hands ; And that he Dy'd by Suffocating, by something that was Broad, the Circle it Self being very Broad. The Crowd of People being very Great, and the Jurors desirous to get what En-formation they could, they were Adjourn'd for that Time without coming to a Verdict.

The Jury met Next at the Rose and Crown at St. Giles's in the Fields, Where they sat from the Afternoon 'till about Midnight, before they gave up their Verdict ; The Two Surgeons before Spoken of, Continuing in the same Opinion that they were before.

And This Enformant being Interrogated, what Objections were Mow'd upon the Debate before they came to a Verdict, Maketh Answer, That some said perhaps he might Murther Himself ; some that perhaps the Sword might Kill him ; Others that he was Strangled : But they All Agreed at last in the same Verdict.

Thomas Mason Deposeth, being Summon'd, That there was one Cambridge a Surgeon to view the Body ; And Likewise Another Person Unknown to this Enformant, who they said was a Surgeon ; which said Surgeons gave their Opinion, that the Sword was not the Death of him ; But that he was Strangled. That there was a Debate upon the Matter ; But the Press being Troublesome, and the Persons

Persons that found the Body, not Present, the Jury brake up from the White-House.

That ón the Next day, being Saturday, the Jury Met at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields, about Five in the Afternoon ; And that they sat 'till Four in the Morning, before they Agreed upon the Verdict.

And moreover, This Enformant saith, That the said Radcliffe and his Wife Swore they saw him about One a Clock, on the aforesaid Saturday, when Sir Edmund was first Missing, and Ask'd him to Dine with them.

Thomas Hartwell Deposeth, being Summon'd, &c. That the Neck of the said Body being so Limber, that it would not lye Upright upon the Table ; This Enformant Believeth (to the Best of his Memory) that there were Surgeons sent for ; And that there came two Persons, One Cambridge, whom This Enformant knew to be a Surgeon, and the Other This Enformant did not know ; The said Surgeons feeling, and viewing the Body about the Neck, and finding the Neck to be Limber, and a Green List round it, They the said Surgeons gave their Opinions that the said Body was Strangled.

This Enformant further saith, That upon the Surgeons Declaring Themselves in Manner as Aforesaid, He This Enformant was Induc'd to be of That Opinion : But the Crowd being very Great, and the Jury desiring to be better Enform'd, they Rose without Coming to a Verdict.

And this Enformant saith, That the Juries next Meeting was at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles'es in the Fields, where they had a Long Debate before they gave up their Verdict.

This Enformant remembreth, that there was Sometime or other a Dispute betwixt the Two Coroners, but doth not remember upon what Point, nor the Circumstances of the Dispute ; Neither can he be Positive, that it was about the Body that was there in Question,

And

*And faith, That the Surgeons gave for the Reason of their Opinions, that the Neck was Limber, and Broken, And a Circle of Bloud Settled about the Neck ; And That This Enformant Believeth, that the Jury relied upon the Surgeons Opinion, believing that they Understood the Matter better then the Jurors. The Surgeons also saying, That they Believed he was Strangled with a Cloth, the Circle would not have been so Broad else.*

I am Now to Observe, upon This Evidence, First, That the *Verdict* was not Carry'd so *Clear* as the *World* has been made to Believe : For after so *many Hours* Sitting at the *White-House* upon the *Friday*, they were forc'd to *Adjourn* the *Debate* to the *Rose and Crown in St. Giles's*, and to make *Another Days Work* on't ; Nay, and it was far into *Sunday Morning* too, before they Agreed their *Verdict*.

It must not be pass'd over in the *Second Place*, What was the *True Reason* of their putting it off. *Harris* said the Jury were not satisfied, and so *Adjourn'd*. *Cowsey* says, they could not agree *That Point*, and the *Coroner* *Adjourn'd* for several Reasons [ Best known to *Himself.*] *Wyanes* says, they *Adjourn'd* for *Better Enformation*; And so says *Hartwell*. But they *Adjourn'd*, in fine, for want of *Full Enformation*. They came next day together again, according to that *Adjournment*, and sat out the *Debate* 'till it came to a *Verdict*, which presumes that they had now gotten the *Better Enformation*, which they wanted before : And what *That Enformation* was, is the Thing next to be Consider'd.

C H A P.

## C H A P. XIII.

*The Jury Adjourn'd the Debate for want of Evidence: Quere what Better Evidence they had the Next Day when they came to a Verdict, than was Produc'd the Day before?*

THE Question in Debate is shortly This: By *What Death, or by What Hand Sir E. B. Godfrey Dy'd.* The Jury were Divided, the First Day for want of Competent Enformation; and their Coming to a Resolution the day following, Supposes an Additional, or a Supplemental Evidence, which must be either in Proof of Fact, or upon the Force of Fair Inference, or Pregnant Presumption: so that in a Train of Thought it comes Naturally now to be Enquir'd into, what New Inducments or Enformations, they received, the Second day toward the Presumption of his being Strangled, over and above what they had the Day before. The Business of the Wounds given after he was Dead, the Streak or Circle about his Neck; the Setling of his Bloud about the Breast, the Wrenching and the Limberness of his Neck; No Evacuation of Bloud; These were the Circumstances, as Appears by the Jurors Themselves, that the Surgeons Declar'd to be the Reasons, why they Concluded him to be Strangled; And it must be with a Napkin or some Linnen Cloth, they said, to Answer the Breadth of the List about his Neck. Now if the Jurors had All This before them on the Friday, And that Neither the Opinion of the Surgeons, nor the View of the Body, nor Both Together could Prevail upon the Jury That Day to find him Strangled; the Same Reasons over again, Unless otherwise and better Supported, cannot be Decently Understood to have had more Power upon their Minds, and

and Understanding upon the Saturday then they had on Friday : So that the Jurors are Now to tell us what Wonderful Revelation they had the Day Following , to Clear This Mystery ; Only a Word or Two, Previous to That Point.

*William Colling and Thomas Mason, Both Jury-Men saw Sir Edmund That Saturday Morning, The Former about Nine of the Clock talking with a Milk-woman near Paddington ; The Other coming from Paddington-Ward, toward London, about Eleven, That Morning.. We shall now see what it was that Sway'd the Verdict.*

They were mov'd to the Verdict (says Mr. Harris) by an Oylman, and Others that saw him at Twelve. They sat Long (says Mr. Standever) and an Oylman and his Wife shew'd he was come back again. Mr. Mason says the same Thing too.

Now the Question was, upon the Evidence before the Jury, whether he was Strangled, or Kill'd with a Sword. They could not, it seems, agree upon the Matter, 'till they found that Mr. Radcliffe, and Others had Seen him about One of the Clock in the Strand near Charing-Cross That day that Collins had Seen him near Paddington in the Morning : and from hence they draw a Conclusion, he was Strangled. And why might they not as reasonably have Inferr'd from the Proof of his Coming back again, that he Dy'd by the Sword, as by the Linnen Cloth? Beside that it was in Every bodies Mouth, before ever they came to a Verdict, that Several People had seen him in his way toward Paddington back again: But we shall have a Better Occasion to look into This Particular, when we come to Discourse of the Witnesses that were made use of, and of Those that were Not, and into the Merits of That Evidence. In the Mean While, the Jurors were, in Effect, Totally led by the Surgeons.

*The*

*The Surgeons told us so (says Mr. Harris) The Surgeons Judg'd him strangled, says Mr. Cowsey: And so says Mr. Woollams: The Opinion of the Surgeons sway'd the Jury, says Mr. Standever. The Surgeons Opinion mov'd Mr. Fryer, Mr. Trotton, and effectually, All the Rest.*

But All This had no Effect upon the Jury the First day; Nay the Jurors (says Mr. Trotton) were strongly of opinion that he was kill'd with the Sword, 'till the Earnestness of the Surgeons prevail'd with them to give their Verdict Another way. Mr. Davies Declares that Neither He nor Any of his Fellow-Jurors were satisfy'd in the Bus'ness. But some would have it that he Kill'd Himself; Others, that he was Murther'd by some body else.

So much for the Point of the Surgeons leading the Jury; and it remains now to Examine the Weight of Those Reasons that Wrought upon the Surgeons, which I shall Handle with All due respects to their Abilities; to their Integrity, and to their Profession. Let me be Understood here, to Comprehend All Those Persons of Name and of Mark, that have Deliver'd their thoughts upon This Subject, occasionally, and by the By, as well as Those Gentlemen that Assisted more Immediately to the Attending of This Office. To say the Plain Truth of the Matter, the Surgeons had but half a sight of the Case, and Consequently, could make but half a Judgment upon the Thing in Question. Nothing is more Ordinary, then for Learned and Practical Physicians, upon a Consult to say, If I had known, or seen This or That Accident, I should have taken it to have been such or such a Disease; and most Undoubtedly, (as I have Hinted already) they would have made quite Another Judgment upon the Body in the Ditch, then they did upon the Table. But to give as much as can be Granted, or I might have said as much as can be Demanded in the then Present state of Things; The very Conjecture, or Pro-

Probability of a Suffocation, was as much almost, as the Matter would bear ; And it had need of being *very well seconded*, even to *Warrant* the Sentence of a Bare Likelyhood. As for Instance, now.

There is Great Weight laid upon the Limberness, the Twisting, or the Wrenching of the Neck, as some of the Jurors have worded it ; or the Dislocating of it, according to the Surgeons. They All spoke of Greens Twisting his Neck, says Prance, Tryal, fol. 17. J. And from hence they Infer that he was strangled. Now the Fallacy of This Inference lyes so open, that Every Nurse, and Searcher here about the Town is Infinitely better able to speak to't, upon Experience, than the Whole Council of Surgeons Hall can pretend to ; if they take upon them to speak only by Book.

*Robert White Deposeth, that being desired to speak his Observations upon Dead Bodies, Concerning the Limberness of their Necks, as if their Necks were Broken ; and whether or No he hath taken Notice of such a Limberness of the Neck in Ordinary Cases ; He This Enformant maketh Answer, That he hath seen several Bodies, which upon the First Apprehension seemed to have their Necks Broken, and Dislocated ; but that upon Examination of Evidence, He This Enformant hath found the Necks of several Bodies to be very Loose and Limber, that have been Destroy'd by Wounds in Other Places.*

*Mary Smith, and Sarah Moreton, Searchers of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, Joynly Depose, that These Enformants being asked whether in their Observation of Bodies that Dye a Natural Death, they These Enformants find the Necks of such Bodies as aforesaid, either Stiff, or Limber : They make Answer, that they find the Necks of such Bodies both Ways ; some, Stiff ; and some, Limber : And that they these Enformants, - in token of the Truth*

Truth of This, their Observation, do Joyntly affirm, That it is a Common saying among the Generality of People, That if the Neck of the Corps be Loose, some others will shortly Dye out of the Family.

And further the Enformants being asked, in what Manner they find the Looseness of the Neck in Those Bodies, where the Neck is Limber as aforesaid; They make Answer, That they find the Necks, some Limberer then Others, and very often that the Chin will be turn'd from shoul-der to shoulder, and that it will Waggle to and fro.

And These Enformants Joyntly say, that when they have come to search Bodies that have been a Day Dead or so; And that they have found the Head Leaning upon the shoulder or Body, in an Ill Postare; It is a hard thing to put it in Order; But when they come soon after the Body is Dead, it is much Easier to put it in Order.

And they say Joyntly likewise, that they find such Bod-ies as aforesaid, some Limber and some Stiff, but (as they Believe) Ten Bodies Stiff for One Limber.

And they say Joyntly, that they have seen a Corps where-of the Neck was Broken, and that the Chin was turn'd directly behind upon the Back.

Alice Weeks, and Elizabeth Belcher, Searchers of the Parish of St. Giles's in the Fields Joyntly Depose, that being asked whether in their Observation of Bodies that Dye a Natural Death; They These Enformants find the Necks of such Bodies as aforesaid, either Stiff, or Limber; They make Answer, that they find the Necks of such Bodies, Both Wways, some stiff, and some limber: And that they these Enformants, in token of the Truth of this their Observa-tion, do Joyntly Affirm, that it is a Common saying among the Generality of People, that if the Neck of the Corps be Loose, some others will shortly Dye out of the Fa-mily.

And

And further ; These Enformants being Asked in what Manner they find the Looseness of the Neck in Those Bodies, Where the Neck is Limber, as aforesaid ; They make answer, That they find the Necks some Limberer then others, and very often that the Chin will be turn'd from Shoulder to Shoulder, and that it will Waggle to and Fro.

And These Enformants Joynly say, that when they have come to search Bodies, that have been a Day Dead or so ; And that they have found the Head Leaning upon the Shoulder, or the Body in an Ill Posture, it is a hard thing to put it in Order : But when they come soon after the Body is Dead, it is much Easier to put it in Order.

And they say Joynly likewise, that they find such Bodies as aforesaid, some Limber, and some Stiff, but (as they believe) Ten Bodies Stiff for one Limber.

Alice Weeks Deposeth apart, that going to search the Body of a Child, she found the Neck of it Broken, and that the Chin of the said Child was Turn'd quite round to the Back.

This Account of the Searchers, agrees exactly, as well in the Negative as in the Affirmative with the Story of Sir Godfrey's Body. All People agree that they Could and did Turn the Chin from Shoulder to Shoulder ; but there's Not a Word of turning it about to the Back, which the Searchers observ'd, might have been done, if the Neck was Broken ; and Undoubtedly, they that turn'd it to the Shoulder, if it had not stop'd There, would have gone further in it.

But then the Streaks, the Lists and the Creases about the Neck, as they call them, were look'd upon as strong Presumptions that he Dy'd by Suffocation, not so much as Accidents, simply Arising from the Choking of him, as the Impression, that the straining of the Rope or Linnen Cloth with which he was strangled, had Left behind it upon the Part.

I had a Fair Occasion of some Discourse upon This Point with Mr. Hobbs, who had not seen the Body, it seems, either in the *Ditch*, or at the *White-House*, but only after the Removal of it to *Hartshorn-Lane*. He told me that upon the *View* of the *Body*, he thought it to be *Strangled*. My Answer, I remember, was *This*, in Effect, that I my self was Partly of That Opinion; for considering the *Depth*, the *Straightness*, and the *Stiffness* of his *Collar*, and the *Pressing* of his *Throat* upon it, which, of Necessity, must bear hard in That Position of his Body: The very *Force* and *Oppression* of the *Posture* he was found in, would have been *Sufficient*, in a very short time, to have *Choaked* him, even without his *Wounds*; but the *Suffocation* then follow'd the *Sword*, not the *Sword* the *Suffocation*, and the *One* Produced the *Accidents* of the *Other*. The Gentleman, for the Purpose, fell upon his *Sword*; The *Stab* was *Mortal*; but the *Fall* yet cast the *Body* into such a *Disposition* of the *Several Parts* of it, that it *Superinduc'd* the *Signs* of *Strangling*, over and above the *Deadly Effect* of the *Wound*: So that it stands with very good Reason, that he might be *Really Kill'd* with the *Sword*, and yet at the same time appear to be *Choak'd*: And under favour, the *Scene* of the *Ditch*, duly consider'd, the *Presumptions* were *Twenty times more*, and stronger for the *Former*, then for the *Latter*. Mr. Hobbs was pleas'd to Agree in Opinion, that such a *Collar*, and such *Circumstances* might well be the Cause of such an *Appearance*: But we'll see now what Mr. Skillarne and Mr. Lasinby say to the Matter.

Zachariah Skillarne Deposes, That upon the Friday Morning Early, being the Next Day to the Evening whereon the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found, This Enformant heard a Rumour of the finding of the said Body, and the Place where 'twas found. And that

soon afterward, on the same Morning, he This Enformant by a Message from the Two Brothers of the said Sir Edmund, was given to understand that they Desired his Company to go along with them to View the Body; And He This Enformant went accordingly, in a Coach with the Brothers aforesaid, as near as they could come to the White-House.; And there they Alighted, This Enformant with One of the Brothers, going a-foot to the Place where they were told the said Body was Found.

This Enformant observed the Limbs of the Body to be Loose, and No Stiffness upon them; Having also observed, that the Bodies of Persons that are Hang'd, or Strangled, are always Limber; Whereas Bodies that Dye a Natural Death, are always Stiff, except in Apoplexies. There was also one Mr. Cambridge upon the View of the said Body, who Agreed in Opinion with this Enformant.

This Enformant being asked, what Induc'd him to Believe that the said Body was Strangled: He This Enformant gave these following Reasons. The Person Living being a Man of a Pale Countenance, His Cheeks Flaccid, His Lips Thin, His Nose Sharp, and his Eyes Hollow: The said Sir Edmund being Dead, his Lips and Cheeks were Turgid, and Tumefy'd, His Nose bigger, and Red; His Eyes Prominent, and a Circle about his Neck.

Richard Lassity Surgeon, Deposeth, That this Enformant went with some Company out of Curiosity to see the Dead Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, at the White-House near Primrose-Hill, where it lay upon the Table the Collar not as yet Unbutton'd: But this Enformant going out of the Room to refresh Himself after his Walk, and leaving a Crowd of People there, was soon after call'd back again to see the Neck of the said Sir Edmund, his Collar being Then Unbutton'd.

And

*And this Enformant upon his Return, being asked what he thought of the Two Marks above and below, being just the Breadth of the Collar, which was a Deep Stiff Collar ; It being Suggested to this Enformant, that they were the Marks of Ropes ; He this Enformant gave his Opinion, that they were the Marks of the Edges of the Collar, and that the Swelling of the Neck, and the Breast was so Great above and below the Collar, that it occasioned Those Marks like a Ring upon a Swollen Finger.*

*And this Enformant having seen the Dead Body as aforesaid, and spoken his Thoughts upon it, went out of the Room again, and after sometime passing backward through the said Room, he this Enformant observed, that the Swelling of the Breast had Discharged it self into the Lower Crease, so that the Crease was hardly Perceivable. The Face all this While was Ruddy and Swell'd, excepting Two Places, one by his Mouth, and Another by his Temples, that seem'd to have a Degree of Putrefaction.*

*And faith, That the Breast was turn'd Greenish, and so Mortify'd, (considering the Season of the Year) that it might seem rather to have been Dead a Month, then so short a Time as he was Missing.*

Now for so much as concerns the Collar, and the Circles, it is made a Clear Case here, by the Disappearing of the Lower Circle upon the Unbuttoning of the Collar, that the One caused the Other : The Creases just Answering the Depth of the Collar.

*Sarah Moreton One of the Searchers of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, Deposeth, That this Enformant, and her Partner, Mary Smith, being sent for to see the Body of a Dead Child, about Two Years since, this Enformant, and her said Partner, looking upon the said Child, said it Dy'd of the Rickets : Whereupon the Landlady said to this Enformant, to this effect, The Child*

Child is Murther'd; The Father and Mother have thrown it against the Ground, and kill'd it, shewing to this Enformant a Looseness of the Neck.

And faith, That after This, there was a Jury Met to Sit upon the Death of the Child; and the Jurors Considering the Limberness of the Neck, concluded, that the Neck was Broke; After which, they sent to this Enformant, and her Partner, to View the Body once again; who continued in Opinion, that the Neck of it was Not Broken: Whereupon a Surgeon was sent for, who upon a Full Examination of the Matter, found that the Neck was Not Broken. The Reason they gave why the Neck was Broken, was, because they could remove the Chin from Shoulder to Shoulder, by the Great Looseness of the Neck: But this Enformant and her Partner satisfy'd them, that such a Limbernes of the Neck was an Ordinary Case; and that if the Neck had been Broke, they might have turn'd the Chin behind to the Back; which this Enformant shew'd them was not to be done by This Child: So that they found it to Dye of a Natural Death, and the Parents came into no further Trouble about it.

Mr. Skillarne gives other Reasons still, for his Opinion that he was Strangled. Now if he lay in a Strangling Posture, there must be Strangling Accidents Expected upon him; And if that be Admitted, it was a Filthy way about, to have him Strangled somewhere else, and then brought to the Ditch, when he might have been as well Strangled as he lay in the Ditch: And after All This, there's not so much as the Least Glimpse of Light all This while, of his being Kill'd, either by any Other Hand, or in any Other Place. As to the Settling of the Blood in his Breast, and the Resemblance of Bruises thereabouts, it was but Natural; what with the Damp of the Earth, and the Course of the Blood that way, that Those Parts which were nearest the Orifice of the Wound should Putrifie First. It

It made a Mighty Noise, I remember, the *Dispute* whether his Eyes were *Shut* or *Open*, and whether they were *Fly-blown*, or *Not*. Mr. *Hassard*, and several Others found his Eyes *Shut*; Mr. *Skillarne*, &c. found them *Open*, and Both, *True*, Undoubtedly, as they might be *Tamper'd* with: But for *Fly-blows* upon the 18th. of *October* (though it was *Sworn Point Blank* over and over) the very *Fancy* of *Fly-blows* at *That time of the Year*, was *Laugh'd at*, and *Hiss'd* out of All *Company*, and *Credit*. And yet this very Year, a pretty way into *November*, having the Honour to Dine with a *Noble Person of a Character* every Way *Answerable* to the *Dignity* of his *Title*: The *Side-Bord*, *Cistern*, and *Table-basket*, were so *Pester'd* with *Swarms*, I dare say of *Thousands of Flies*, that I desir'd a *Particular Notice* might be Taken of the *Thing*, and of the *Time*, in *Contradiction* to the *Frivolous Exceptions* that were made to that part of the *Evidence* in the *Case of Godfrey*. There was great *Notice* taken too, of the *Cleanness* of his *Shoes*. Now they were not only *Clean*, but *Shining*; as any Man's will be, upon such a *Walk*, where the *Grass* *wipes* them *every Step he sets*: And Mr. *Teamans* *Deposes*, That his *Shoes* were *very Clean*, and several *Blades of Gras* *stick-ing* about the *Seems*.

Mr. *Collinson* *Deposes*, as to the *Weather*, That it was *Fair*, *Dry Weather* *All that Week till Thursday*, when there was a Great Shower of *Hail*. This he remembreth, by the Token that the *Sickness* and *Death* of his *Wife* at *Marybone* about that *Time*, caused him to *Travel Early and Late*, upon that *Occasion*.

Mr. *Audley* *Deposeth*, That the Saturday when Sir Edmund was first *Missing*, was a very Fair, Sun-shiny Day. This Enformant having a Country-House at *Hammersmith*, walked home on Foot that Saturday, and the

*Way was very Dry, and Clean, which he well remembreth  
by Sir Edmund's being Missing That Day.*

Now his *Shaes* could never have been Thus *Clear*, if he had been brought Thither a *Horseback*; or any way but *a-foot*; for (as some Body well observ'd) the *Walk* had as good as *Glaz'd* them; So that the *Force* of the *Inference* lyes strong the *Other Way*: Or if his *Shoes* Ought to have been *Dirty* with going thither *a-foot* to *Destroy* himself, Why did not the *Murtherers Daub* and *make* them *Dirty*, for the better Colour of the *Cheat*? But let the Matter be as it will, it is not *Tani*, to argue whether it were so or no. The *Question* indeed of *Bloud*, or *No Bloud*, is of more Importance; and though there's already so much said upon't, there's yet *so* much More, to be said upon't, that it will deserve a *Chapter by it self*.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Bloud or No Bloud, was the main Point in Issue,  
though the least part of the Question, either at  
the Inquest, or at the Tryals.*

THE Bus'ness of the *Fly-blows*, and of the *Eyes shut* or open, will bear *Inferences* *Plausible* enough, to *Puzzle* a *Debate*; but they are *Circumstances*, rather of *Curiosity*, and *Caprice*, then of *Weight*. The *Limberness* of the *Neck*, and the *Circles* about it, might pass well enough in the *Description* of a *Body* that had been *Strangled* in *Sight*; but it does not follow, by any *Means*, because it was certaintaly the *Rope* that caused the *Limberness*, and made that *Mark*; that therefore every such *Limberness*, and every such *Mark* must have been

been Can'd by a Rope; for a Stiff Collar, as one may Place the Body, and the Neck of a Man, will as surely Strangle him in a Ditch, as a Halter will do upon a Gibbet: And the Sword that brings down the Body, and the Parts of it to such a Position, does the same Office one way, that the Executioner does Another: So that if I Grant but a Likely Possibility of an Antecedent Suffocation, 'tis the Uttermost that the Case will admit; and so far at last, from being a Warrantable Ground for a Conclusion, that it will scarce amount to a Competent Foundation for a Bare Conjecture. But we have spoken abundantly to These Particulars, in the Two Last Chapters; And so to the Imaginary Blows and Bruises, and the Cleanliness of his Shoes. In one Word; Sir Edmund dy'd a kind of a Complicated Death: The Sword and the Collar, in Appearance, had Both their Parts in't, and either of them would have done the Work, without the Other; But the Main Stress of the Cause is yet to come. 'Tis objected that the Signs of being Strangled were Evident; but that there appear'd nothing more then the Sword through the Body to Induce any Man to Believe that he Dy'd of the Wound. The Sword was run through him after he was Dead, they say, there would have been Blood else, and so they have cast the Question upon This Issue, Was there any Blood or No?

The Jury, we find, were led by the Surgeons; and the Surgeons, by the Blood, or No Blood. Mr. Skilliarne deliver'd himself like a Just Man, and a Master of his Profession, All that was Possible. I took him to be Strangled, ( says he ) and gives his Reasons (as in the last Paragraph of his Enformation, in the Foregoing Chapter.) But then a little further to Qualifie the Matter.

Zachariah Skilliarne Deposeth, That He This Enformant being ask'd what Reasons Mov'd him to be of Opinion

nion that Sir Edmund was Not Kill'd with the Sword, He this Enformant maketh Answer, Because there was no greater Flux of Bloud, which is the ONLY Reason, to the best of his Memory, that Mov'd This Enformant to be of That Judgement.

Now if This was the *ONLY Reason*, for his such Opinion, as He Himself Declares it was, there will be *No Reason at all to believe it*, when *This Reason* shall be Remov'd: And then Mr. Cambridge's Opinion falls, in Consequence, having sworn Himself of the same Judgement with Mr. Skillarde. It would be Endless to set down All the *Enformations* at Length that have been deliver'd upon *Oath* upon *This Occasion*: So that I shall only Sum up the most *Material Parts* of them, in *Abstract*, and refer any Man that doubts the Candor of the *Report*, to the *Originals Themselves*, which I have *Deposited* in the *Paper-Office* for the *Perpetual Memory* of the *Truth of This Matter*. I shall begin with the *Jurors*, and so to the *Surgeons*, and then to *Other Testimonies of Credit*, that speak *Unanimously to This Point*.

*Thomas Woollams Deposeth, That he saw the Body laid at Length, upon a Table, at the White-House, and (as he remembreth) a Stain upon his Flannel, or Holland Shirt, which he took to be Waterish Bloud. That this Enformant went down to see the Place, where the said Body was found: And that he being shewed the Place, where this Enformant was told the Sword was taken out of the Body; He this Enformant heard some of the Company say, that upon the Pulling out of the Sword, there came out some Watry stuff mixt with Bloud; And that this Enformant saw something of That Kind upon the Ground there, to the best of his Remembrance.*

Philip

Philip Wyanes Deposeth, That being Summond, &c. He This Enformant went to the White-house, and saw the Dead Body layd there upon a Table, and saw the Flannel shirt stain'd with a kind of Watrish Bloud; and that going down to the Place where they said the Sword was taken out, This Enformant did there see a kind of Watrish Bloud upon the Ground.

William Colling Deposeth, That the Body had an offensive Smell, and that the Shirt was Bloody, and that some Bloud came from it, as This Enformant was told, when they took out the Sword.

Robert Trotton being Summon'd, &c. Deposeth, That he was shewd the Place where they said they took the Sword out of the Body, and saw Bloud, and at a Style or Posts in the Way; which they said came from the Body.

Thomas Mason being Summon'd, &c. Deposeth, That he saw the Body layd upon a Table in the White-house and Watrish Bloud upon his Linnen.

Joseph Girle being Summond, &c. Deposeth, That while the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was lying upon a Table in the White-house, This Enformant observ'd a Great Quantity of Bloud to Issue from the Body, about a Gallon, as he This Enformant believes.

Here are half a Dozen of the Jurors Themselves, that Swear to the Bloud, though it was Carry'd upon the Two Verdicts, as if there had been No Bloud at All; and that the Sword had been run through him after he was Dead. We'll proceed now to the Testimony of the Surgeons, and of others well vers'd in Matters of that Quality.

Mr.

Mr. Richard Lasinby Deposeth, That the Shirt was Bloody and Foetid; and Bloud likewise on the Place where they said the Sword was taken out.

Mr. Skillarne Deposeth, That he took a View of the Ditch, where the Dead Body was found, and could not see any Bloud; But upon the Place where the Body was Remov'd, and where they drew out the Sword; This Enformant saw the Grass stain'd with a Watry Bloud, and Smelling to it, found it to be Offensive, and Putrifly'd. And This Enformant Passing further, in the Direct way toward the White-house, He This Enformant observed at some Posts that were set up in the Way, that one of the Posts was Stain'd with such a kind of Watrish Bloud as before; And from thence, This Enformant pass'd forward to the White-house, where he saw the said Body lye upon a Table, in a Black Mix'd Chambré Coat; Another Coat Doublet and Breeches Black, no Band, a Deep Stiff Collar, and the Body lying at Length upon the Back; His Eyes Open, The Face Swell'd; The Body upon the Breast appearing to be Bruis'd; The Neck Distorted, and so Limber that This Enformant Remov'd the Chin from One Shoulder to the Other. There was a Circle about the Neck; And upon This Enformants Opening it with an Incision Knife, the Bloud appear'd to be Coagulated. This Enformant saw No Bloud upon the Body, Before; but on the Back of it there was a Stain'd Watrish Bloud. And This Enformant Observed, that upon Raising the Body, there Drain'd a Bloody Serum from it, upon the Table, and so down upon the Floor.

Mr. James Chase Deposeth, That he saw some Bloud upon the Place, where they said the Sword was taken out, and the Constable being upon the Place, told This Enformant, that it was of the Bloud that Follow'd the

Sword

Sword from the Wound, when he drew it out of the Body.

Mr. James Huyseman Deposeth, That the Woman of the White-house told him, that the Bloud Drein'd from the Body as it lay upon the Table, into the Cellar, and that Clots of Bloud were found about the Body.

Mr. Brown the Constable Deposeth, That upon Drawing the Sword out of the Body ( in the Dark,) he heard somewhat come Bulbling out of the Wound, and fall Spattering upon the Ground.

John Rawson Deposeth, That upon the Night when the Body was found, he went down with a Candle and Lanthorn, to the Place where the said Body was found : And going first to the Ditch, they could not Discern any Bloud at All ; but that upon the Place, where the Sword was drawn out, they found Bloud and Watry Stuff up and down upon the Grass, and so Upon the Posts in the Passage, and upon the Cheek of the Door, going into the House, and so likewise upon the Floor, where the Body was First laid, and afterwards upon the Table where it was Remov'd.

Margaret Rawson Deposeth, That the Body being Layd upon the Table, she This Enformant saw Bloud and Watry Matter that had Dropt from the Table, and pass'd through the Cellar, and dropt on some Bottles that were there,

John Paris Deposeth, That he saw the Body lye Upon the Floor at the White-house, and that there ran Bloud and Watry Matter from the said Body upon the Floor.

Mr.

Mr. John Hassard Deposeth, That This Enformant heard that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing from his House some Days before the Dead Body was found. And that upon the Morning next after the Day the said Body was said to be found, He This Enformant being at a Coffee-House, heard the News; And at the request of Mr. John Farewell, He this Enformant went along with him to see the Body: And This Enformant coming to the Place where the said Body was found, and viewing the Place, Thought it a Hard Matter to bring a Body thither with a Horse.

And that This being Early in the Morning, some Snow that had fall'n the Night before, was yet seen upon the Ground. And that upon the Place where it was said that the Sword was pull'd out of the Body, there was Snow upon the Grafs; But upon some other Places near it, the Bloud that was said to come out of the Body was seen there upon the Ground in a Considerable Quantity; And ( as This Enformant Believes ) the Snow Melted upon it.

And likewise that Passing by some Posts in the Way to the White-house, where the Body then lay, This Enformant saw near the said Posts a Quantity of Watry Bloud, which This Enformant Judged to have Issued from the Body, in the Carrying it over.

And This Enformant coming up to the White-House, where the Body lay upon a Table, He This Enformant, Immediately upon the Sight of the Body, said, This is Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. His Coat was a Dark Brown Chamblet, His Shoes very Clean, Top and Bottom, His Eyes Shut, And something about the Eye-Lashes, that seem'd to This Enformant to be Fly-Blows. His Bosom was Open, His Shirt Stained with Bloud, And a Kind of Watry Bloud that dropt from him upon the Floor; all This to the Best of his Knowledge, and Memory.

Wil-

William Batson Deposeth, That going from the White-house toward the Place where This Enformant was told the Body Lay; He This Enformant, with the Company, Saw, near a Gap in the Passage, some Bloud lying on the Ground; This Enformant being told, that the Body was brought from the Place where it was found, That way. And This Enformant going further, saw ( as he Believeth ) a Greater Quantity of Bloud, where the Grasps was Stain'd with it, being the Place ( as This Enformant believeth ) whereunto the said Body was Remov'd out of the Ditch; And This Enformant Believeth, that upon taking the Sword out of the Body, the Bloud might there Issue out.

James Goweth Deposeth, That hearing several Years since, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey ( whom This Enformant well knew ) had been Missing some time from his House, And that his Body was found some where out of Town, ( But the Day, the Month, or the Year, This Enformant doth not perfectly remember ) He This Enformant went in Company with one Mr: William Batson, and a Servant of Mr. VVilliam Pilkingtons, to see the Body, which they found Early in the Morning, at the VWhite-house beyond Primrose-Hill, where it lay in the Clothes upon the Table.

And that This Enformant, having a Curiosity to see the Body of the said Sir Edmund, Unbutton'd a Loose Coat he had on, and Another Coat Under it; and so to the Shirt, Open'd his Shirt and saw Bloud upon it; with Two VVounds by his Left Pap; But no Sword at That Time in the Body.

And that This Enformant having seen, and Observed the said Body, agreed with a Fellow to shew the Place where he was found, and Payd him for his Pains: the said Guide

Guide leading This Enformant, and the Company the same way (as he said) by which they brought the Body. This Enformant remembreth, that there was a Style, or Posts by the way, At, or near which Place, there was a Great Quantity of Bloud, as This Enformant and the Company took it to be, as if it had been Pour'd out of a Basin. This Enformant and the Company going from thence toward the Place, where he was found, and within a Matter of Thirty or Forty Foot of the Place, where the Guide said the Body was found; there was a Great Quantity of Bloud lying in the same Manner as the Other, and rather more in Quantity then the Former.

And This Enformant saith, that being come to the Ditch, Mr. Batson was of Opinion that there was some Bloud in the Ditch, as he hath said to this Enformant several Times since; But This Enformant dares not be Positive, that he saw any, though he saw something which he Doubted, whether it might be Bloud or No.

Edward Fisher Deposeth, that the Day after the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found, This Enformant was Going about Nine or Ten in the Morning to My Lord Wottons for Orders about Work, and heard by the Way, that the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found, and Carry'd to the White-House in St. John's Wood: This Enformant went forward to My Lord Wotton's, and returning about Two or Three in the Afternoon, took the White-House in his way! And coming thither, This Enformant found the Coroner, and Jury there, to view the Body, who went up Stairs, while This Enformant went into a Low Room, where the Body lay.

That as This Enformant was looking upon the Body, there came in a Man with a drawn Sword in his Hand, who said, he was the Constable, and that he took that

Sword

Sword out of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Body, Describing the Manner of Sir Edmund's lying upon his Face, and the Sword about Six Inches through his Body. The Constable, upon This, said, that the Coroner desired the Body should be stript, and entreated the Company to lend him a Hand to do it: Whereupon, This Enformant with Two Others Assisted him in the stripping of the Body; This Enformant observing his Neck to be Limber, a Blackness about his Breast, and upon the stripping him of his shirt, found it to be All Bloody in the Back; And the smell of the Body very Noyson, and Offensive.

And saith likewise, that the Arms were so stiff, that they were forced to Tear off his shirt.

Thomas Burdet Deposeth, That the Woman of the White-House told him This Enformant, that the Bloud ran from Sir Edmund's Body from the Table on to the Floor; and so from the Floor into the Cellar; And she took This Enformant into the Cellar, and shew'd him the Ground stain'd with the Bloud.

Mr. Neomans Deposeth, that he found the Body lying upon a Table at the White-House, and Watrish Bloud running from the Body on the Floor.

Mr. Collinson Deposeth, that he Observed Drops of Bloud in several Places of the Path where the Body was Carry'd, as if a Man had Walk'd with his Nose Bleeding; but that at some Posts in the Way, there was Bloud seen in a Great Quantity.

After These Proofs of Bloud, and of Bloud too, in such a Quantity, as more could not be Expected from a Body Under Those Circumstances; nor more Undenyable Evidences of it; (for the Sword stopt the Fore-part of the Wound as Tight, as a Tap) After All This, I say;

say; and an Appeal that a Man might safely make to the Consciences of Thousands of People that might be added to the Open and Avow'd Witnesses of This Truth; It will be but Fair Yet, at last, to see how This Question of the Bloud was Manag'd, and what was said on the Other side, to bear the World down, that there was No such eva-cuation; for the [Bloud or No Bloud] was the same Thing, with Guilty or Not Guilty.

*It is very Remarkable, that in the Coroner's Examina-tions, the very Word of [BLOUD] is not so much as Mention'd: And in Truth, it was not safe to Insist upon it, because the Jurors were Conscious to Themselves, that there was a Great Deal of Bloud: (as I have al-ready Prov'd upon Six of them) and the same may be rea-sonably presum'd of All the rest. Now the Jurors would never have agreed upon a Verdict, wherein they should every Man of 'em have given the Lye to his own Know-ledge and Conscience; for they might as well have said, we know upon Ocular Certainty, that there was Bloud in a Great Quantity; and yet we will Discharge our selves upon our Oaths, in Declaring that VVe believe there was None; and therefore Recourse is had to the Twisting of his Neck, and the Blows upon his Breast for the Cause of his Death.*

And so we find it upon the Tryal, where 'tis the Crebat, or the Twisted Handkercher that does the Feat still; not the Sword. *Was he bloudy?* (says the L. C. Justice) [Mr. Brown] There was No Bloud at All; There was No Bloud in the Ditch. fol. 35. And so the Enquiry went off Immediately, to the Sword, the Bruises; The Loosness of the Neck; the Stick, and Gloves; the Money in his Pocket, fol. 36. and not One Word More to the Constable, of the Bloud, though that same No Bloud in the Ditch, Considering that the Question was not restrain'd to the Ditch, Imports a kind of Emphatical Exception, as who should say, there

was No Blood in the Ditch, but there was Blood else where: We find in Gowerh's Enformation, 'tis true, that Batson told him he thought he saw Blood in the Ditch; and that Gowerh himself was Half of That Opinion, though he would not be Positive in't. It will be here Objected that This Admittance Overthrows what I have said Already of the Swords Closing the Wound, so that No Blood could pass; And if a Little, why not More? Now This Cavil Concludes mightily for My Purpose, for the same Thing might be Objected in the Case of his Shirt, and Flannel, How came it at All to be stain'd; And why no Blood on't? The Answer lyes very Plain, and Open; The Orifice of the Mortal Wound was Clos'd; but the Puncture (as Cambridge calls it) that stopt upon the Rib, was Open, and thence came This Blood. There might be some Little Draining from the Other, but Not Considerable, and the Clots that were found about him came from his Back, where the Point had Wriggled out its way through the Bone, and could not so well secure the Passage.

After Brown the Constable, had given his Evidence, the Surgeons were Call'd, and Question'd about his Bruises; The Distortion and Looseness of his Neck; and Then, Mr. Attorney Ask'd Mr. Skillarde, if he thought he was kill'd by the Wound? [Mr. Skillarde] No, for then there would have been some Evacuation of Blood, which there was not; Meaning, I suppose, an Evacuation, While the Blood was Warm, and Fluid. Not Reflecting upon the Swords stopping the Course of it. One of the King's Council, upon This, Leads him off from the Blood again, to the Neck. Are You sure (says he) his Neck had been Brokен? Yes I am sure says Mr. Skillarde; And then again of Himself; [The Wound (says he) went through his very Heart, and there would have been some Blood, if it had been done quickly after his Death. Cambridge, in fine, Assented to the Opinion

nion of Mr. Skillarie, without one Word more about the *Blond*; And the whole Stress was laid upon the Signs of being *Strangled*, or *Hang'd*. fol. 37, 38.

The Light it self is not more Open to the Eyes of any Man, then is the Evidence of the Truth and Reason of This Affair: But there will be Place and Occasion by and by to make it yet Clearer.

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## C H A P. XV.

*The Enformations before the Coroner Examin'd, and not One Word in them to the Point in Issue.*

There are many Cases wherein the *Truth* may be Cover'd, or Inurcated, and the Reason of a Thing lye out of Sight: But for Errors of *Inaduertency*, *Credulity*, *Frailty*, or *Good Nature*, it is no more then Common Justice, for *Flesh and Blond* to bear with *Humane Infirmitiy*: But if People are Resolv'd to shut their Eyes against the *Sun*; to be *Deaf* to all *Profitable Counsels*, and *Necessary Instructions*; and not only to Neglect, Contemn, or Refuse, but also to *Stifle*, *Discountenance*, and *Oppose* the *Honest Means* of Arriving at the Certain Knowledge of Things; Let it be in *Fact*; Let it be in *Opinion*; Let it be *Where*, *How*; or let the *Case* be *What* it will, there's *No Excuse* for That sort of Ignorance: But in few Words, the Present Point is Briefly This.

There's a Body found in a Ditch, with a Sword thorough it: The Constable removes This Body in the Night to a Neighbour-House: An *Inquisition* Passes upon it: And *No Light* to a Discovery how the Person came to his End, but what Arises from the Sight of it upon

a Table, and from the *Imperfect Relation* of those that took it out of the Ditch; who could say Nothing to it, neither, but by *Guess* and *Groping*; for it was so *Dark*, that there was no discerning one Thing from Another. The *Jurors* were now to consider, How this Man came by his Death: And having nothing else to Work upon, as I was saying, but the *Constable's Report* on the bus'ness of the Ditch; and what further might be Collected from a *View of the Body*; the Subject Matter of Enquiry was Altogether *Surgeons-Work*; for there were *Wounds*, *Bruises*, *Tumours*, *Marks of Strangling*, and the *Appearance of a Broken Neck* in the Case: Now taking for Granted, that Sir Godfrey dy'd a *Violent Death*, it was a Point wholly out of their *Cognizance*; and fitter for a *Consult of Doctors*, than a *Pannel of Jurors to determine*: Two *Surgeons* were hereupon call'd to their Assistance, by whose Opinions they were over-ruled to find him *Strangled*; or by Way of *Explanation*, that he dy'd rather a *Dry Death*, then a *Bloudy*; for, That was the *Stress of the Question*. If there was no *Flux of Bloud*, 'tis likely he was *Strangled*: If there was *Any*, 'tis certain that he Dy'd of his *Wounds*: So that the *Verdict* was carry'd in favour of a *Possibility*, against a *Point-blank Demonstration*; for *Bloud* there was in Abundance, as is already *Prov'd*, and *Over Prov'd*, in the Last Chapter. The *Coroner* and the *Jurors* knew there was *Bloud*; Nay, and there were *Inferences* drawn from the *Evidences of That Bloud*, against the finding of him *Strangled*: And

Mr. Fryer Deposeth (being one of the *Inquest*) that as he believes there was Discourse, and Argument among the *Jurors* to This Effect, That *there was Bloud came out of the Body, which could not have been, if the Sword had gone through the Body after it had been Dead.*

This Point stuck, the *First Day*, and held 'em tack too the *Next*; 'till *Sunday Morning*, without any *New Matter*, either of *Proof*, or *Presumption*, that look'd toward the *Strangling* of him, though the *Adjournment* was said to be purely for *Further Evidence*. But in the Conclusion, the *Limberness* of the *Neck*, and the *Two Circles* Carry'd it against the *Sword through the Heart of him*: Now *Those Two Circles* were so far One from Another, that they were fain to Reconcile the *Distance*, by the *Fancy* of a *Linnen Cloth*, or something that was *Broad*, to Cover the *Interval*, and to do the *Office* of a *Halter*. They were, in short, Mightily at a Loss, what to do with *These Two Circles*; for if they would make them *Marks of Suffocation*, they must either *Both* be so, or *Neither*, being Manifestly *Effects of one and the same Cause*; That is to say, the *Pinching* of a *Deep Stiff Collar* that made *Those Streaks* with the *Two Edges* of it, as Mr. *Lasinby* Demonstrates the Thing, by bringing the *Two Ends* of the *Collar* together, and then shewing how exactly the *One Answered the Other*. They found it a *Chord* however upon the *Inquisition*, and so rendred it, *Effectually*, a *Rope*, in *Law*, and a *Linnen Cloth*, in *Equity*. But in the Conclusion, there was at last a *Verdict obtain'd*, without Mentioning *any Bloud at all*, for so much as appears at least upon the *Coroners Copy* of the *Informations*; which I have received according to Order from the Hand of Mr. *Cowper* the *Coroner*, for the *True Copies of all that were by him taken in Writing upon This Matter*: And they shall be hereafter *Exhibited*, in their *Due Place*, and *Season*.

Having thus far Cleared our Way, by a *Particular*, as well as a *General Account* of *Things*, toward the *Forming* of a *True Judgment* upon the *Equity* of *This Proceeding*; We are now Entring upon such a *Chain of Thoughts*,

Thoughts, as, in the very Order of Reasoning, will Naturally Lead us to a Full Understanding of the Merits of the Cause.

The King has lost a Subject; and the First Question is, *What Death did he Dye?* 2ly. What Means or Evidence toward the Instructing of a Jury upon such an Enquiry? Of These Two Points we have said more than Enough, perhaps, Already? 3ly. Whether or no were Those Proofs Sufficient, and Emprov'd to the Utmost, according to the Coroners best Skill and Knowldg, toward the finding out of the Truth? 4ly. Whether or no were there Any Witnesses left Unsummon'd, that in Manifest Probability might have given more Light to the Truth of the Fact, then Others that they made use of? The Third Point in the Range of This Distribution, is to be the First now in the Order of my Discourse. There are Two Branches of it; The Competency of the Means, and the Best Improvement of Those Means towards the Common End. As to the former, The Main Question is This; *Did he Dye of a Wound, or was he Strangled?* And then, *Was there any Bloud, or Not?* For *Bloud or No Bloud*, was the Certain Indication, either of the One, or the Other? If there was a Considerable Flux of Bloud, there could not be a more Demonstrative Proof in the Case; for Mr. Skillarde Himself Declare: and Deposes upon Oath, that *There being no greater a Flux of Bloud was the ONLY Reason*, that Mov'd him to be of Opinion, that Sir Edmund was not Kill'd with the Sword; But if there was such a Flux of Bloud in sight; though he did not take Notice of it, in so great a Quantity; and that it was not only Prov'd upon Oath, but the Jurors Themselves were likewise Ocular Witnesses of it, there could not be a more Convincing Evidence in the World, then this Discharge of Bloud, that the Sword was the Death of him. To say Nothing of Twenty other Convincing Circumstances in favour of that Opinion.

But what signifies *Sufficiency of Evidence* without the *Application* of it; Or the *Flutter* that many People make in pretending to *Search* after a *Truth* that they would be *Loth to find*? Whether or no there was any thing of this in the Subject of Their Enquiry, will best appear from an *Inspection* into the *Measures*, and the *Methods* of their *Proceeding*; That is to say, with a respect to the *Choice* of the *Matter*; The *Tendency*, and the *Direction* of the *Questions*; and the *Bias* of the *Debate*. Now there is a *Right* and a *Wrong*, as well *Anecdently* to a *Conclusion*, as in the *Last Sentence* and *Result* it self. There may be *Concealing*, *Qualifying*, *Suppressing*, *Disguising*, *Misrepresenting*, *Paradoxing*, laying more or less *Weight* upon a thing then belongs to it, &c. In all which Cases, a *False Medium*, purposely *Interpos'd*, is a *Greater Iniquity* then a *Mistaken Judgment*.

I was a Speaking of the *Enformations* taken before Mr. *Comper*, one of his Majesties Coroners for the County of *Middlesex* upon the Subject of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey's Death*: And it is in *Those Papers* that we are reasonably to look for the *Stress* of the *Matter* in *Debate*, and the *Ground* of the *Final Resolution*: Nay, and the *Good Faith* of the Very Manage of the *Cause*, will in some Degree appear from the *Matter* of the *Examinations*, or from the *Loose* or *Strict Sifting* of the *Witnesses*. I shall begin with the *Enformations* of Mr. *Skilgarne*, and Mr. *Cambridge*, and so proceed from One to Another, with a Note Upon them as I go; Saving only that I shall reserve the *Depositions* of *John Brown*, *Henry Moor*, *Joseph Radcliffe*, and his *Wife*, with *Mary*, the *Wife* of Captain *Tho. Gibbon*, to be Treated of in like Manner, but in Chapters by Them-selves.

*The Enformation of Zacharias Skillarne, of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, Chirurgeon, taken upon Oath the 18th. Day of October, Ann. Dom. 1678. before me.*

Midd. ff.

**H**E faith, That he being sent for as a Chirurgeon, to search the Body of Sir Edmund Godfrey, did in the Presence of the Coroner and Jury, search the same, and finds that he was Strangled ; And that he hath Received some Violent Blow upon the Top of his Breast ; And this Enformant verily believes, that the said Sir Edmund did Not Dye of the Wound through his Body.

Jo. Cowper,  
Coroner.

Zac. Skillarne.

*The Enformation of Nicholas Cambridge of St. Giles in the Fields, Chirurgeon, taken upon Oath the same Day and Year before me.*

*This Enformant saith the same.*

Jo. Cowper,  
Coroner.

Nicholas Cambridge.

*Zacharias Skillarne Chirurgeon, being further Examin'd, saith, That when he Searched Sir Edmund Godfrey's Body, he found that his Neck had been Twisted towards the Left Side, which was one of the Occasions of his Death, as this Enformant believes.*

Jo. Cowper,  
Coroner.

Zac. Skillarne.

I can only Observe over again, upon *These Depositions*, what, in Effect, I have observed before : which is that the *Single Thing Necessary to be Mention'd*, for the *Full Enformation and Direction* of the *Jury* is left out ; for There's not one word of the *Bloud* : And that would have been an *Infallible Proof* of his *Dying by the Sword*, and Not by *Strangling* : Whereas the Suppressing of That *Indubitable Evidence* for the *Wound*, turn'd the *Verditt Clean Contrary*, and made him to be *Strangled*, and not to *Dye by the Sword*. I'le take Six or Seaven of the rest now in order, and then Speak to'em Altogether.

*Midd. II.*

*John Wilson of St. Martins Sadler, being Sworn and Examin'd, saith, That Sir Edmund Godfrey, about a Fortnight last Past, was Talking with one Mr. Harris, and then told this Enformant, that he was in Danger for what he had Acted for the Discovering the late Plot against his Majesty : and that he thought that some of the Postmasters were to blame, in not Intercepting some Pacquets; or Words to the same purpose.*

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

John Wilson.

*Thomas Morgan, being Sworn and Examined, saith, That on Thursday last, about Twelve of the Clock, he was at the Pond near the Ditch where Sir Edmund Godfrey was found Dead, and doth believe, that if Sir Edmunds Belt, Gloves and Cane, had layn where they were found, this Enformant should have seen them.*

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

Tho. Morgan.

*The*

*The Enformation of William Bromwell, John  
Walters, and John Rawson taken upon Oath  
the same Day and Year.*

THEY say that on Thursday the Seventeenth day of October instant, about Five of the Clock, they found a Scabbard and a pair of Gloves, and a Cane lying upon the Ground; and looking farther, they found a Person lying in a Ditch. And afterwards they were Enform'd that it was Sir Edmund Godfrey, and his Sword was thrust through his Body.

William Bromwell.

John Walter.

*The Mark of R. John Rawson.*

Midd. ff.

Caleb Wynde, and Richard Duke, being both Sworn and Examined, do say, that on Saturday last being the Twelfth of October instant, they saw Sir Edmund Godfrey talking with Mr. Radcliff, near Mr. Radcliffs, about one of the Clock.

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner,

Caleb VVinde.  
Richard Duke,

Now in One VWord, to the Enformations above, VVhat's All This to a Sword or a Rope? To a Cravat, a Handkercher, a Linnen Cloth, or what ever else of That kind the Reader pleases? The Sadler says right, that he was in Danger about Tong's and Otes's Enformations: But his Apprehension (as I have said else where) was from the Parliament, not from the Papists; and in Truth, for Concealing the Pretended Plot,  
not

not for Discovering it ; Unless for doing both the *One* and the *Other*, in the *Wrong Place* : He has a Touch about the *Postmasters*, and the *Pacquets*, which is only the *Hint* of a Story that he had gotten by *Halves*, concerning the *Windsor-Letters* ; which *Imposture* was as Yet a *Mystery* ; for it was *Early days* with the *Plot*, when These Matters were a Brewing.

*Morgan* Comes Next, and Deposes ; that he was at the *Pond*, &c. upon *Thursday* about *Noon*, and saw *No Gloves* nor *Stick* : And so 'tis *Inferr'd* that they were not There, because *Morgan* did not see them : VVhereas if He was on One Side of the *Pond*, and the *Things* on the *Other*, the *Bushes* were so *Thick*, it was *Morally Impossible* that he should see them. Besides, that the supposing they were *Not* there, makes the Matter *Worse* ; for what becomes of *Prance*, and *Bedloe's Evidence* then ; that Swear the *Body* was carry'd thither *Before* ? Or to make *short* on't. Whats All This to the Question of *Strangling* ; whether they were *There or Not* ?

The Oath of *Brumwell*, *Walters* and *Rawson* is as Little to the Purpose too as any of the Rest : Though I Cannot but take Notice of the *Wording* of the *Last Line* on't i. e. [ *His Sword was Thrust through his Body.* ] as who should say, *He did not do it Himself*. And so for the *Deposition* of *Wind*, and *Dukes*, seeing him at *Twelve* upon *Saturday* talking with *Radcliffe* ; it is *Utterly Forreign* to the Business. They found that he had been towards *Mary-bone* ; And was Now come *Back* again, ! And What's his Coming *Back* again, to the finding of him *Suffocated* ? And so to Fancy him *Strangled* in *London*, and his *Body Carry'd off*, and *Thrown* in a *Ditch*, *Two Mile out of Town*, with his *Sword through it* ; what was this *Conceit*, but an *Anticipation* of the *Imposture* of *Bedloe* and *Prance* that follow'd upon it ? To Speak Plainly to

to the Reason of the Thing, and to the Likelyhood of the Case, Sir Edmund Carry'd out a Foreboding Countenance in the Morning with him' His Friends and Relations took Notice, that for a Fortnight before he went away, his Melancholy grew Stronger and Stronger upon him, in Proportion to the Nearer, and Nearer Approach of the Parliament. His Domestiques were Startled at his Behaviour, both Over-Night, and the Next Morning when he went away: His Head ran upon Paddington-Woods, and Thither he Ask'd the Way, and Thither he Went, and came Back, and, out of All Doubt, went Again, and did the Unhappy Work in the Afternoon, that he went for in the Morning.

To look back once again upon These Depositions; they were so far, in the very Nature and Quality of them, from any Pretence of giving Light how Sir Edmund came by his Death, that I Cannot gather from This Evidence, so much as the Sign of any one Question that Pointed that Way. Nay, on the Contrary, the Enformations are so Short, even where there was Place for such a Question, that it had a Countenance, as if some Care had been taken Not to look too Narrowly into't. As in the Instance of Mr. Skillarne, and so of Brumwell, Walters, and Rawson. VVould they know whether Sir Edmund was kill'd with the Sword or No? VVhat had they more to do, then to Examine whether there was any Flux of Blood or No; which would have brought the Matter to a short, and a Certain Issue: Nay, and which makes it look Worse Yet, it was Mightyly Insisted, and Dilated upon in the Debate, and Yet not One Word on't in the Evidence. It is Manifest, that the Marks of Strangling, both Might and Did Deceive them: though the Moit that could be made of them amounted but to Bare Likelyhoods at Best; but as they were Complicated with other Circumstances, Wholly Improbable. Now Mr. Skillarne Casts the

the Main Cause upon This Point; [ Bloud, or No Bloud.] He Himself saw Some, but not Enough, it Seems. The Jurors, even According to their Depositions, saw Bloud in Abundance; And there were Hundreds and Thousands that could have said as much. Walters and Rawson were Examin'd to the Gloves, and the Cane, but Not a VVord again of the Bloud, Though Rawson could have said very much to't: Nor One Syllable of the Posture neither; though These Three that Saw the Body in the Light, could have Spoken far more Expressly to't, then the Constable that came Afterward, and Grop'd it out in the Dark. But in fine, the Question was Shifted, from the Undenyable Proof of his Dying by the Wound, to the Probability of his being Strangled: which was a Safe way; for the Jurors would have been able to Prove the One, and they could not Disprove the Other. It would have been a Question Pertinent enough, to Ask what Opinion the People had Generally of the Matter; VVhile the Body was at the White-house? The Jurors Themselves Tugg'd Hard for't, to Find him Felo-de-se.

Mr. Collinson Deposeth, That the People taking Notice of the Ditch, how it was Almost Cover'd with Shrubs and Bushes, said One to Another, What a Cunning Place has he found out, and were of Opinion that He fell upon his own Swoord.

## C H A P. XVI.

*The Coroners Enformations further Examin'd; and not One Word in them of Bloud, the Posture, or Any thing else Material to the Question.*

IF a Plentiful Discharge of *Bloud* ought to pass for a sufficient Evidence in the Case of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, that he Dy'd by the *Wound*; And if That Effusion of *Bloud* was sufficiently *Prov'd* to the *Coroner* and his *Inquest*; (as there is No Doubt to be made either of the *One* or of the *Other*) the Point here in hand is already *Clear'd*, and *resolv'd*, in the *Affirmative*, that the Coroner had a *Competency of Means* before him, for the Discovery of the *True Cause* of his Death: But how far These Means were *Improv'd*, toward a *full* and *Effectual Discovery*: And how it came to pass that the Best was not made of them, is the Thing that we have now Under Consideration. Touching the *Enformations* spoken of, and Recited, in the Last Chapter; as there was Nothing of *Satisfaction* to be Expected from the Greater Part of the *Witnesses*; so Neither does it appear that there was Any thing *Propos'd* toward the Main Bus'ness of the *Enquiry*, to any of the *Rest*: So that it seems to be *Time Lost One Way*, and *Opportunity, Another*. To say the Truth, Those Papers would not be worth the Ink we have Bestow'd upon 'em, if it were not for the *Remaining Enformations* that are Yet to Follow; which Enformations might serve, of Themselves, even without any other Guide, for a *Key* to let a Man into the Whole *Mystery*: They are *All of a Cast*; All in the same *Cause*; and therefore I shall Deliver them over to the World *Entire* as they came to *Me*: Though to keep within some reason-

reasonable Compacts, I have Divided them into several Chapters.

The Reader is still to be Minded, that [How Sir Edmundbury Godfrey came by his Death] is the Capital Question. The Coroner is upon the View; and we are here upon the Evidence that was Given, and the Witnesses that Gave it. We shall see what use was made of them; and how far This Scrutiny was Mag'd, according to the Intent of the Inquisition, and to the Best of the Coroner's Skill and Knowledge.

*The Enformation of John Brown, taken upon Oath  
the same Day and Year (Octob. 18. 1678.) be-  
fore me.*

**H**E saith, that on Thursday the 17th. of October instant, about Six of the Clock in the Afternoon, William Brumwell, John VValters, and John Rawson came to his House and told him that they had found a Gentleman in a Ditch dead; and This Enformant went with them, and there found Sir Edmundbury Godfrey lying Dead, with his Sword through his Body: and his Shoes were very Clean: and this Enformant believes that he could not have Walked thither, but that his Shoes would have been more Dirty: And as he lay, his Sword would have made some Impression in the Dirt if he had flung himself upon his Sword, the Dirt being very soft.

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

John Browne.

I further Artest, that when I took up Sir Edmund Godfrey out of the Ditch, he had not any Band about his Neck.

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

John Browne.

Here's

Here's not one Syllable in These Enformations that could be of any Service to the End they *Were* or *Ought* to have been taken for; Nor any Thing in them but what is either *Insignificant*, or *Partial*.

*Brown* the *Constable* was told of a Gentleman found Dead in a Ditch; He went to the Place, with Those that told him, and there found *Sir Edmund Godfrey* lying Dead with his Sword through his Body; and when he took him out of the Ditch, he had Not any *Band* about his Neck.

And why [*lying Dead*] with his Sword through his Body, unles to Bespeak a False Understanding of the Matter, and to Intinuate that some body else had *Murthe'd* him; and so either Cast or Left him there? This is the Genuine Countenance of it, and No Man that looks no further into't can take it otherwise. So that here's *Truth Misrepresented*, the *Reason* of the *Thing Disguis'd*, *Honest Men Misled*; and (All at Once) *Common Justice* most Notoriously Abus'd. Let a Man but lay his Hand upon his Heart Now, and set himself to compare the Naked simplicity of the True Matter, of *Fact* with This way of *Wording* the Report that is made use of to *Cover* it.

Here's a *Body* found in a *Ditch*, with a Wound Under the left Pap, and the Point of a Sword so many Inches through the Blade of the right Shoulder; The Right Arm stiff-stretch'd upon the Bank; the Left arm Doubled under it, and the Head leaning upon't.

Would any Man pass the *same Judgment* now upon the Death of the *same Man*, under the Appearance of Two so *Differing Evidences*? And yet they are Both upon the Credit of the *same Testimony*: Only the *One* was Calculated for the *Jury*, and the *Other* for the *Truth of the Fact*; which *Latter Deposition* we have had already. I do not say Yet that there is any *Contradiction* in This *Diversity*; but the *Evidence* is suited to the

the *Question* : and then there's a *Latitude* for *Words* and *Phrases*, that may seem to *speak One Thing*, and *Import Another*: As his *Lying Dead in the Ditch*, sounds as if he had been *kill'd*, and *Thrown there*; which is only a *Cast* of the *Clerk's skill* for the *Better Colour* of an *Ill Bus'ness*. And what's his *Descanting* then upon the *Cleanness* of his *Shoes*, and the *Print* of the *Pummel* of his *Sword*, but the *Encroachment* of a *Witness* upon the *Office* of a *Juror* : Or effectually, VVhat's the whole *Enformation* but an *Answer* to such *Leading Questions* as make the *Depositions* look liker an *Argument*, then a *Testimony*? Now *Brown* Applies his *Answers* to the respective *Interrogatories*, and if he fell short, it was the *Examiner's Fault* not *His*. And so for the taking of him up without a *Band*: it was Just as much to the Purpose as if he had *Whistled*. The single *Bus'ness* of their *Enquiry*, was to Learn what *Death* the *Justice Dy'd*; and whether *strangled*, or *not*: so that All This was not One Jot to the Point, unless they would draw *Inferences* from the *Soles* of his *Shoes* to the *Circles* about his *Neck*.

Now to an Ordinary Bodies Thinking, *Brown* might have been *Catechiz'd* upon Matters Infinitely more *Instructive* to the *Jurors* then any thing that appears hitherto from These Enformations. *Brown* could have told of the *Crashing of the Sword through the Bone*, the *Gubbling of the Blond* that came out, and the *spattering Noise* it made upon the *Ground* at the *Drawing* of it. And This was No more, then what was well Enough *Known* too ; but for *Solemnities sake*, there must be somewhat upon *Record* Transmitted to *After-Times*, in *Honour* of the *Cause*, and for the *Perpetual Memory* of the *Thing*; In which Case, the *Blond*, the *Posture*, and some other *Dangerous Circumstances* were found Convenient, by the *Managers* of That season, to be better *Out* then *In*.

The

The Next Enformation is Harry Moors : an Old Servant in the Family ; the Clark ; and, not a little, the Confidant of the late Sir Edmundbury Godfrey : for he was Inward with him in Most of his Privacies ; he was the last Man too that saw him at his House the Morning he went away : And the Person Principally employ'd by the Brothers to Look, and Hearken after him, from the first Hour of his Missing, to the finding of the Body. In One word, he was the likeliest Man alive to set them right in their Bus'ness. It is to be Noted also, that the Brothers were Intimate with the Coroners ; and Both, or One of them, from First to last, no less Affiduous with the Inquest. So that Moor could probably speak to a Thousand Particular Things that no Body else perhaps might take any Notice of. Now what ever he knew, to be sure, the Brothers Knew ; And what ever They knew, as to This Matter, it is to be Honestly Presum'd that the Coroner knew ; Insomuch, that they had All the Intelligence among them, which the Brothers, the Coroner, and the Clerk could Contribute, Joynly, or Severally to the bringing of the Point to a Fair Issue. We shall see now in the Next Chapter, what Use was made of Moors Testimony, and how they Squeez'd him upon the Examination, to Draw from him the Uttermost of his Knowledge upon Those Necessary Points, which they knew he could speak to. To Conclude, He did Certainly know a Great Deal ; The Brothers and the Coroner did Both, Certainly know that he Did so : And it must be then Consider'd, that he did Probably know More Yet, then they could Certainly Charge upon him ; and therefore it was Their Part to have him Examin'd to the Probabilities, as well as to the Certainties. A Plain, Blunt Enquiry upon These Heads, will do a Great deal toward the satisfying of the VWorld, whether the Mighty Clutter that has been made here about sifting, and searching, was Banter, or Earnest.

## C H A P. XVII.

*Notes upon the Mysterious Examination of Henry Moor, Clerk to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.*

Here was a *Jury Summon'd* and brought together upon the *View of a Dead Body*; *Consultations* and *Debates* in *Form*; *Surgeons* and *Witnesses Advis'd* withal, and *Examin'd*; And All upon a Short Question, *Whether the Person Dy'd of the Wound, or of a Suffocation?* And whether *Felo de se*, or *Not?* Among other Evidences, they Pitched upon *Harry Moor* for One, to give the best Account he could, about the *Death* of his *Master*: Wherein, it falls in Course to be consider'd, How far *Moor* was certainly *Privy* to Matters; What *Points* he could speak to; How far the *Brothers*, the *Coroner*, and several of the *Jurors Themselves* were Enform'd of his *Knowledge* of Things; and how far, in fine, he was There *Interrogated* upon *Those Special Matters*, which *They Themselves* knew *Necessary* to be *Clear'd*, toward the *Discovery* of the *Truth*; and which they had Reason to *Presume*, and to *Believe*, that *Moor* was able to give a very Good *Account* of. I shall be forc'd upon This Occasion, to Deliver the *Substance* over again, of some Depositions that I have made use of in *Parcels* already; but to *Differing Purposes*: For the *Question* in *Those Cases* was properly the *Truth* of the *Fact*, whereas we are now upon the *Candor* and *Equity* of the *Proceeding*.

William Collins, one of the *Jurors*, saw Sir Godfrey upon Saturday Morning, talking with a Milk-woman near Marybone-Conduit. Thomas Mason of Marybone, Another of the *Jurors*, on the same Morning met Sir Edmund

*Edmund* afterward, betwixt *Marybone-Pound* and *Marybone-Street*, coming back again for *London*.

Upon the *Monday following*, *Moor* walked out in the *Morning* to look his *Master*, and seeing *Mr. Mason* by the way, near his own *House*, Asked him, *If he had seen Sir Edmundbury Godfrey in the Fields since Saturday?* *For he had lost his Master, and knew not what was become of him:* Whose *Answer* was, That he had seen him on *Saturday Morning*, as above, and *not since*. It is here to be *Noted*, that *Moor* had heard of his *Master* on *Monday Morning*, though the *Family* gave it out, That the first *Tydings* they had of him was from *Parsons*, a *Coach-maker* at a *Funeral* on *Tuesday Night*; which *Account* was, That upon *Saturday Morning* he met *Sir Edmund* in *St. Martins-Lane*, who asked him the *VWay to Paddington Woods*, or thereabouts; And the *VWhole Story* thus far, was well known to the *Brothers* and the *Coroners*.

On the *same Saturday* he went away, *Mr. Radcliffe* had him by the *Hand* at his own *Door* in the *Strand*, about *Twelve or One*; And *Great Use* was made of that *Evidence*, to Induce a *Verdict*, that he was *Strangled*; for they *Inferr'd*, that he was *Not Kill'd in the Ditch*; because he was come back again: Now that *Inference* would have held as good, (and consequently that *Verdict*) in the *Cafe of Mason*, (who undoubtedly told the *Jury* the *Story* of his Coming back again before they *Adjourn'd*) So that they got not one *Grain of Intelligence* to This Purpose at the *Rose and Crown*, more then they had before at the *White-House*. But to return to the *Clerk* again: *Moor* took Notice of his *Master's Great Discontent, and Disorder*, (in his Own *VWords*) after the taking of *Ote's Enformations*: He could not be *Ignorant* of the *Freak of his Burning* so many *Papers* upon *Friday Night*; as he made express remarks upon his *Distracted Starts, Looks, Actions and Gestures*,

*That Last Saturday Morning.* He told Judith Pamphlin, one of the Family, that he was afraid he was Murther'd; His Wife Exclaiming, *O that ever it should be said that such a Man as Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Murther'd himself!* Pamphlin raving at the same rate, and telling Captain Gibbon, his *Lady*, and his *Daughters*, over and over, that Moor knew a great deal; and if Moor were examin'd, he could say much. He Declar'd it himself that he had been to Search for his Master, and *within a Few Rods too of the Place where the Body was found;* And he Deliver'd the same thing upon *Oath* before *Two of his Majesties Justices for the Isle of Ely*: It cannot be Imagin'd, that the *Brothers*, all this while, were *Strangers* to these *Circumstances*; Especially considering the *Part* they had in the *Manage* of the whole *Transaction*: Upon the *Monday* after his going away, they went to Mrs. Gibbons, to enquire for him; and upon her Relation of Sir Edmund's *Wild Behaviour* the Last time she saw him, they both brake out into *Violent Exclaymings*, *Lord! What will become of us!*

Upon *Sunday Morning Early*, Moor went to the House of Mr. Michael Godfrey, and told him that his Master did not come home last Night. *God have Mercy upon us* (says the Brother) *Pray God we hear Good News of him:* And *Enjoyn'd* Moor not to tell any *Creature of his Absence*, till he *Himself*, or his *Brothers* should come to him in the *Afternoon*. They came accordingly, and Agreed to enquire every where after him, but all under the Seal of *Secrecy* still: And so he was to keep it close 'till *Monday Morning*, and *Then*, till *Night*; and so 'till *Tuesday Morning*, 'till the *Brothers* should have been with my *Lord Chancellor*; and upon *Tuesday Night* they *Divulg'd* it at a *Funeral*. These *Repeated Injunctions of Secrecy*, would puzzle the Mayor of *Quinborough*, and his Brethren, to find a current Reason for. They do as good as Cry, *Heck*, but do not *Find*. And why

why Again; Say nothing till we have been with my Lord Chancellor? The Caution, in Truth, might be Prudential enough, in case of his Laying Violent Hands upon himself; but supposing him to be Murther'd by a Malicious Practice, or by Assassins, it would have been a Point of Publique Duty, to Honour and Justice, and an Office of Humanity, Natural Affection, and Respect to the Defunct, Immediately to have spread the Story of it as far as the Post, and Common Fame could carry it. But there's Another Passage yet behind, to the same Point, that makes the Bus'ness still more and more Suspicious.

Mr. Wallerler Deposeth, That on Wednesday, October 16. 1678. being in Company with one Mr. Parsons, Mr. Monk, and others, he asked Parsons, What Discourse he had with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey in St. Martins Lane upon Saturday Last? [Parsons.] 'Tis no matter. [Wallerler.] What? a Justice Lost, and You the Last Man in his Company, and not declare what Discourse you had? [Parsons.] Let Mr. Monk tell. To which, Mr. Monk said, What have I to do to tell your Discourse? And thereupon, this Enformant said to Mr. Parsons, If you will not do it here, you shall do it somewhere else: And then Mr. Parsons said, That Sir Edmund asked him three times whereabout Paddington Woods were; And that he himself asked Sir Edmund if he were buying a Parcel of Land? To which, Sir Edmund replied, No. This Enformant asked the said Parsons, What other Discourse Pass'd? Who Answered him, None; For Sir Edmund was sparing in his Speech. This Enformant putting it further to the said Parsons, Why he was so Loth to tell the Discourse: Parsons made Answer, because Sir Edmund's Clark Desired him to say Nothing on't.

Upon the Whole matter, The Brothers Ty'd up *Moor* to Secrecy , and *Moor* Ty'd up *Parsons* , and there appears No other Reason in Sight, either for the *one* or for the *other*, then a Desire to keep it Private : which sounds just as much as an *Unwillingness* to have it known what was become of him ; only the Brothers took care that he should not be *Miss'd* at *Home*, and the *Clark* that he should not be *found abroad*; for his Question to *Parsons*, was the only Light they had so Early, which way to Enquire after him, and *Moor* took the *Hint* upon't.

After All This said and *Prov'd*, 'tis not for Any Man to Doubt, either that *Moor Knew*, or was likely to know as much of This *Private History* as any Man : Or of the Brothers knowing as much as *Moor* Could Tell them : And This being taken for Granted, a Man Methinks might Fancy such *Introgatories* to be put to *Moor*, as might Reasonably open the Way to a Discovery. As for Example now; Directing the Discourse To the Clerk,

*Here's the Body of your Dead Master now upon the Table before us ; And the Question is How he came by his Death : You have been Constantly near about him, and in his Business ; Did You Observe Any Quarrel he had, or Any Desperate Discontent upon him , and for what Cause or Reason ? Have You Observ'd him to be more out of Humour of Late, then he was formerly ; And Since what Time, and upon what Occasion ? Your Master went away from his House upon Saturday Morning Last : How was he the Day before ? Did You observe any Bustle of People more then Ordinary about him ? How did You find him the Morning that he went away ? Did You Gather Any thing from his Looks, VVords, or Actions to give you an Ill-Boding of him ? Mr. Parsons, it seems, Spake with him in St. Martins-Lane , That Saturday Morning,*

Morning, and Sir Edmund asked him the way to Paddington-woods: And Mr. Parsons told You of it, they say: When did he tell you This? And What Did he tell you of it? Did any body Else tell you of it before? And What did they tell You? And what did You Do upon their Telling it? Now we have reason to Believe that he went his Way to the Place that he Enquir'd for; because Mr. Collins here, one of the Jurors, Saw him afterward talking with a Milk-woman thereabouts: And here's Another of the Inquest, Mr. Mason, that Saw him after This too, going Back again; And he saw You Your Self too, on the Munday Morning following, going Thitherward to Look for him. The Talk is, that Parsons did not tell You of This 'till Tuesday Night: How came You then to look for him thereabouts upon Munday Morning? But You did go to Look for him However, and it comes from Your own Mouth that You were within a Little of finding him. Where did You Look? And How Near were You to the finding of him? You did not Look for him among the Birds in the Bushes; and You could not expect to find him Picking of Sallads among the Cattle; If You look'd for him in the Ditches, What made You look for him There? Did You find Any thing to make You Suspect he had made Himself away? Parsons told You that he Ask'd the Way to the Woods; but not to the Ditches: So that the Woods were No Light to Direct You to the Ditch, without some Dark reflection upon a Troubled Mind. Or if you Did Search the Ditches, how far did You go? And how came You to Stop Short, and leave the Closest Hiding-Places Yet Unsearch'd, Behind ye? But upon Your Oath, Did You Find the Body at Last, or Not? How came You to tell Pamphlin, You fear'd he was Murder'd? How Came Your Wife, and Pamphlin to Speak Familiarly of it; before the finding of the Body, as if they fear'd he had Kill'd Himself? Pamphlin would say frequently, If the Clerk were Ex-

amin'd he could Speak Much. These Stories are *All* over the Town already ; And that You Your Self own'd such Thoughts of the Business as You were afraid to tell. Were You Enjoyn'd Secrecy by Any Body betwixt Your Masters going away, and the finding of the Body ? By Whom ? What were the Things You were to keep Private ? And what reasons were given ; Or what do You Imagine were the Reasons, of that Caution of Privacy ? Was there Any thing of Saving the Estate in the Case ? What was the True Reason of Your bidding Parsons to say Nothing of his Discourse with Your Master That Morning ?

Here's a Great Deal of This that's known to the Jury, Already, The Brothers are able to say more ; and You Your Self, without Peradventure, know Most of All. We Expect a Distinct Answer to Every Particular, So Help You God.

Now, These were Points Necessary to be Enquir'd into ; and the Necessity of That Enquiry lay so Open, that a Man could hardly Miss a Great many of'em, Unlesis he would *shut his Eyes*, and go out of the way *on purpose*. They knew he went about to *Search* for his Master : and Certainly it was Worth the While to put the *Quere* whether he *found* him or Not. Nay the very *Silence*, upon that Question, makes it *Suspicious* that he had found him. I had almost forgot a *Deposition* that I have of a very Honest Gentleman upon this Subject.

*Gabriel Cox Deposeth*, That about the time when Mr. Fitz-Harris would have lay'd the Business of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey at the Door of the Earl of Danby, Mr. Benjamin Godfrey came to this Enformant and spake to Him This Enformant about it. Upon This Occasion, the Enformant Enter'd into a Discourse about the *Death* of Sir Edmund ; telling the said Mr.

*Mr. Godfrey*, that it was a strange Thing to bring in an *Infamous Wench*, as they did, for a *Witness* at the *Tryal*; and under the Countenance of a *Servant* in the *Family*, which she never was, but only did *Jobbs* of *Chare-Work* there; and to leave out *Moor* the *Clark*, that would have been a *Witness* of some *Credit*, and could have spoke much to the *Matter*: To which the said *Mr. Godfrey* made Answer, that *Alas! the Old Fellow knew Nothing*; And so they Parted. After which, This Enformant never heard any thing further from the said *Mr. Godfrey*.

And then it would not have been Amiss to have Summon'd the *Milk-Woman* Neither; but for Brevities sake ( as the Matter was order'd ) *Three or Four Lines did the Whole Work*, according to a True Copy of the Enformation here Under Following.

*The Examination of Henry Moor taken and Acknowledged the same Day and Year upon Oath.*

**H**E saith, That when Sir Edmund Godfrey went last from his House, which was on Saturday last about Nine of the Clock in the Morning, he had then a Lac'd Band about his Neck.

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

Henry Moor.

In One Word, the *Logick* of the Proceeding is This; Either Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Kill'd with a *Sword* or Strangled with a *Rope*; But Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went out with a *Lac'd Band*, Ergo he was *Suffocatus & Strangulatus*; *Anglice Choak'd and Strangled, cum una Pecja Funis, Anglice Rope*. And so here's a very

## C H A P. XVIII.

*A very Pertinent Evidence of Joseph Radcliffes made Worse then Nothing.*

Mr. Joseph Radcliffe was of the Neighbourhood and Acquaintance of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and a Man of Substance and Credit in the Parish : It was his fortune to have Sir Edmund by the Hand before his own Door, *about one of the Clock on the Saturday* when he went last from his House. From That time forward, no body could hear what was become of him ; but by Flying, and Uncertain Reports, 'till the Thursday following, when his Body was found Dead, toward the Evening in a Ditch near Primrose-Hill. A Jury was hereupon Summon'd, which met the Next Day at the White-house ; from whence, After some Hours Debate upon the Matter in View, and the Examining of Witnesses, they Adjourn'd to the Next day, and at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's, they agreed upon their Verdict. Thither it was that Mr. Joseph Radcliffe and his Wife were Summon'd to give Evidence upon the Matter in Question : and Such as it was, there was Great Stress lay'd upon it, for Clearing the Point in Issue. And there let it rest 'till we come to the Enformations Themselves.

The Town was at That Time full of the Discourse of Sir Godfreys Strange Carriage lately, at Mrs Gibbons's, and the odness of his Behaviour at St. Martins-Vestry the Day before : and in short, Considering the Familiar Conversation betwixt them ; The Frequency

cy of their *Meetings* about *Parish-Busines*; and Especially the *Chance-Encounter* in the *Strand* before Spoken of, Mr. Radcliffe might appear a very Proper *Witness* to be Examin'd upon This Occasion; as a Person likely enough in many Respects to know somewhat of the *Privacies* of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. Briefly, He and his Wife were Examined; but upon what Pretence, and to what Purpose, will be better seen in the Following Enformations.

Midd. ff.

*The Enformation of Joseph Radcliffe of St. Martins in the Fields taken upon Oath the 19th Day of Octob. 1678. before Me.*

**H**E saith, that on Friday was Seven-night, there was a Vestry held for St. Martin's Parish, at which Sir Edmund Godfrey was, and after the Vestry broke up there was a perfect Account made up and Discharg'd betwixt Sir Edmund Godfrey and St. Martins Parish touching 4 l. received by Sir Edmund of Mr. Bradbury late Surveyor of the High-Ways, whereof 40 s. was paid back to Mr. Bradbury by Sir Edmund, by the Consent of some of the Vestry, and the other 40 s. he paid to this Enformant, whereof this Deponent paid Sir Edmund 13 s. which he had formerly laid out about the High-Way of St. Martins Parish, and the other 27 s. this Enformant hath in his Custody, for the use of the said Parish. And this Enformant further saith, That during the Time he was Church-warden in his last Year 1677. he Stated the Accounts of St. Martins Parish and found the Parish Debtor to Sir Edmund about 148 l. of which he Paid him 100 l. and the remainder hath been Since paid by his Successor Charles Monck; and on Friday was C Seven-night, Sir Edmund was in This Enformants Company, with

with Mr. Heames till about Nine of the Clock, and was in a Pleasant good Even Humor and Temper, and This Informant verily believes that he saw him passing by this Informants door, about One of the Clock on the Morrow, being Saturday the Twelfth of this Instant.

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

J. Radcliffe.

Ms. Eleanor Radcliffe, Wife of the said Joseph, saith, that on Saturday Last about One of the Clock Sir Edmund Godfrey pass'd by her House.

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

Eleanor Radcliffe.

Here's a Parish-Reck'ning brought in Evidence upon Oath, to Prove that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Strangled: No body knew When, Where, or by Whom; And an Argument drawn in Confirmation of it, from his being seen Alive at such an Hour of the Day: The First Day's Debate held a Long Tugg upon Killing himself, or being Kill'd; and when they could not Carry it for the Latter, That Bout, they Adjourn'd, and This was the Evidence that did the Fact upon the Second Meeting: though not one Syllable of Force in it more then what was Testified at the White-House. It seems a Wonderful Thing, that to Questions, that were put so much Beside One Purpose, Answers should be given that lay so Pat for the Other, [He was in a Pleasant, Good, Even, Humour and Temper the Night Before.] That is to say, he was not in a Mind to Destroy himself. Brown Reprefents him lying Dead in a Ditch; As who should say, He did not do it Himself; Nay he Philosophizes upon the Clean-ness of his Shoes too; And Reasons upon it, that he did

did not fling himself upon his sword; for he should have seen the print of the pummel then. Morgan was near the pond, and saw no body. Brumwells and Walters Enformation is worded, that his sword was thrust through his body, though Cromwell very lately made exceptions to those words [was thrust] through his body, at the reading of it: And says further, that they gave an account also of the posture they found him in, though here's no mention of it at all. Now it falls out unluckily, that every bowle should be made to carry the same bias. But this enformation yet before the coroner under such circumstances, shall not divert me from confronting it with another of a later date from the same hand: Nay, and that shall be back'd with another too; and it will be then time to pass some reflections upon the whole.

Midd. & W<sup>e</sup>st. The Enformation of Joseph Radcliffe  
of the Parish of St. Martins in the  
Fields, Oyle-Man, Taken Upon Oath  
May 11. 1686.

Sith, That there was a vestry held in the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, upon the 11th of Octob. 1678. being Friday, where this Enformant was present, and that a little before the rising of the said vestry, towards the Evening, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey came hastily in, and took his usual place; and as the vestry was about to rise, the said Sir Edmund went out of the room, and call'd to this Enformant to go along with him, which he did accordingly. As they were upon the way, he told this Enformant that he fear'd he had done Harry Bradbury wrong, and was resolv'd to right him that night, and so desired this Enformant to assist him

him therein. The said Sir Edmund then looking behind him, and seeing Mr. James Hemes, Another of the Vestry, he took him along with him, This Enformant going along with them to Collonel Weldens.

And that being come to the said Collonel's, Sir Edmund desired This Enformant to help him off with his Coat, who Minded him that the Weather was Cold: Sir Edmund replying, However he would have it off. This Enformant help'd him off with it, and Sir Edmund then took it, and threw it on to the Window, and then went and seated himself at a Table at the Other End of the Room: This Enformant observing something Extraordinary in the Manner of the Thing; and sitting down at the same Table next to him, Ask'd him what it was that Troubled him about the said Harry Bradbury? Sir Edmund Answering, that he had made Bradbury pay Forty Shillings for Another bodies Fault; and that if This Enformant would Agree to't, he should be Repay'd the Forty Shillings: Whereupon, by Consent, Mr. Bradbury was sent for. And Sir Edmund did then tell This Enformant that he had some Parish-Mony in his Hand, and that he would put the said Mony into the Hands of This Enformant, (who had been lately Church-Warden, and had some Parish Accounts in his Hands) Desiring This Enformant to Pay Mr. Bradbury the Forty Shillings out of the said Mony; Sir Edmund thereupon Delivering the Mony he had in his hands, to This Enformant, who pay'd Mr. Bradbury, when he came, the Forty Shillings aforesaid. This Enformant hereupon said to Sir Edmund, You are in a very good Mind. Who Reply'd, Yes, I am resolv'd to settle All my Bus'nes to Night; and the Accounts shall be brought in Your Name, and Not in Mine.

This Enformant observing that he Pass'd from One Thing to Another; Ask'd him if he had done Now? Whose Answer was, that he had not done Yet; saying there-

thereupon, that he us'd to give Ten Shillings a Week to the Poor in Bread, and that he that had Bak'd it Hitherto should do it No Longer ; Mr. Bradbury, upon That, (being a Baker) Ask'd him if he should do it ? Sir Edmund asking This Enformant what he would Advise ; who told him, that he was the Master of his own Charity ; Sir Edmund saying then, that Mr. Bradbury should do it, and that he Would Charge, or that he Had Charg'd is by his Will, to be paid out of the Rent of some Houses that he had in Westminster. This Enformant asking him again, Sir Edmund have you done Now ? Sir Edmund saying No, I have not done Yet ; for the Parish is now in My Debt, and so Reckon'd an odd Summe which This Enformant paid him upon the Place. This Enformant asked him a Third Time, if he had done Yet ; Sir Edmund replying Yes : and Clapping his Hand upon his Breast, said, that Now he was at Quiet : After which, Sir Edmund rose up, and Desir'd This Enformant to Help him on with his Coat, which he did. The said Sir Edmund repeating that his Conscience was Clear.

And further ; that as they were drinking a Glass of Beer, This Enformant Asked the said Sir Edmund, What News ; Who made Answer, That in a short time, You will hear of the Death of Some-body, or the Murther, (This Enformant doth not remember which of the Two Words) Sir Edmund saying that he was Confident He Himself should be the First. Whereupon Mr. Hemes aforesaid Desired him if he fear'd any such Thing, that he would not go abroad without Company : Sir Edmund Answering, that his Conscience was Clear, that he Car'd for No Company, and that he Fear'd No Body.

And This Enformant being Interrogated concerning the Evening of so many accounts, whether he had had any Discourse with the said Sir Edmund about Those Accounts before ? He This Enformant Answereth, that there had been no such Discourse,

course, and that he never knew any thing of that Nature done in so sudden a manner before.

And further saith, That about one of the Clock on the Next Day, being Saturday, the said Sir Edmund Passing by the Door of This Enformant, He this Enformant asked him to come in, and Dine with him; but he said he was in hast, and could not stay; and so having this Enformant by the Hand, he took away his Hand, and went hastily away, speaking very earnestly, insomuch that this Enformant wondered at it, he having been usually Freer, and Easier with This Enformant.

This Enformant referreth himself upon the Matters contain'd in this Enformation, to the best of his Knowledge and Memory.

Jurat. die & Anno Su-  
pradicto coram me.

J. Radcliffe.

Ro. L'Estrange.

The Reader will find little in This Enformation to the Tune of the Pleasant, Good, Even Humour and Temper, in the Enformation before the Coroner. There's too much on't, to be Natural, and the Synonyms one upon the Neck of Another, favour more of the Skill of the Clark, than of the Faith of the Reporter. In which Case, many times there goes but the Dash of a Pen to the Mending of a Short Evidence.

The Second Deposition of Mr. Radcliffe seems to me to have a great many Notable Passages in it. Sir E.G. had a Mind to make even with the World. The Fit took him at That Instant, and all must be done That Night. Bradbury was to have his Forty Shillings; The Parish Accounts to be Adjusted in All Hast; He told the Company what Care he had taken for the Continuance of his Charity: And now (says he, clapping his Hand upon his Breast)

*I am at Quiet*; Call'd for his Coat, and went over with it again; *My Conscience is Clear*. His *Motions*, and his *Actions* in the Room; The *Vehemency* of his *Words*; His *Hudling* of so many things over in such a Disorder; His *Starting* from one thing to Another, and all to be Dispatch'd upon That Point of Time: And then the Winding up of the Conversation with a *Foreboding* of his *Death or Murther*; The Company might be well allow'd to *Judge*, and to *Observe*, These Things Consider'd that there was somewhat very Extraordinary in his Mind.

Upon the Comparing of These Two Enformations it seems very remarkable, that the *Former* delivers it as the *Opinion* of Mr. Radcliffe, that Sir Godfrey was *Last Night in a Pleasant Good Even Humour and Temper*; when the *Latter*, in *Fact*, sets him forth to have been the *Clean Contrary*: So that the *Whole Story of the Disorder* is not only *Omitted*, but Apparently *Contradicted* by the *Other Insinuation*. The Question is, How Godfrey came by his Death; and what Radcliffe could say toward the Clearing of That Matter. Now the *Jury* being Divided whether he Destroyed *Himself*, or was *Murther'd* by *Other People*, it was a thing very much to their Purpose, to Enform themselves what *Humour* he was in, either *soon before*, or *upon his going away*. The Question was put to Radcliffe about the seeing of him *That Saturday*, and what he could say further to the Matter they had before them. The *Coroners Enformation* says, he verily *Believes* he saw him; In the *Other*, he *Swears* that he had him by the *Hand*, and *Invited* him to *Dinner*; Nay, and Mr. Radcliffe calls to mind that he *Objected* at that very Time to the *Expression*. *Why*, fays he, 'tis *More then Believing*; for *I Know it*: And some body made Answer, If you *Know it*, you *Believe* it. It is observable again, that there was a most Industrious Separation in the Examination before the *Coroner* of *some Parts of the Story* from the *Rest*; and par-

ticularly, that Those Passages were made use of, that were not one jot to the Purpose ; and others left out, that in All Appearance would have given the Jurors the Best Light they had, toward the Governing of the following Verdict. What was the Account, or Discount among the Parish-Officers to the Question of *Felo de se*, or Not ? That Account, Barely, I mean, without Godfrey's Part in the Disorderly Circumstances that Attended it. The Charge and Discharge, of it self, was utterly *Impertinent* ; but the Other could not be well *Understood*, but in Company with the Relation it had to the Bus'ness of the Reck'nings, Bradbury's Forty Shillings ; The Seeling of his Charity ; And All must be Finished *That Night* too ; which seems to Imply an Apprehension he had, that he should never *Live to Another Opportunity* of doing it. Now This was the Point that should have been *Pressed*, *Inculcated*, and *Insisted* upon ; and it would have done much better to have lay'd the Fact at Length before the Jury, without any *Gloss* upon't, on the One Hand, then to Deliver a *Partial*, and an *Ungrounded Opinion*, without so much as one Syllable of the Plain *Truth of Fact*, on the Other. The whole Matter under Deliberation resolves shortly in to This ; Was Sir Godfrey under any *Trouble*, and *Distress of Thought*, or Not ? This is the *Truth of the Story*, says the One Side ; And let the Jurors Judge upon't whether he *Was*, or *No*. Now the Other side is for giving the *Opinion*, without the *Story* ; And it was Prudently done ; for the *Naked Narrative* of the *Fact*, and That Judgment of his *Even Humours* could never have stood together.

I was affraid least this Diversity of Countenance from the same Person, might prove Injurious, either to the Cause, or to the *Witness*, if I should let it go off Thus without something of an *Explanatory Animadversion* upon it : Wherefore I communicated the Matter to Mr. Radcliffe *Himself*, who told me that he would sud-

Suddenly give me a Plain Account of the Whole Affair ; and I received from him in his own Hand-Writing the Declaratory Enformation here following upon That Subject.

*The Enformation of Joseph Radcliffe of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, Oylman, taken upon Oath, Jan. 10. 1687.*

**T**HAT when he was Examin'd by John Cowper, Coroner of Middlesex, concerning Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, on the 19th. day of October, 1678. He this Deponent did tell the said Coroner and his Jury All the Passages that he had observ'd in Sir Edmund Godfrey on the 11th. and 12th. Days of the same Month, which was as near as this Deponent can declare the very same. This Deponent did declare to Sir Roger L'Estrange, when he was Examin'd by the said Sir Roger concerning Sir E. B. Godfrey on the 11th. day of May, 1686. But Three or Four of the said Coroners Jury, did often Thwart and Interrupt this Deponent in his Enformation, and said it was too Long, and they would not stay, or could not stay, while that Long Discourse could be writ, and desired the Coroner to Abbreviate the Discourse, and take so much of it as he thought fit ; which he did do, in Manner and Form, as it is to be seen under This Deponents Hand. But this Enformant remembreth withal, that at the same time, some of the Jurors were Earnest to have the Whole Evidence Taken ; but were Over-ruled by the Persons aforesaid.

Now According to the way of Abbreviation in Those Days, they took That, which was good for Nothing, and threw out the Rest. But to say a Word now to the Reason of the Thing, as well as to the Evidence : A Man can very hardly Imagin, how Mr. Radcliffe

should give them the History of the *Accounts*, without the Connexion of Sir Edmund's Calling for This, and for That ; and his Distracted Manner of Skipping from One Thing to Another : So that *All the Extravagances* were *Omitted upon Choice*. Now if it be reasonable to believe, that Mr. Radcliffe told the Coroner the Circumstances that Pass'd at That Meeting , it is hardly Credible, that he should conclude Sir Edmund's Pleasant Even Humour ; from a Behaviour that carry'd along with it so many Proofs of the Contrary : So that the Qualification might be Possibly the Clarks Comment upon Mr. Radcliffe's Text. But there are Two Questions here that will Naturally Occur. First, Was that Mr. Radcliffe's Evidence, or Not ? 2ly. Was it True, or Not True, that he was upon That Friday, so Easie, and so Well dispos'd ? As to the Former, Mr. Radcliffe is too much a Man of Sense, to Describe a Person in the very Paroxysme of a Sickly Freak ; and at the same Time to give Those Transports the Character of a Pleasant Even Temper. And now for the Other Point of Whether True or False. His Distemper was so evident, and well known, that his Behaviour on That Friday was become Town-Talk. He put One Whole Family to their Wits End almost, at the Sight of him. That very Friday at Noon, Mrs. Birtby, Bless'd her self, at the very Walk, Action, and Looks of the Man that Afternoon in Drury-Lane, when she knew not who he was. He was going from thence to a Vestry in St. Martins, and call'd at Mr. Bradburies, whose Evidence we shall here find Exactly to agree with Mr. Radcliffe's, in a Confirmation of his very Great Trouble and Discontent that Day.

Midd.

Midd. & West. The Enformation of Henry Bradbury  
ss. of the Parish of St. Martins in the  
Fields, taken upon Oath, January 10.  
1687.

**S**AITH, That upon Friday (the Day before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first missing from his House) about, or near Five of the Clock in the Afternoon, the said Sir Edmund came to the House of this Enformant, and said, he was going to the Vestry, and that he would make up certain Accounts Relating to this Enformant, telling him, that after the Vestry should be over, he would go to Collonel Weldens, and send for this Enformant, to see that some Order might be taken about it.

He came through the House to this Enformant in a very Unusual Manner; And this Enformant observ'd such Signs of Trouble, and Discontent in him, that it made this Enformant at that present very much wonder what should be the meaning of it.

And saith, That the said Sir Edmund went his way (as this Enformant believes) to the Vestry; and about an hour after, one came to this Enformant, telling him, that the said Sir Edmund and Mr. Radcliffe desired to see him at Collonel Weldens, whether this Enformant went, and there found Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Mr. Radcliffe, and Mr. Hemes; and then the said Sir Edmund and Mr. Radcliffe set all the Accounts right before spoken of.

This Enformant was there (as he believeth) an Hour or two in the Company; and remembereth very well that he appeared to this Enformant in very Great Disorder still, and rather worse then at the House of this Enformant; the said Sir Edmund desiring Mr. Radcliffe, upon his going away, to Help him on with his Coat.

Jurat' die & Anne Su-

Henry Bradbury.

pradicto coram me. R. L'Estrange.

X 3

And

And ther: there was Mr. Wheeler, Captain Bridal (as will be seen in his Enformation) Mr. Herringman, and others, at a Vestry in St. Martins, where Sir Edmund behav'd himself at such a Rate, that every Bodies Eye was upon him: And it was in every Bodies Mouth after the Adjournment, What should Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Ail.

Walter Bridal, Esq; Deposeth, That upon the Friday, next before the Saturday, when Sir E. Godfrey was said to go last from his House; This Enformant was present at a Vestry, then held in St. Martins Parish (being a Member thereof;) And that the said Sir Edmund (being likewise a Member thereof) came in, and sat down; and contrary to his usual Practice, said Little, or Nothing. This Enformant observing at the same Time something Ghastly in his Countenance, and Wonder'd what might be the Matter.

And that upon the Vestry breaking up, This Enformant with several Others of the Vestry withdrew to a Tavern, the said Sir Edmund being gone off another Way; And being together at the said Tavern, the Company fell into Discourse about him, and wondred at his Ghastly Looks.

From thence (according to Mr. Racliffe's Enformati-  
on) he went to York Buildings: And it is not likely that he should leap all of a sudden out of so Dismal a Melancholy, as is Prov'd upon him, into that Pleasant Humour, as it stands before the Coroner. Nay, and he goes Home after this too, and burns as many Papers at Hap-hazard, as his Servant Pamphlins Apron would hold: But they kept Aloof still from the Argument of his Melancholy; And what ever Evidence struck in upon That Topique, was sure to be Cramp'd and Baffled.

There

There remains yet the Evidence of Mrs. *Mary Gibbon*, which in Truth does not stand so properly upon the File of the *Enformations* taken before the *Coroner*, though it comes to me for one of That Number. There's *No Date to't*, nor any thing to distinguish it from those that were sworn before the *Inquest*: But I find that it was Taken upon *Sunday, October 20. 1678.* After the *Jury* had Deliver'd up their *Verdict*. It would have done well however, if it might have pass'd for one of the *Enformations* that came in *Due Season*; because it look'd Ill-Favouredly to take in *John-a-Nokes*, and *John-a-Styles*, and *I know not whom*, to *I know not what*, and leave a Family so well known for *Sir Edmundbury Godfreys Intimate Friends*; and in particular to leave so *Material a Witness* as this same *Mrs. Gibbons* wholly *Unexamin'd*. But I shall find a Place for *This Witness* among those that were left *Unsummon'd*; and, in Probability, could have said more to the Purpose then All the Rest.

We have had Ill Luck hitherto with these *Enformations*; for they run all the same way; All *Suppressions* and *Misunderstandings* are still in *Favour* of the *same side*; But it is *One Thing* not to *Emprove* the *Means* of finding a *Truth*; and *Another Thing* to *Strike*, or to *Oppose Those Means*. As for Instance now in the *Next Chapter*.

## C H A P. XIX.

*The Opening of the Body had certainly Discover'd the Cause of Sir E. B. G's Death : And it was Advis'd and Propounded by Doctors, Friends, and Surgeons, but Rejected.*

THE Alliance that was by this time Contracted betwixt the Pretended Murther, and the Pretended Plot, had made the Credit of the Story so Sacred, that there was *No Touching* of the One, without giving a *Box o'th' Ear* to the Other ; and consequently, no Longer any Way, or *Hope* left, of Arriving at the *Truth*, but by breaking in upon *Principalities* and *Powers*. Under the Awe of This Influence it was, that *Evidences* were *Shorten'd*, or *Stretch'd*, or *Smother'd*, or *Baffled*, in favour of the *Imposture* ; and *No Relief* in the Case, but that of a *Dutch Appeal*, from mine *Hofst* in the *Inn*, to *Mijn Heer* upon the *Bench*, where he does *Himself Right*, in the *Quality*, of both a *Judge* and a *Party*, in the same *Person*. There will be the less Need of *Amplifying* in this Place upon *Particular Instances* of *Persons*, *Practices*, and *Methods*, in Regard that I have already spent one Whole Chapter at Large upon This Subject, *Part. I. Cap. 10.* But there was one Passage upon This Occasion, that must not be either Omitted, or Forgotten.

There was one General Rule to Walk by, which was to make every *Man a Papist*, that *Cross'd* the *Designs* of the *Then Prevailing Faction* ; and after the Fastning of That *Brand* upon him, it was but the *Lip-Labour of Kissing a Book* to *Swear him into a Traitor* ; for they *Manag'd their Treasons*, as *Dyers do their Colours* ; that first

first lay on one, to make the Stuff take t' other. This was the Snare that was set for Mr. Richard Wheeler, a Man of Sense, Credit, and Estate ; but he was too Nimble for 'em, and so they snapt Short. The Relation of it will be best in his own Words.

*Richard Wheeler Deposeth, That on Friday Morning (October 18.) the Day after Sir Edmund's Body was found ; Mr. Cowper, having been (as this Enformant heard) to see the Body, came into the Exchange, and told how Sir Edmund was Wheedled out, and Murther'd in such a Place : For that Mr. Collins the Brewer had met him in Marybone-Fields : Hereupon, this Enformant Declaring what Cowper had said ; and What He Himself had Observ'd,*

That upon the Monday Morning, this Enformant going to his Shop, one Mr. Templer said to this Enformant, There are Rods in Piss for you. To which this Enformant replied, For what ? Saying he had done no Man any Wrong : The said Mr. Templer replying, Sir Edmunds Brothers have been here, to enquire what Religion you are of. Upon which this Enformant came into the Exchange, and met Mr. Cowper, telling him what Mr. Templer had said ; and saying that he the said Cowper must Clear himself : For he this Enformant had Witnesses enough to prove what he had said. Whereupon Cowper asked this Enformant what he should do ? To which this Enformant asked him, Do you know who told you so ? Cowper said, Yes, I do. Why then, said this Enformant, I'll go along with you to him, being told it was an Ale-house-Keeper in So-ho : So this Enformant and Mr. Cowper went to the said Ale-house-Keeper, where this Enformant took Occasion to say, that they were going to see the Place where Sir Edmund's Body Lay, to which, the Ale-house-keeper said, That Sir Edmund was wheedled out, and Murther'd ; for Mr. Collins said, That he met Sir Edmund that Saturday

turday in Mary-bone Fields. Whereupon, This Enformant, Mr. Cowper, and the Ale-house Keeper, went All Three to Mr. Collins, and found him at Home ; who told them, that he did meet with him, as aforesaid, Talking with a Milk-woman, And that he said, Good Morrow Sir Edmund, who reply'd, Good Morrow Mr. Collins. This Enformant then asked Mr. Collins, (being One of the Coroner's Inquest) how he came to Find him Murther'd : To which He reply'd, that Mr. Radcliffe and his Servant, and his next Neighbour's Servant, swore him to be at Radcliff's Door, at One of the Clock upon the Saturday. This Enformant did then ask the said Collins, Whether or No he Summon'd the Milk-woman ? who told him No. How should they find her ? This Enformant Objecting it to him, that for a Crown, or such a Matter, he might have found her out.

This was according to the Scheme of the *Politiques of That Season*. Will Wheeler be meddling with *Our Primrose-hill Matters* ? What Religion is he of ? This is only Demurring to *My Clyent's Beard* (as a Lawyer of Famous Memory has it) and not one Hair to the Matter in *Question*. Had they been but *Half as Inquisitive* after *Collins's Milkwoman*, as they were about *Mr. Wheeler's Religion*, it would have been much more to Common Satisfaction: But every thing was *Distorted* and *Emprov'd* (if it may be said so) the *Wrong Way*. The Advice of *Surgeons* was not only *Reasonable*, but *Necessary*, in a Matter where there fell so many Important Circumstances under their Peculiar Cognizance : But the *Removal* of the *Body*, and the *Drawing the Sword* out ; had so Confounded the *Signs* and *Accidents* they were to have form'd a *Judgment* upon, that there was scarce Room for any more then the *Bare Conjectural Suspicion* of a *Possible Strangulation* : But now as the *Surgeons Opinion* was taken upon the *Main*, as to the *Probable Cause* of his *Death*, it would have been Well, if Those that

that had the *Care* and *Power* of the *Body*, after the *Verdict*, had found it as reasonable to Comply with the *Council*, and *Importunity* of *Friends*, as well as of *Men of Art*, toward as *Certain a Discovery* of the *Truth* of the *Matter*, as if they had been *Eye-Witnesses* of the *Execution*. The *Opening* of the *Body* is the *Expedient* that I speak of; which, as I am *Credibly Enform'd*, was *Mov'd* and *Insisted* upon by some of the *Inquest* upon the *Debate*, however it come to be *Carry'd* in the *Negative*.

There was the *King's Life*, the *Peace* of his *Dominions*, An *Imperial Monarchy*; The *Prerogative* of the *Royal Family*; *Religion*, *Liberty* and *Property* all (in a Great Measure) at stake upon the *Issue* of This *Question*. Now it must be some *Consideration* of *Mighty Weight* sure; some *Greater Good* on the *One side*, then the *Preservation* of All These Sacred Interests was *Worth*; Or some *Greater Evil*, on the *other*, then the *Embroyling*, and *Confounding* of them All, that could with any Colour of *Justice*, or *Reason*, stand in Competition with the *Consequences* of *Denying This Request*; We saw how Near the Mistake of This *Matter* came to the *Destroying* of Three *Kingdoms*: And All for want of *Clearing* This One Point. And now to *Balance* all These Hazards, let but the *World Produce* One *Colourable Pretence* for the *refusal* of it; and I will Allow *Bedloes*, and *Prances Depositions* to be as *Authentique* as the *Truest of Oracles*. Where's the *Dishonour*, the *Inconveniencie*, the *Trouble*, the *Unlawfulness*: Nay, or so much as the *Least Scruple* either in *Reputation*, or in *Conscience*, in *Consenting* to the *Opening* of a *Dead Body*? 'Tis done in some Cases, upon the Account of *Decency* and *respect*; in *Others*, out of *Curiosity*, and *Experiment*; In *some* again, to find out what *Disease* the *Man Dy'd* of; and the *Bus'ness* was Here, to have Gather'd from it by what *Sort of Violence* he came to his *Death*.

*Death.* I have Beat my Head upon't, and when People will be running me down, that the *Only reason* for Refusing the *Only Means* of knowing *Certainly how Sir Edmund came by his Death*; could be No other then because they would not have it known; If I were to Dye, I cannot find so much as one *Colour* of an Answer to't. But I am now Coming to shew, that the Thing was Propos'd, and Rejected.

The *Opening* of the *Body* was Desir'd by Dr. *Lloyd*, (the Present Bishop of St. *Asaph*) and by Dr. *Goodall*; and his Lordship gives This Account of it, that [The Brothers or One of them would not Harken to This Propos'd; He said that None had ever Yet been Open'd of their Family, and that it was not Necessary for the Keeping of the Body, for so short a Time as they intended to Keep it.] This Account bears Date, April 16. 1686.

I shall Second the Enformation Above, with some other Testimonies of Undoubted Truth, and Weight in further Proof of the same Matter.

*The Enformation of Dr. Charles Goodall of St. Martins in the Fields, Taken upon Oath, April 9. 1686.*

**S**AITH, That at the Time when the Dead Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey lay Expos'd at his House in Harts-horn Lane, This Enformant having seen the said Body, had some Discourse about it, to the Best of his Remembrance, with Mr. Thomas Hobbs, who did both Agree in Opinion, that it would be a Great Satisfaction to the World to have the Body Open'd.

And This Enformant did think it so Necessary to be done, that he Requested the Dean of Bangor to use his Interest with the Brothers, or One of them; to Consent to the Opening of the Body; that it might be Inspected by Phy-

Physicians, and Surgeons; *The said Dean very much Approving of the Proposal; And telling This Enformant afterward, that he had Earnestly Press'd the Matter to One of the Brothers, if nor Both, Who (as the Dean told This Enformant) did not think fit to have it done.* This Enformant being Induc'd to a More then Ordinary Earnestness of Desire to have the Body open'd, upon This Consideration, that it was the Way to prevent Clamour, and to give some Reasonable Satisfaction, whether he Dy'd of the Wound or of Suffocation.

*The Enformation of Mr. Thomas Hobbs of the Parish of St. Clements Danes, Surgeon, Taken upon Oath, April 8th. 1686.*

**S**AITH, That This Enformant being Interrogated, Whether or No, he knew of any Proposal made for the Opening of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, While the said Body lay at the House of the Late Sir Edmund? He This Enformant maketh Answer, That to the Best of This Enformants Memory, He Himself upon Discourse with Dr. Goodall about the Death of the said Sir Edmund; This Enformant spake to Dr. Goodall (He This Enformant having newly seen the Body) to This Effect: This Bus'ness of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey makes a Great deal of Noise; And I think it would do well for General satisfaction, if a Physician and Surgeon from the Court, and some Eminent Physician and Surgeon from the City, should Joyn in the Opening, and Inspecting the Body. By which means they might have known how he came by his Death. To which Dr. Geodall agreed, as a very Reasonable Thing, and said he would propound it: And the said Doctor told This Enformant afterward, that he had Propounded it (as This Enformant remembers) to Dr. Lloyd; Dr. Goodall telling This Enformant

formant also, that the said Dr. Lloyd had Propounded it to the Brothers, whose Answer was to This Purpose, That the Coroners Inquest had found it Murther, and they would not Trouble Themselves any further: All which This Enformant Delivers to the Best of his Knowledge and Memory.

There was a Time, when the stabbing Question was, [Ay, but who Murther'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey?] Now What if a Man should Answer it with a Another Question! Ay, but who were They that might have known and Would not, how he came by his Death? ] Nay, the very Sword it self would have told Tales, if the Question had but been put to't; but I look upon That Omission as a Thing not Thought of. I have Caused several Sword-Cutters, and Men of Skill and Experience in their Bus'ness, to be Consulted about This Point; and not with any Leading Questions Neither; but Barely, and Simply, What Colour will the Warm Blood of a Man leave upon the Blade of a Sword, and how shall a Body know it from any Other sort of Rust? To which I have received This Account.

We the Subscribers hereof, do Affirm, and Declare, and are ready to Attest upon Oath, that according to our Observation, the Blade of a Sword that has been Thrust into the Body of a Living Man, is of a Different Colour from a Blade that is Canker'd with rust, upon Water or any Ordinary Wetting of it; and that if the Sword be Wiped, upon the Drawing of it out of the Body, It will have a kynd of a Dark Lead Colour; but Otherwise it will Look like a redder kind of Rust.

John Hill.  
Joseph Smith.  
Rich. Hayes.

We're

We'll See now as Briefly as we can, how far the Observation of Several of the Jurors Themselves agrees with This Judgment of the Sword-Cutlers.

John Cowsey Deposeth, That upon an Exact view of the Sword, This Enformant Observed That Part of the Blade, which was in the Body, to be Discolour'd, as if it had been Stain'd with Bloud and Water.

Thomas Woollams Deposeth, That he took Particular Notice of the Sword which was said upon Oath to be taken out of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and that he Observed the Colour of That Part which had been in the Body to be Darker then the rest.

Simon Standever Deposeth, That he Observed the Colour of the Sword as it lay before the Jury, and found that That Part of the Sword that was in the Body was quite of Another Colour then the rest that was out of the Body.

Thomas Mason Deposeth, That he Observed the Sword, as it was shew'd to the Jury, to be of a kind of Lead Colour, so far as it was in the Body, and Distinguisable from the Other Parts of the Sword.

John Hartwell Deposeth, That he Observ'd the Sword to be of a kind of a Blackish Blew, or Lead Colour, so far as it was in the Body, and of a Colour Distinguisable from other Parts of the Sword.

We have had Such a Superabundance of more Pregnant and Convincing Arguments and Evidences, that I should not so much as have Mention'd This Particular, but that there's somewhat of Curiosity in it as well as of Use.

We

We have now pass'd through the Several Points in order, as they were laid down in the Course of our Distribution concerning the *Sufficiency* of the *Proofs Produc'd*; The *Sincerity* of making the *Best* of them in Matters whereof the *Examiners* had *Certain Knowledge*; the *Competency* of the *Witnesses* that were *Summon'd*, and the *Best Improvement* also of what they *Did say*, and of what in *Likelyhood*, and *Reason* they might be able to say *More*. I shall pass now to a Consideration of some *Witnesses* that were not *Summon'd*, and might have been more Serviceable, in *Common Probability*, to the Satisfaction of the *Jury*, upon the *Enquiry* they had Then before them, than any of the rest.

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## C H A P. XX.

*Mrs. Gibbon's Enformation Compared with the Coroners Report, and the Matter submitted to All Indifferent Men, whether the Design throughout was to Discover the Truth, or to Stifle it. With an Appendix for a Conclusion.*

**H**ere's a Subject, a *Magistrate*, a *Master*, a *Friend*, a *Relation*, and an *Acquaintance*, *Lost* in the Person of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and All these Circumstances are to be Consulted toward the finding out what is become of him: Now in Order to such a *Discovery*, a Man Naturally Bethinks himself somewhat to This Purpose; What *Confidences* had he? What *Haunts*? What *Persons* were Most *Privy* to his *Affairs*, his *Ways*, and *Humors*? What *Servants*? Who saw him when he went away from his *House*? Who saw him *Afterward*? In whose *Company* was he *Last*? &c.

There's

There's Nothing more *Familiar*, or *Reasonable*, then such Enquiries as These, provided they be made in the *Proper Place*, and Apply'd to the *Right Persons*: So that the *Brothers* were well advis'd, upon the First Missing of him, to go to *Coll. Weldens*; (his Common *Baiting-Place*) to hearken after him. His Servant *Pamphlin* goes the Next day to *Mrs. Gibbons*, upon the *same Errand*; and so did the *Brothers* on the *Munday*, as one of Sir *Edmunds Ancient*, and *Particular Friends*. It is to be taken for Granted, that they did not Forget to *Examine Sir Edmunds Domestiques*, What They *Knew*; What they *Thought*; What they *Observe'd*; and it is as Little to be Doubted, that the Servants gave them All the *Lights* they could, upon such Questions. The reason of the Thing Carry'd them still forward upon the same Train of *Likely-hoods*, to Enquire of *Parsons*, *Mason*, *Collins*, and the *Milk-woman*, to *Learn* what he *said*, What he *Did*, How he *Look'd*, Which way he *Went*, &c. and who knows but Such a *Trayle* might have brought them to the *Ditch* where he was *found*? But, to the Admiration of All People, we do not find that *any One* of All These Persons (*Harry Moor* only Excepted, with his *Lac'd Band*) was *Formally*, and *Publickly Examin'd* about This Matter; Nor so much as *one Question* put, with any sort of *Tendency*, or the Least Appearance of *Good-will*, toward an *Effectual Discovery*, as we have already Set forth, in an *Orderly Series* of *Observations* upon *This Topique*: And there Needs No Better Proof of This Assertion, then the *Testimony* of the *Enformations Themselves*.

I find ('tis true) an *Enformation* of *Mrs. Gibbons* among the *Coroners Papers*; but the Verdict was over before it was *Taken*. It was by *Command*, not by *Choice*; and how it was *Manag'd*, will appear upon a Collation of other Circumstances with the Enformation.

It was, it seems, by the *Special Order* of my *Lord Chancellor Nottingham*, that *Mr. Cowper* the *Coroner* took This Enformation of *Mrs. Gibbon*; and his *Direction* (as he told her) was to Examine her upon *Oath*, what *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* *Said* to her, *about a Fortnight before his Death*. (As we shall see by and by.) This gives to Understand that the Matter in Question was a Thing of very great *Importance*, for his Lordship would never have thought the *Cause* worth a *Review*, if he had not been told something very *Extraordinary* concerning That Encounter. Now to Expound the *Story*, there was a very remarkable Passage, upon a *Visit* that *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* made to *Mrs. Gibbons* on *Tuesday*, the *First* of *October 1678*. And Thats the Busness the *Coroner* was now to take an *Account* of. But *This Enformation* has had the Fortune, I perceive, of the rest of it's *Fellows*, to come into the World *Lame*, and *Imperfect*; to the *Degree* of *Defeating* the very *Intent* of the *Examination*. But briefly, Whatever it was, the *Coroner* Undoubtedly Attended my *Lord Chancellor* with a *Copy* of the *Enformation*, and an *Answerable Report* upon the *Whole Matter*, as here under-follows.

*Midd. ff. The Enformation of Mary Wife of Thomas Gibbon Esq; taken upon Oath before me.*

**S**HE saith, *That about a fortnight last past, in an Afternoon, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey came to her House in Old Southampton Buildings, and upon Discourse with her, Ask'd her if she did not hear that he was to be Hang'd, for not discovering the Plot against his Majesty, for that. He the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had taken the Examination of one Otes and one Tong, touching*

touching the same, the 6th day of September, and had not Discover'd it to any Person living; whereupon this Enformant asked the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey why he had not acquainted the Duke of York, or the Lord Chancellor, or the Lord Treasurer with the same; and Then This Enformant told the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, that she Suppos'd that what he then said was but in Jest, touching his being Hang'd; Whereupon he reply'd, that he had not told Sir William Jones thereof, although he had been at the said Sir William Jones his House Several times since; and then told this Enformant, that the King and Councel knew of the Plot, before his Majesty went to Windsor, which was about a Month before he took the said Examination. Whereupon this Enformant ask'd him if he thought there was Really any Plot intended against his Majesty? To which he reply'd, that surely there Was, but that Otes had Sworn Somewhat more then was True, and therefore the Papists would find so much favour as to have All things that Otes had Sworn, to be thought Lyes, and Then This Deponents Brother, Coll. Rooke, came into the Room, and then the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey took his Leave of This Enformant, saying, that he was to Go to the Lord Chief Justice about Bus'ness, and said that he would Call on This Enformant some other Time, and Tell her More: and Since That Time she hath not seen Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and farther saith not

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

Mary Gibbon.

There will be no great need of a Key to uncypher This Mystery, if the Reader shall but duly Consider the Matter before him, upon Comparing other Enformations of Mrs. Gibbons, with This before the Coroner. There's One that Speaks, Almost peculiarly, to This Subject,

*Subject ; and Another, that's more General, and at Large ; but I shall take so much of 'em as is for the Present purpose, and Begin with the Former.*

Mary Gibbon Senior Deposeth, That she this Enformant being Interrogated about the Occasion, the Time, and the Subject Matter of the Enformation she Deliver'd to Mr. Cowper, one of the Middlesex Coroners, concerning Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Answereth as hereafter Follows, to the Best of her Knowledge and Memory.

That upon the next Sunday after the finding of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the Coroners Inquest having Already Deliver'd up their Verdict ; the said Mr. Cowper came to This Enformant at her House in Old Southampton Buildings in the Afternoon, and spake to this Enformant to this Effect. Mrs. Gibbon, I come from My Lord Chancellors to take Your Examination, and you are to tell me upon Oath when you saw Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Last, and what he Said to You.

This Enformant told him, that the said Sir Edmund came to her House in a very strange Manner, upon Tuesday last was Senight, in a Discontented, Melancholique Humor as ever This Enformant Observ'd in Any Body : He took This Enformant into a Chamber Alone, Bolted the Door, Asked This Enformant if she heard the News, for it was All over the Town that he was to be Hang'd. This Enformant being in a Great Trouble and Amazement at This Language, and Behaviour, said Something to him to This Effect, The Lord Bless us, Sir What d'ye Mean ? For What ? Whereupon, the said Sir Edmund told This Enformant, that he had Taken Otes and Tong's Enformations, and kept 'em a Month by him without Discovery, but that Otes had Forsworn Himself.

This

This Enformant saith in short, that she told the said Coroner the Story of Sir Edmunds Distracted Manner of Behaviour, in all the Considerable Passages, as she had formerly Deliver'd them to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

And This Enformant being further Interrogated, Whether she thought the said Sir Edmund was in Jeit or in Earnest? Or if there was any thing said of the Papists being in favour; And what Questions the Coroner Ask'd her concerning Sir Edmunds Melancholy.

She this Enformant maketh Answer, That she was so far from thinking he Jested, that his Way of Behaviour Frighted her, as the very Relation of it Frighted the Brothers but the Munday before: Wheroft This Enformant gave a Particular Account to the said Coroner. And that This Enformant remembreth No Discourse at All of the Papists being in favour; and Moreover, that the said Coroner put No further Questions to This Enformant, about Sir Edmunds Melancholy, then a General Question, In what Humour he was, without shewing Any Particular Desire to be Enform'd That Way; but Repeating to This Enformant, that His Order was to Examine her concerning what Sir Edinundbury Godfrey Said to her: the said Coroner Writing all the While that This Enformant was Under Examination.

This Enformant being likewise Asked Whether or No she Sign'd the said Enformation taken by Mr. Cowper? She maketh Answer, that she remembreth that she was alone in the Parlour with Mr. Cowper, and that she had not her Spectacles Below; her Mother being Just a dying in the same House; and she her self in Great Distraction. To the Best of her Memory, she This Enformant, being in Confusion, did not Read it, but upon the Coroners Reading of it that she Set her Hand to't.

This Enformant being also Asked if any Questions were put to her about the Manner of his Death, she This Enformant doth not remember any Questions that Pointed

*That Way.* But saith, That since the Heat, and the Talk of this Business was over, This Enformant went one Day with one Mrs. Cross, and the Widow of Mr. Green that Suffer'd, to the White-house; This Enformants Husband being also in the Company, to see the Place where Sir Edmunds Body was found, and agreed before-hand to Ask the Woman of the House some Questions by the By to find what she thought of the Matter. This Enformant said, to the Woman of the House, in Discourse, What! You have had a Justice Murder'd here hard by, by the Papists. To which the said Woman made Answer to This Effect, Do not you Deceive your Self: I believe he rather Murder'd Himself; How should the Blood follow the Sword else, when it fell upon the Grass? And then when he was laid upon My Table, The Blood ran down through the Floor upon the Bottles in the Cellar.

This Enformant well remembreth, that on the Next Day after the Body was brought home, a Gentlewoman, that is a Near Relation to That Family, and Yet Living, call'd upon This Enformant to go along with her, to see how Sir Edmund had been Murder'd by the Papists: And they took This Enformants Daughter Mary along with them; the said Gentlewoman saying, You may see hereby the Wax that he was Murder'd in a House; Whereupon This Enformants Daughter, with her Thumb, Fillip't-it-off, and shew'd her that it was only Dirt,

Upon Comparing These Two Enformations, The Coroners will be found to be only the Shell of the other. That is to say, a Body may see the same Lines and Traces in't, but it Carries Quite Another Countenance. Upon Discourse with her, ( says Mr. Cowper ) he ask'd, &c. as if it had been a Question that fell in by the By, as who should say [ Now I think on't, or so ] Whereas Mrs. Gibbon tells us of his taking her Alone, Bolting

*Bolting the Door*; His being in much Trouble and *Disorder*; and then Asking her the *Question*, and telling her what an *Uproar* the *Whole Town* was in about it: which First makes it more then a *Festing Matter*, ( as the *Coroner* Seems to take it ) and Then shews that the venting of his *Mind* was the *Chief Bus'ness* of the *Visit*. But can Any Man Imagine that *Mrs. Gibbon* should take the *Passion it Self* from the *Life*, to be but in *jest*, when the *Bare Story* of it scar'd the *Two Brothers* well *Nigh out of their Wits*? Why, *Mrs. Gibbon* must have been the *Madder* of the *Two*, to tell the *Coroner* how much she was *Amaz'd* at the *Extravagance*, and how the *Brothers* were *Transported* almost out of *Themselfs* upon the *Hearing* of it, and yet at the same Time, that she took all but for *Fooling*: But the *Coroners Enformation* Takes a Singular Care all this while, either to *Mince*, or to *Suppress* whatever comes in his Way, that is not for his *Purpose*. *Otes*, he says, *had Sworn somewhat More then was True*; And that therefore the *Papists* would find so much *favour* as to have *All his Stories taken for Lyes*. Now *This* is a Passage that *Skews* toward the *Colouring* of the *Pretended Plot*, whereas the *Other* makes No *Bones* of Saying that *Otes Forswore Himself*, and *Utterly Denies* any Such Mention of the *Papists*. And the *Plot* would come to *Nothing*. In the *Coroners Enformation*, Sir *Godfrey* goes his Way, Promises to come again, and tell her more, but that she never *Saw him afterward*. Now the other, as it refers to *Another Enformation* deliver'd to *Mr. Secretary Jenkins*, gives to *Understand* that he *Did* come again, and went away in a *Freak*: So that in fine, the *Coroners Enformation*, as it is drawn, is only the *Carcass* of the *Discourse*, without any *Soul* or *Meaning*. And there's Not *One Word* Neither, of the *Account* *Mrs. Gibbon* gave of his very *Ill Humour*, and *Disorder*. We shall go forward now to her *Depositions* before the *Secretary*.

Mary the Wife of Captain Thomas Gibbon Deposeth, That there was a Long and Particular Intimacy and Friendship betwixt the Two Families of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey and This Enformant; And that the said Sir Edmund made her frequent Visits at her House in Old Southampton Buildings; Acquainting her Many times with Things that Troubled him; and for some time before his Death, he came to her, at least, once a Week, and upon the Tuesday was Senight, before the Saturday when he went Last away from his House, he came to This Enformants, and desired to Speak with her alone; she being then in her Mothers Chamber with her Husband and her Brother ( Coll. William Rook ) her Mother lying at That Time upon her Death Bed, she went with Sir Edmund into Another Chamber, when being Enter'd, the said Sir Edmund Bolted the Door, and appearing to be much Troubled, and out of Order: Ask'd her if she had not heard that he was to be Hang'd, for ( says he ) All the Town is in an Uproar about me. Then she Ask'd him for what? To which he replyed, That he having taken Otes's and Tongs Examinations, a Month a-go, and though he had been often at Dinner Since at My Lord Chancellors, and Sir William Jones's, Yet he never had Discover'd the Plot they had Sworn to; she ask'd him, what Plot? And he said, That Otes had forsworn himself, and it would come to Nothing. Just upon This, Coll. Rook Call'd the Enformant away, and thereupon Sir Edmund went his Way too; telling her at Parting, that he would come to her again the Next Day, and would tell her more. Sir Edmund came accordingly, when the Enformant being Bareheaded, told him she would wait upon him Immediately, but before she could put on her Hood, and come back, he was gone his way. He sent to the Enformant in the Last Week when he went away, ( to the Best of her Memory,) to come to him; but her Mother being

being Dying, she could not Leave her : but the Enformant however order'd her Daughter to go to him Early upon Saturday Morning, and Invite him to Dinner : who brought word back that she was there by Eight, but Pamphlin told her he was gone out an hour before.

We are now got over the Question of the *Means*, and the *Witnesses* that the *Coroner* had before him ; the *Competency* of Those *Means*, and how far they were *Emprov'd* toward the *Clearing* of the *Truth*. The *Next and Last Point* will be , to Enquire , Whether there were not as Good *Witnesses* left out, or perhaps Better, and More Likely to Bolt out the *Truth*, than any of Those that were Taken in, saving Harry ~~Wooz~~ only, who though Qualifi'd by his *Station*, and *Employment*, for a *Probability* of knowing More then Another *Man*; was Yet so *Crampt* by *Restraining* his *Evidence* to the *Nonsensical Question* of his Masters Lac'd Band, that he was as good as No *Witness* at All.

There are *Certain Main Points*, that in a Course of *Reason*, and *Method*, are properly to be taken into Consideration upon the Matter that we have now before us. *First*, What was the *Question*? *Secondly*, What were the *Points* Necessary to be Known, toward the *resolving* of That *Question*? *Thirdly*, What Sort of *Men* were the Most Likely to give Light to a *Resolution* upon it? *Fourthly*, Who were the *Persons* that to the *Certain Knowledge*, or *Reasonable Presumption* of the *Brothers*, or of the *Coroner*, were able to Speak Effectually to This Matter? And so by Degrees, were Those People Summon'd to give *Evidence*? Or if not, Why was it Omitted?

To the First Point, *Felo de se*, or *Not*? was the *Question*. Secondly, Was there Any *Bloud* follow'd the *Sword*? If so, 'tis Concluded that he Dy'd of the *Wound*: And not of *Suffocation*. Was he in Any

Dan-

ger; In any Fear, either of Others, or of Himself? Had he any *Quarrel*, or any *Desperate Melancholy* upon him? Thirdly, As I have said Formerly, his *Domestiques*, his *Relations*, his *Familiar Friends* and *Acquaintance*, and other *Chance-Witnesses*, that either out of *Curiosity*, or by *Accident*, came to the *Knowledge*, and *Observation* of any thing concerning him by the *By*. These were the *Men*, in *General*, that were properly to be *Examin'd*. And then Fourthly, in *Particular*, as to the *Persons*, who but Mrs. *Gibbons* in the *First Place*? a Person to whom the whole Family apply'd themselves in *Private* for *Enformation*. The Person that they desir'd would *Speak Sparingly*, when she came to be *Examin'd*. The Person that told the Brothers such a Story of him, the *Fourth Day* before the *Body was found*, as Manifestly gave them a *Foreboding* of what was become of him. The Brothers were at their *Wits End* for fear of his *Desperate Melancholy*; An *Apprehension* that was *Nothing a-kin* to the *Dread* of a *Violence* from any *Other Hand*. The Brothers knew well enough the *Impression* that the *Conceit* of his *Father's Melancholy* had upon him; and that Captain *Gibbon* and the *Daughters of the Family*, were *Privy* to *Several Fits* of his *Distemper*: And what *Opinion*, Colonel *Welden*, and his own *Servants* had, of his *Deep*, and *Inconsolable Discontents*. The Brothers had all along the *Secret History* of *Moor's Discoveries*, and *Intelligences*; *Contingent Evidences*, and *Enformations*, over and above. There was not *One*, in fine, of *These Persons Summon'd*; And I cannot find *any One Reason* in the *World* for the *Omission*; but what I am very *Unwilling* to *Believe*, That is to say, the *Smothering* of the *Truth*; for the *Managers*, I perceive, have *Industriously* either *Avoided*, or *Disguised* the *Two Certain Ways* of *Deciding This Question*. *First*, The *Discovery* of the *Blood*, which is already made *Manifest* as the *Light*. *2ly*. There has

has not been so much as One *Question put* about his *Melancholy*, on the *One Hand*; Nor One *Syllable of Enformation* concerning that *Melancholy* that has not been *Discountenanced*; And (if not Punished) at Least, *Ridicul'd*, on the *Other*. Now to *Conclude*, If *These Two Points*, *well-prov'd*, would have brought it to a *Clear Issue*; it is, *beyond all Controversie*, that the *Bloud* has been *made out* past *Contradiction* already; and that what *These People* could have said, to the *Evidencing* of a *deep*, and a *dangerous Discontent*, would have as *Amply made out* the *Other*: *These Things* they did *Certainly KNOW*, and *Would not Know*; and *This was the Blindness*, undoubtedly, of those that *Would Not see*.

I have here Discharged my *Conscience*, and my *Duty*, with a most Affectionate, and Impartial Respect to *Truth*, and *Justice*; And I have done it according to the Best of my *Skill*, and *Understanding*; without Gratifying any *Passion*, or *Interest*; and without Leaning either to the *Right Hand*, or to the *Left*; as I shall Answer for't at the Last Day.

The *Two Main Points* in the *Case of This Discourse*, are *These*: *First*, Was *Sir E. B. Godfrey Murther'd* at *Somerset-House*, according to the *Evidence of Bedloe and Prante*, or was he *Not*? Whoever *says*, or *thinks* he *Was*, must Remove *Forty Contradictions* and *Impossibilities* out of the way, before any *Man* can pretend to Believe it. If he was *Not*, there's the *Bloud of Three Innocent Men* to *Answer* for, that was *Shed* upon *That Perjury*. Now if he *Was* again, There's the *King*, the *Queen Consort*, that then was, and now *Queen Dowager*, the *Lord Bellasis*, &c. These were All *Expressly in't*; but then by *Complication*, and *Confederacy*: Whoever was in the *Plot*, was more or less a Friend to the *Murther*; And *Bedloe Swears* that *Every considerable Papist in England was under an Oath of Secrecy to Con-*

*Conceal it.* But once again now; If he was *Not* *Murther'd* there, as they swore he *Was*; What *Reparation* for the *Honour* of so many *Illustrious Names* as will be deliver'd over to *After-Ages* in *Depositions, Journals, and other Records*, under the *Blot of This Infamy*?

To Obviate *These Two Questions*, I have Divided This Tract into *Two Parts*. In the *Former*, the *Forgery* is layd so *Open*, that I dare Defie the History of the whole World, to produce *Any One Cause*, where-ever a *False Oath Impos'd* an *Abuse* upon a *Court of Justice*, which was *Afterward* so *Unanswerably Disprov'd*, and by so many several *Ways*. The *First Part*, in short, Discharges *Somerset-House* of the *Murther*. The Question of the *Second*, is, *Felo de se, or Not?* And if Sir *William Jones's [Circumstances] and [Concurrent Testimonies.] Greens Tryal*, pag. 72. may but pass for as Good Evidence on the Behalf of *Truth*, as for the Support of an *Imposture*, the *Felo de se* is much clearer in *This Case*, than the *Popish Murther* was in the *Other*.

I have not pass'd over Any Thing hitherto, that I found worth a Notice; but in regard that Men that have *Least* to say, are apt to make the *Most* of a Little; and that there are yet remaining *Untouch'd* some *Popular Stories*, that have obtained among the *Multitude*: I shall Subjoin an *Appendix*, upon *Those Points* to what I have said Already, and so Conclude.

## APPENDIX.

**P**RANCE's *History* of the *Merry-meeting at the Queen's-Head at Bow*, where was *Lauson, Vernatti, Girald, Dethick*, and *Himself*, is a *Sham* of the same *Batch* with the rest of his Works; and the *Perjury* confess'd. Mr. *Vernatti* has *Fairly and Legally Acquitted* *Him*,

*Himself*; and Mr. Dethick has been pleas'd to give the Following Account of That Days Meeting, Sign'd with his own Hand.

*The Attestation of George Dethick Esq; about the Meeting of the Pretended Plotters at Bow.*

**T**HAT about the Seventh day of November 1678. One Mr. Vernatti sent a Note for me, desiring my Company at the Queens Head-Tavern at Bow, where accordingly I came and found thare Mr. Vernatti, Mr. Lewson, and One Other Person, which since I have been Enformed was Mr. Miles Prance, and no body else, Except the Master of the House, who came to us, where we Dined. And I do well remember that Prance a little before Dinner had some Discourse with the Drawer for Standing at the Door, at which I was somewhat concern'd, and being a Stranger to Prance, told him we had No Bus'ness that we Cared who knew, and that I was well known to the Master of the House; upon which I Opened the Door, and so it remained all the while we remained there: during which time, there was not a Paper read, or account given of any Matter relating to the Murther of Sir Edmund Godfrey; nor so much as his Name Mentioned, to the Best of my Remembrance; but I do remember there were some Verses Written and Read, by Mr. Vernatti, but what they were I cannot possibly say.

Likewise to the Best of my Remembrance I never saw Mr. Miles Prance either before, or since That Time.

George Dethick.

There was a Great Talk in Those Days too, about one Jennings, a Cow-keeper, that was Taken up, and Charg'd for Advising Cromwel, Walters, and Rawson, that first found the Body, to take no further Notice of it, but rather let some body else find it out; for nothing would

come of it but Trouble. It appears upon the Depositions of the Three Persons above Named, that Jennings did speak VVords to that Effect; and Jennings himself owns the speaking of the VVords; but Deposeth withal, as followeth.

*Edward Jennings Deposeth, That he had never seen nor heard of that Body before they told him of it. And faith, That in the Spring following he was committed to New Prison upon the Oath of his Wife, that he brought home a Band, and said it was the Band of Sir E. Godfrey. He continued a Pris'ner there, a Month, within Two Days, to the best of his Remembrance. And faith, That the Under-keeper of the said Prison told him, that among other Persons that came there to him, there was one of the Brothers of the said Sir Edmund, Prance, and Otes.*

There went a Hot Report of Cattle taken away from him, and of the Bus'nes being made up, and his *Cattle Restor'd* again, no body knew how. I have met with many sober People that laid a great Stres upon This Story; but, for my own Part, I could never find any thing in't to build upon.

The *Staffordshire Letter of Intelligence* about the Death of Sir E. B. Godfrey, made a mighty Noise in the Tryal of the Jesuits, and of my Lord Stafford: Insomuch, that Challenges were made to all the Papists in *England* to wipe off that Evidence: and the Weight, effectually, of the whole Cause was thrown upon that Issue. Mr. Evers (as *Dugdale Swears*) received a Letter from London at Tixhall upon Monday, Octob. 14. 1678. bearing Date, Saturday the 12th. with These Words in't, [*This Night Sir E.B.G. is Dispatch'd.*] Lord Staffords Tryal, fol. 22. And this Evidence was Back'd by several other Testimonies, 134, 135, 136, & 137. of the said Tryal: And so likewise in the Tryal of the Five Jesuits. Now the Force of the Inference was

Was This: The Body was not found till Thursday the 17th. And how should any Man that was not privy to the Murther, give such an Account of it upon Saturday the 12th? For they had the News of it in Staffordshire upon the Monday. I shall only Refer the Reader to the Sixth Chapter of this Second Part, 199. for a Full, and Final Answer, where he shall find a Report Raised, and Industriously spread on the very Saturday Sir Edmund went away upon; that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murther'd by the Papists; so that the Saturdays Post might well carry the News into Staffordshire by Monday. There was Notable Clashing, I remember, about the Credit of the Staffordshire Evidence, that was given upon This Point: But if the Rumour was so Rife about the Town upon the Saturday, 'tis All a Case to me, whether they had it in Staffordshire, or Not; for if they had it Not, they might have had it; which is the same Thing as to the Reason of the Case, though not to the Truth of the Fact.

The Drops of Wax upon the Cloaths, and Stockings, which Elizabeth Curtis (or Draper) swears to, are never the more Credible for her Testimony; because we have already prov'd her to be Forsworn; both by Judith Pamphlin, and Avis Warrier, in the Bus'ness of Green and Hill, cap. 13. And another Falsity out of her own Mouth, about Greens speaking First French, and Afterwards English in the Council-Chamber-Deposition; and First English, and Afterwards French, at the Tryal. See the same Chapter, p. 152. And She's little better then Forsworn again, in delivering her Evidence upon Oath, as the Servant of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; which she never was; neither was it fair to set her up for a Witness, in the Quality of Sir Edmund's Servant, by Those that knew she never was so. Not but that there might be Drops of Wax too, but how they came There, will be the Question; for when Mrs.

*Gibbon and her Daughter*, together with a *Kinswoman* of Sir Edmunds, were to see the Body in Hartshorn-Lane, the Day after it was brought home, the pretended *Drops of Wax* upon the *Filling*, were found to be only *Dirt*, as is already set forth in the Last *Chapter*. And after this Disappointment, if there had been *any such Drops*, they would undoubtedly have been found out. But this Mistake might put it in their Heads perhaps, to bestow the *Dripping's of a Wax-Candle* here and there about him, as they saw convenient; for the *Wax* upon his *Cloths* (as *Proofs* went then-a-days) made a very *Substantial Corroborating Argument* of the *Body's* being layd under the *Altar*. But *Wax*; or *No Wax*, comes all to a Point, if the *main Cause* be *Detected* for a *Sham*; for the *Somerset-house-murther*, and the *Somerset-house-wax* are *Fillip'd off Both together*; and it was for the *Tapers* sake undoubtedly, that this *Sham* was *Contriu'd*. I shall now take Notice of some of their *Extraordinary Affidavits*, which, how *Unconcluding* soever, pass'd for Matters of Moment yet with the *Common People*.

Nathaniel Thompson, &c. were Try'd at Guildhall, on Tuesday, June 24. 1682. upon an Enformation, for Writing, Printing, and Publishing Libels, by way of Letters, and other Prints, Reflecting upon the Justice of the Nation in the Proceedings against the Murtherers of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and they were found Guilty of the Enformation.

Upon the 3d. of July, 1682. (according to the *Licens'd Tryal*) Thompson, &c. were brought up by Rule to the Bar of the Court of Kings-Bench, to receive their Judgment; upon which 3d. day of July an *Affidavit* of Richard Spence was read, bearing Date the 10th. of the same July. (Whether this was the *Printers*, or the *Compilers* Mistake, it does not much matter.) But the short of the Enformation is This.

That

*That Passing by the Water-gate of Somerset-House, October 10. 1678. about Seven at Night, there were Five or Six Men standing together there, who laid hold of this Deponent as he was passing by them; and they taking hold of both this Deponents Arms, Dragg'd him down about a Yard within the Water-gate of Somerset-House, it being dark; but one of the said Men, which this Deponent believes to have been Hill (for that this Deponent knew Hill very well, as also his Master Dr. Godden) Cry'd out, and said, This is not He; upon which, they immediately let this Deponent go.*

Jurat' 10. July 1682.

Richard Spence.

coram me

VV. Dolben.

Mr. Spence, 'tis true, did probably know *Hill* and his *Master*, as we shall see farther by and by. But in the mean Time, 'tis Remarkable, that he has Pitch'd upon *Prance's Just Number of Martherers*, (Six;) *Prance's Water-gate*; and that *These Russians* should Seize a Man so like Sir E. B. Godfrey for Sir E. B. Godfrey, when 'twas so Dark, they could hardly know *One Face* from *Another*. If he had but call'd out for *Help*, they had certainly been Taken (unless we shall suppose that *They* only could see the *Man*, and *No Body else See Them*.) 'Twas a strange Thing, that No Place but *Somerset-House-Water-Gate*, could serve for the *Surprise*. But to be Short, and to make the *Most* on't; Here was *One Man* taken for *Another*; *Seiz'd*, and *let go* again; and *This Man*, for the Purpose, Like Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* (though I am told otherwise:) And what's the *Inference* at last now, but that *These Men* were either *Bedloe's*, or *Prance's Assassins*, that lay upon the Catch there for *Godfrey*? Where was This Evidence of Mr. Spence's at *Green's Tryal*: Or how came it Now to be *Bolted*, upon *This Occasion*?

There was a Little Affair at That Time in hand, about the Lease of a House, which Mr. Spence had for a Term of Years in Trust from Mrs. Broadstreet. There was some *Arriere Incurr'd*, and a Prosecution upon it for the Money; And while This Dispute was a-foot, the Story of Mr. Spence's being lay'd hold of, and dragg'd into Somerset-House, came to Light: I shall look no further into't; for the Further, the Worse.

Mr. Spence's *Affidavit*, is follow'd with Another of John Okeley, the Servant of Robert Breedon, of Hartshorn-Lane, who maketh Oath, That upon Saturday, October 12. 1678. going homewards to his Master Breedons House, coming by Somerset-House in the Strand; when he came near the Gate of that House, which leads down to the Water-side, commonly call'd the Water-gate; about Nine at Night, he there saw Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and passed close by him, and put off his Hat to him; and Sir E. B. Godfrey put off his Hat again to Him; and after that the Deponent had passed beyond Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, He the Deponent turned about, and looked upon him again, and Sir Edmundbury Godfrey stood still, and there was a Man or Two near Sir Edmund.

This Affidavit was Sworn, June 22. before the Lord Mayor; and sworn to again the 1st. of July; 1682. before Judge Dolben, and is left Fil'd up in the Crown-Office. Thompsons Tryal, 33, 34, 35.

After These, there follows an *Appendix*, containing several Other *Affidavits*, in Further Confirmation (as is Pretended) of the Testimony of Mr. Miles Prance.

Harry Goo Swears, That the Report of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Hanging Himself, and of Moors saying, that He cut him down, is utterly False. Tryal, p. 41. And

And after This follows Another Enformation, of Justice Baalam; that the *Above-written Affidavit is True.*  
*Ibid. June 28. 1681.*

*Elizabeth Dekin Swears, That her Fellow-Servant John Oakley told her, while Sir Edmund was Missing, of his seeing Sir Edmund about Nine, That Saturday Night, near the Water-gate at Somerset-House.*

*Robert Breeden follows it with another Deposition, that Elizabeth Dekin told him, as above, what John Oakley said, June 22. 1682. p. 44.*

*Ralph Dakley Swears, That John Oakley told him of seeing Sir Edmundbury Godfrey as aforesaid, July 4. 1682. p. 45. And Robert Oakley, the Father of John, Deposeth, that his Son told him the same Story. Ibid.*

Heres a Clutter of Six Affidavits to Two Points. The First Two to Moor's Purging himself of a Scandalous Report : The Other Four to John Oakley's saying that he saw Sir E. B. Godfrey. Moor's Point is nothing at all to the Present Bus'ness ; and the Rest is only Hear-say, without Proof. 'Twas Dark, and what if Oakley mistook the Man ? And Being Dark, 'twas a Wonder he should know him at all ; Especially, following, and passing by him ; and then, looking back again. It was a Mighty Lucky thing too, that Spence should be Dragged in by Six Men at the Water-Gate, on the Thursday, about Seven in the Evening, and that John Oakley should stumble upon him at the Water-gate too, about Nine on the Saturday ; and that in Both Those Dark Nights, Both these Witnesses should have the Hap to See him at the same Place, and to know him. And how came John Oakley to take Notice that there was a Man or Two near Sir Edmund ? What was That Circumstance to His Sto-

ry; when, at that Hour, it could hardly be Other; but it Nicks Prince's Evidence however; for there were the Doggers, and there was the Water-Gate; and That the Place of Ambush; though the Dark Passage into Hartshorn-Lane would have been a Post worth Forty or't, for That Purpose.

Benjamin Man maketh Oath, That the Turn-key of the Gate-house, telling this Enformant that Green was Charg'd with the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; the Deponent, Reading of it, Turn'd to Mr. Green, and said, I did not think to have found you such a Man; Whereupon Green Reply'd, [I am a Dead Man] or Words to That Purpose. Sworn July 3. 1682. Tryal, p. 47.

And what Difference in the Case of this Poor Creature, betwixt saying, *I am a Dead Man*; and saying, *There's no Fence for Perjury*. But the killing Affidavit is, That which follows.

Robert Fawcet of Marybone, in the County of Middlesex, Esq. maketh Oath; That Tuesday the 15th. of October, 1678. (being the Tuesday after that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing.) he This Deponent was a Hunting with his Pack of Hounds at the very Place where the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was afterwards found, and Beat that very Place with his Hounds, and the Body was not then there; nor any Gloves, nor Cane thereabout. The said Deponent further saith, That the same Day Mr. Henry Harwood requested Him This Deponent, that he would let him have his Hounds the next day after, being Wednesday, and he would find that Hare, which they could not find on Tuesday; or Words to that Purpose. And This Deponent further saith, That He the said Harwood hath several Times since Affirmed, That he did accordingly Hunt in the same Place, and Beat the same Ditch, and said, that the Body was not there That Wednesday at Noon, which said Henry Harwood is now Newly Dead.

Jur. i. die Julii. 1682,

Coram me W. Dolben,

Robert Fawcet.

To

To take the Matter now according to the *Fact*, as it is here *Deposed*. First, If the Huntsmen were on the *Wrong side of the Ditch*, the *Thicket of Bushes and Brambles* was so *Close*, that it was *Morally Impossible* to see, either the *Body* or the *Gloves* where they lay. 2dly, Though a Man in This *Cafe* of the *Ditch*, may Allow the *Noses* of the *Doggs*, Compar'd with the *Tongues* of the *Witnesses*, that swore the *Murther* at *Somerset-house*, to be much the more *Credible Evidence*; It would be a *Dangerous Conclusion* yet, to *Pronounce*, that the *Body* was *Not* there, because the *Doggs* did not *Find* it there; and to Raise an *Argument*, from That *Presumption*, of the *Bodies Not* being in the *Ditch*, that Therefore *Sir Edmund* was *Murther'd* at *Somerset-house*. So that I shall very Fairly *Divide* the *Matter*; That it was likely enough they should have found the *Body*, but *Not Impossible* for 'em to *Miss* it; And according to Common Course of speech, the *Beating* of that *very Place* must be intended of *That Field*, or of *That Ditch at Large*; for it cannot be *Imagin'd*, that they *Hunted Every Inch of Ground within That Compass*: Or that when Men *Beat* to start a *Hare*, they stand *Poring* at every thing, as if they were looking for her in her *Form*. So that in the *Candour*, and *Equity* of *Construction*, [ *There was not any Gloves nor Cane thereabouts* ] must be *Intended*, and *Ought* to be *Taken* No otherwise, then with This *Qualification*; That is to say, *We were a Hunting and Beating upon That Place, upon Tuesday, and there was No Dead Body, Gloves, or Cane, that we saw*. For such a *Negative* amounts only to a *Presumption*. And whether shall we rather Believe now; the *Doggs* that did *Not* see him there, upon *Tuesday and Wednesday*; or *Baker*, that swore *He saw him hard By* there, upon *Saturday* in the *Afternoon*, or the *Devil in his Cloaths*. To say Nothing(more then is said already p.175.176.) of *Mr. Huyf.*

*Huyfman's*, and *Mr. Grundy's* Observations upon a Person sauntring in Those Fields on Saturday Afternoon, in All Points Answering the Description of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. There was a Discovery made, 'tis True, of a dead Body in a Wood near High-Gate, in February 1686. by the very Doggs (as I remember) of *This Mr. Fawcet*; But as they Chopt upon it at *Last*: So they Miss'd it for at least Six Weeks before, after many and many a Time Beating the same Wood.

This Enformation of *Mr. Fawcet* bears Date the 1. of July, 1682. And 'tis a Wonder that No Publique Notice was taken on't sooner, either before the *Coroner*, or at *Green's Tryal*; for *Mr. Fawcet* was in Commission of the Peace, and Liv'd in the same Parish, saw the Body at the *White-house*, and had the Curiosity to View the Place where it was *Found*; Nay he Discours'd the Bus'ness of his Dogs, upon That Occasion; As I have it upon the Oath of a very Honest Gentleman.

*Mr. VVilliam Collinson* Deposeth, *That being at the White-house upon Friday-morning, the Day after Sir Edmund's Body was found, while the Body lay upon the Table there; the Woman of the said House, said to This Enformant [There's One of them that Help'd to bring him up:] Pointing to the said Person. One Mr. Fawcet being then come into the Room, spake to That Person to shew him the Place where the said Body was found: and so they went down together, and This Enformant along with them: The Guide shewing the Place, where, and Describing in What Posture the Body Lay, after This Manner.* The Body lay (as the Guide told the Company) with his Head Low, and towards the High Bank, with his Heels turn'd up against the other, His Coat Unbutton'd, and his Shirt put aside; and the Sword came a Good way thorough him about the Shoulder-blade.

Vpon

Upon sight of a Considerable Quantity of Bloud, that lay some Yards from the Ditch, Mr. Fawcet Asked how That Bloud came there? The Guide before Spoken of, said, that the Sword was taken out there, and the Bloud Follow'd it: Mr. Fawcet Wond'ring at it; Asked, Why they Meddled with the Body, before the Coroner came? To which the Man Answer'd, they made a Great Busle about it; and we could not Carry the Body without taking out the Sword. Mr. Fawcet said also, [ 'Tis strange, that being Hunting about These Grounds, we should make No Discovery of the Body.

It will be Time now to look back upon what I have Written; To Compare the Evidences, Likelyhoods, Appearances, and Pretences, of the One side, with Those of the Other; To Examine the Good Faith, and the Fair Dealing, on Both Hands; And in fine, upon a Summary Review of the Whole, to Wind up my Matters in as Few Words as I can.

In the Former Part of This Discourse, the First Chapter is a Bare Narrative of Godfrey's coming to a Violent Death; and Beddoes and Prances setting-up for the Discoverers of the Murther. 2dly, Why, and How, they made a Plot on't. 3dly, And Swore to't. 4. How the Plot and the Murther were Incorporated. 5. The Clashing of the Witnesses. 6. Beddoes Inconsistency with Himself. 7. The Taking-up, and the Manage of Prance. 8. Prance's secret History, and Usage, for Thirteen Days, wherein he Renounc'd to any Knowledge, either of the Plot, or the Murther, (according to his First Evidence). 9. How he went off again. 10. How People were Us'd; to Encourage False, and to Discourage Honest Witnesses. 11. & 12. Notes upon Beddoes, and Prance's Evidence, and upon their Character. 13. Their Depositions, Impossible to be True. 14. The story of Somer-

*Somerset-house, and of the Ditch, never to be Reconcil'd.  
¶. No Plot, No Murther; The One being Founded  
upon the Other.*

Now laying all This together; That is to say, The Sham of the making a *Plot* on't; The Flagitious Improbability of the *Witnesses*, Their Contradictions to Themselves, and to *One Another*; Their Evidence in the several Parts of it, neither *Likely*, *Credible*, nor so much as *Possible*; The *Notorious*, and the *Infamous Practice* of *Countenancing Impostures*, and of *smothering the Truth*; They might as well have Charg'd *Prance* with the *Murther* of *Abel*; or *Cain* with the *Pillows*, or the *Crevats* at *Somerset-house*: and the *One* would have been just as *Competent a Testimony* as the *Other*. That is to say; as the *Other* would *now* appear to be, after the *Revelation* of That Part of the *Mystery of Iniquity*, that lay in the Dark, Before.

After the *Proofs* made out in the *First Part*, that *Bedloe's* and *Prance's History* of the *Somerset-house Murther*, was only a *Ridiculous*, and a *Malicious Fiction*; the Main scope of the *second Part* is little more then *Deliberative*, in what *Manner*, and *Place*; and by what *Means* and *Hand* he came to his *End*: VVherein, I have first *Sir William Jones's Opinion* to justify me in the *Law*, and *Equity* of my *Reasonings*, and *Conclusions*. 2dly, I prove *Sir Edmund's Dismal Melancholy That Saturday*, when he left his *House*. 3dly, VVhat *Others* thought of it. 4thly, VVhat *He Himself* Thought of it before he ~~went~~ away. 5thly, VVhat his *Friends* thought was become of him, when he was *Missing*. 6thly, They would have him *Murther'd* by *Papists*, before he was *Dead*. 7. The Care taken to *Conceal* his *Death*, instead of finding it out. From 8. to 15. How the *Inquest* was *Labour'd*, upon Points *Clear from the Matter*; and All *Necessary Enquiries*, so far as *Possible*, set aside. 15. 16.

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So that upon the whole Matter at last, we have here Sir Edmund's Confession of his Own Melancholy, and his Dread of it; the Opinion of his Friends, Relations, and Servants; The Ground, and the Reason of his Fears laid Open; Proofs of his Own Forebodings, both in Words, and in Actions, Undeniably made out: Charges of Privacy given, to Hinder the Means of Discovering it. Not One Creature Examin'd, that was likely to give any Account of him; nor One Question put, and the Answer made use of, that any Man could be the Wiser for. The Bus'ness of the Blood, and of the Posture, totally suppress'd; which would Infallibly have Clear'd the Point of his Dying by the Sword; And Nothing Oppos'd, on the Other side, to Ballance This Harmony of Evidences, Reasonings, and Presumptions; but the Limberness, and the Distortion of the Neck, which every Nurse, and Searcher, could have told them was a Common Accident in Cases of a Natural Death.

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FOR the Further service and Convenience of the Reader, I shall here Subjoyn a Catalogue of the Principal Informations, Depositions, and Arrestations that are made use of in This Book; by way either of Evidence, Argument, or Illustration, toward an Evidence of the Truth. For the sake of Clearness and Order, I shall Range the Papers under Three Heads. The first Classis Containing an Enumeration of All Those Depositions, and Testimonials which I have here Produc'd, in favour of the Opinion, which I take upon me to Defend. And these Original Papers, I have Deposited in the Paper-Office, for the Satisfaction of Any Man that has a Curiosity to Learn whether they be Authentique or not. Whether they are Truly Render'd, Pertinently Applied, or Competent to the Purpose they were Intended for, let the Reader Judge. I have Lodged in the Second place,

# The Catalogue.

Place, the *Enformations* that were taken by the *Coroner*, upon the *View of Sir Edmunds Body*. And in the *Third*, I have given *A Promiscuous Account* of the several *Depositions* of *Bedloe* and *Prance*, with Other snatches of *Evidences*, that were *Produc'd* to support their *Testimony*: with References upon the Whole to the Page where they are to be found.

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